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Book No

San

Andhra University Series, No. 38

HISTORY OF THE REDDI KINGDOMS

(CIRCA. 1325 A. D., TO CIRCA. 1448 A. D.)

BY

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ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
WALT AIR, SOUTH INDIA.

Printed by A. Lakshmanaswamy Naidu at the Saraswathi Power Press,
Rajahmundry and published by K. V. Gopalaswamy, M A. (Oxon)
Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair. { 1948 }

HISTORY OF THE REDDI KINGDOMS

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PREFACE

'*History of the Reddī Kingdoms*' is the result of research carried out during my stay in the Andhra University, Waltair. It forms the sequel to my earlier work, '*A forgotten chapter of Andhra history*'. It is the history of the three Reddī kingdoms of Konjavidu, Rajamahēndravaram, and Kandukūru which shaped the destinies of the Andhra people in the coastal tract lying between Sūmāchakam in the Vizagapatam district and Kanikūru in the Nellore district, and covers over a century and a quarter from 1325 A.D. to A.D. 1448. Of the three kingdoms, Konjavidu was the chief and the earliest, the two others being its off-shoots. The Reddī king of Konjavidu, who began as the subordinate of the Musunūri chiefs of Rākapalli and Warāṅgal, soon became independent, and played an important role during the revival of Hindu supremacy in the post-Kakatiya period.

The history of Konjavidu is beaten track. Many scholars have already worked at it from different angles. Srinān Bykkapaṭnam Raghavacharyulu of the Guntur district was the earliest historian of the Andhra country. He was a scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu. For some time he acted as a first class Revenue Inspector of the Guntur taluk, and later, was promoted to the post of Deputy Tahasildar. Under orders from the late Hon. D. S. Chammichael, Member of Council for the Madras Presidency, he wrote during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the history of the Andhra country under the title, *Telugulēśa Caritra*, basing his account on copper plate records, stone inscriptions and Telugu literature. This work, which deals with the history of the Andhra country till the end of the Vijayanagar (?) period, is yet unpublished. It is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The history of the Reddīs of Konjavidu is but a small chapter in this work. There are other minor works in Telugu on the history of the Reddīs, prominent among them being *Koṇḍarīṭisāmrajjyamu* by Sri Maddulapalli Gurubrahma Sarma, who based his account chiefly on the *Koṇḍarīṭi Deṇḍakavile*, the *kāfiyāt* of Konjavidu, and on Telugu literature. It was the late Sri Chilukuri Virabhadrarao who first published a history of the Reddī kings worth the name, which formed the third volume of his history of the Andhras in Telugu (*Āndhrula Caritra*). This volume contains the history also of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar, besides accounts of the Padmanayaka Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa and of the Nāyaks of Kōṅukoṇḍa. Sri Virabhadrarao thus prepared the frame-work of the history of the Reddī kings, of which the details have yet to be worked out. Of several writers who contributed stray articles in various journals, it is enough to mention the most important. Of these Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in the Department of History and

Archaeology, University of Madras, (now retired), deserves to be mentioned first. Subsequent to Śrī C. Virabhadrarao, there is none who has studied the history of the Redḍis so intensely as he has done. In connection with his study of the history of Vijayanagar, with his editing of the Telugu poem, *Velugōṭṭivāri Vaniśāvali*, and of the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa in the *Epigraphia Indica*, he had to make a thorough study of the Redḍi history, of which his articles entitled 'the Redḍis and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar', his introduction to the *Velugōṭṭivāri Vaniśāvali*, and his paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa are the results. In these writings he recognised the several problems of the Redḍi history, and tackled them in right earnest. Particularly, his paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates is a very valuable contribution. It may be noted, however, that all he has written on the subject is not from the standpoint of the history of the Redḍis but from other angles. Hence, there was room for a fresh study on the subject.

Some others also, like the late Śrī K. V. Lakshmana Rao and Śrī Vaddādi Apparao, have worked for the elucidation of the political history of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu. The *Redḍi Saṃhita* of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, edited by Śrī Vaddādi Apparao, was published while this work was in the press. I could not take advantage of it for my study of this period.

Regarding literature, both Sanskrit and Telugu, of the Redḍi period, considerable work was done by Śrī V. Prabhakara Sastri, whose *Śrīṅara Śrīnātham*, life of Śrīnātha, is a monumental work, the best of its kind in the biographical literature concerning classical Telugu poets. In fact, Śrī V. Prabhakara Sastri and Śrī Manavalli Ramakrishnakavi, M. A., are the two eminent scholars who, by their admirable zeal and incessant labours, brought to light, in their search for manuscripts on behalf of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, many a forgotten work, and made a solid contribution to the history of literatures, both Sanskrit and Telugu, by their writings on various subjects. Śrī Prabhakara Sastri has, in his *Śrīṅara Śrīnātham*, not only dealt with the literature produced in the Redḍi court of Koṇḍaviḍu, particularly with the works of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Śrīnātha, but also reviewed cursorily the literary activity of the Rēceṅga chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa, particularly of Siṅgabhūpāla. I may also mention Śrī Bandaru Phumayya, and Śrī Kundūri Iswara Dutt, B. A., who have made a special study of Śrīnātha and made valuable contributions to the Telugu journals. The late Śrī C. Virabhadrarao and the late Mahōpadhyaya Śrī Vedam Venkataraya Sastri have enriched the literature on Śrīnātha, the former by the publication of a life of Śrīnātha and the latter by his valuable introduction to and commentary on the Telugu *Śrīṅara Naiṣadham*, besides his commentary

on the *Amaru Śataka* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Dr. V. Raghavan, Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Madras, has tackled many a knotty problem in the history of Sanskrit literature and has written learned papers on Viśvōsvara and Bommakantī Appayārya two of the famous Sanskrit poets of the Rēcēla court, and on the *Vaiśyavamiśrasudhākaram* of Kolacala Mallinātha. It was he who drew my attention, even before the volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Travancore Palace Library were available to the public, to the Sanskrit work, *Saṅgita Cintāmaṇi*, written by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

The works and writings of all the scholars mentioned above who have worked on some aspect or other of the history of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu, either political or literary, helped me greatly in understanding its various problems. Had it not been for their labours, the history of the Redḍis would not have been as clear as it is today. I therefore offer them my grateful thanks. The Epigraphical material for the history of the Redḍis, the most important source for the reconstruction of our past history and for solving the literary problems of the age, is very scanty; hence there is room for divergence of opinion on the political and literary problems of the period. I have re-examined all such problems in the light of the available evidence, and sought to arrive at what I believe to be the truth. I offer my respects to all those whose articles and works I had occasion to consult in writing this work for the benefit I derived from them.

In the second part of this work, the social and cultural history to which I attach greater importance, I have attempted a faithful representation of the age and its ideals and a clear portrayal of the life of the period in its different aspects. It is really very difficult for us to discover the key to the mysterious forces at work in a by-gone age, like that of the Redḍis, and unravel the motives which impelled the people of that age to act as they did, since we are far removed in time, and our outlook, ideas and habits are greatly affected by western culture and thought.

I wish to acknowledge with grateful thanks my deep indebtedness to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D., who took a live interest in the work from the beginning, placed his manuscript, *Vaiśyavamiśrasudhākaram*, and his library unreservedly at my disposal, and kindly corrected the proofs of this work.

I take this opportunity to thank Sṛī M. Venkatarangayya, Professor in History, Economics and Politics, Andhra University (now retired), and Sṛī Gurti Venket Rao (now Professor in History and Politics, Andhra University) for the interest they have taken in me and my work, and Professor Vissa Apparao, Principal, University Colleges, Andhra

University (now retired) who was instrumental in my getting into the University and was in a way responsible for the writing of this as well as my previous work. I am under special obligation to Sri B. Muthuswamy, M. A., Lecturer in English in the Andhra University for revising the manuscript. My friends, Sri K. Ramakotisvara Rao, Editor, *Triveni*, and Sri Manjeri S. Iwaran, Deputy Editor, *Triveni*, have been of considerable help to me as they read through the manuscript and made valuable suggestions.

When I took up this subject for study I did not comprehend quite correctly the scope of the work I had embarked upon. The more I studied the subject the greater it interested me. I was then able to recognise the magnitude and importance of the work; for, it embodies the history of a very momentous period in the annals of the Andhra country, a period of transition from the early mediaeval to the late mediaeval period which held the moorings of the modern age. It was the period in which the country, after the re-establishment of Hindu supremacy subsequent to the national up-rising, re-habilitated itself and moulded its life in accordance with the changed conditions and with the new forces released. I had to work on such a difficult period without adequate facilities. In this connection, however, I have to thank Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras (now retired) and Dr. V. S. Krishna (now Principal of the University Colleges, Andhra University) without whose good will and good offices I could not have brought out this volume and presented it to the public in its present shape. I am grateful to the former for kindly giving me permission to use his departmental library and affording me whatever help I needed of him.

I acknowledge with pleasure the assistance given to me by the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras, in placing the required estampages of stone and copper-plate records at my disposal for consultation in his office and I thank him for it.

My sincere thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Andhra University for kindly sanctioning the publication of this work in the University Series.

And last but not least, I have to thank Sri Addepalli Lakshmanaswamy Naidu, Proprietor, Saraswathi Power Press, Rajamahendravaram, for the remarkable rapidity with which he executed this work, within a very short period from the time he began the printing of the work and for the interest he took in it. I am aware of the several drawbacks in this work, chiefly typographical, despite the care bestowed on it, and crave my readers' indulgence for them.

22, Dewan Rama Iyengar Road,
Vepery, Madras 7,
October, 1918. }

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh. Ct.**—**Abhilaṣītarthacintāmaṇi** by Bhuvanaikamalla Calukya Sōmō-svara.
- Ag. Pr.**—**Agni Purāṇam**.
- Ak. Cr. (or A. K. C.)**—**Āndhrakavula Caritra** (Lives of the Telugu poets) by K. Virēśalingam.
- An. An.**—**Āndhra Patrika Annual**.
- An. Bg.**—**Ān Ihra Bhāgavatam** by Pōtanamātya.
- An. Bh.**—**Āndhrabhāṣabhūṣaṇam** by Kōtana.
- An. Bn.**—**Āndhrabhāṣāṇṇavam** by Kōji Venkanārya.
- An. Cr.**—**Āndhrula Caritra** (3 Vols) by Chulukūri Virabhadra Rao.
- Ant.**—**Antiquities of the Madras Presidency** (2 Vols) by Robert Sewell.
- Ap. Kv.**—**Appakaviyam** by Kākunūri Appakavi.
- A. P. M.**—**Āndhra Parisōthaka Mahāmañjali**.
- A. R. H. S.**—**Archaeological Reports of the Hyderabad State**.
- A. S. P. L.**—**Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat Library**.
- A. S. R.**—**Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India**.
- A. S. S. I.**—**Archaeological Survey of Southern India** — The stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa.
- A. S. W. I.**—**Archaeological Survey of Western India**.
- A. V. S.**—**Āndhra Vijñāna Sarvasvam**, Ed. K. V. Lakshmaṇa Rao.
- Barbosa**—**Travels of Duarte Barbosa** (2 Vols), Hakluyt Society.
- Bh. Pr.**—**Bhīmōśvara Purāṇam** by Śrinātha.
- Bibli. Ind.**—**Bibliotheca Indica**.
- Bj. Rj. (or Bh. Rj.)**—**Bhōjarājīyam** by Anantāmātya.
- B. K.**—**Bombay Karnatic**.
- Bs. Pr.**—**Basava Purāṇam** by Palkuṇiki Sōmanātha.
- Bs. Pr. (p)**—**Basava Purāṇam** By Piduparti Sōmanātha.
- Ch. Ch.**—**Camatkāracandrikā** by Viśvēśvara.
- Chau Ju-kua.**—**Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chufan-chi**.
- C. P.**—**Copper Plate**.
- C. S. M. (or T. C. S. M.)**—**Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts**.
- Ct. Mm.**—**Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari**, (2 Vols), compiled by V. Prabhākara Sastri.

- D. C. S. M. —Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.
D. C. T. M.—Descriptive Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts.
Dg. Gd.—District Gazetteer, Godavari.
Dg. Vj.— District Gazetteer, Vizagapatam.
Dn. Cr.—Daśaratharajanandanacaritra by Dharanīdēvula Rāma-
mantri.
Dv. Pr.—Dēvāṅga Purāṇam by Bhadrakavi Līṅgakavi.
Ep. Carn.—Epigraphia Carnatica.
Ep. Coll.—Epigraphical Collection.
Ep. Ind.— Epigraphia Indica.
Ep. Ind. Mosl.— Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
Ep. Rep.—Epigraphy Reports.
E. D.—History of India as told by its own historians, Ed. Elliot and
Dowson.
E. R. E.—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Foreign Notices—Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. Nīlakaṇṭha
Sāstri.
Forgotten Chapter—A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by
M. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma.
Forgotten Empire—A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar) by Robert
Sewell.
Further Sources—Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, compiled
by K. A. Nīlakaṇṭha Sāstri and Dr. N. Venkaṭaramanayya.
Gerini—Researches on Ptolemy's Geography by Gerini (G. E.).
Hakl. Soc.—Hakluyt Society.
H. I. S. I.—Historical Inscriptions of South India by Robert Sewell;
Ed. Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyāṅgar.
Hr. VI. Haraviḷāsam by Śrīnātha.
Hr. Vm.—Harivaṃsam by Errā Pregada.
Ind. Ant. (or I. A.)—Indian Antiquary.
In. Ar.—Indian Architecture (3 Vols); Ed. M. A. Ananthawār and
Alexander Rea; Compiler, A. V. Thiagarāja Iyer (1921).
I. C.—Indian Culture.
Ins. Ced. Dts.—Inscriptions of the Ceded Districts.
Indian Ephemeris—Indian Ephemeris by L. D. Swāmikannu Pillai
(6 Vols).
I. H. Q.—Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. I. S.—A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir
E. Denison Ross.

- I. T. D. H.—Inscriptions in the Telingānā Districts of the Hyderabad State.
- J. A. H. C.—Journal of the Āndhra History and Culture.
- J. A. H. R. S.—Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society.
- J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- J. A. S. P. (or A. S. P. P.)—Journal of the Andhra Sāhitya Pariṣat.
- J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. B. O. R. S.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- J. D. L.—Journal of the Department of Letters.
- J. I. H.—Journal of Indian History.
- J. M. A.—Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.
- J. M. U.—Journal of the University of Madras.
- J. O. R.—Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. R. A. S. B.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (See also J. A. S. B.).
- Kb. Cr.—Kēyūrabāhucaritra by Mañcana.
- K. D. M.—District Manual, Kistna.
- Kd. Rm. (or Kr. Rm.)—Kriḍābhīrāmam by Vallabhamatya.
- Kf. Kd.—Kaifiyat of Keṇḍaviḍu.
- Kf. Km.—Kaifiyat of Kimmūru } Published by V. R. Jagapativarma.
- Kf. Kr.—Kaifiyat of Kōṅkūṇḍa }
- Ks. Kh.—Kasikhaṇḍam by Srinatha.
- Kv. Cd.—Kavyalaṅkāracūdāmaṇi by Vinnakoṭa Peddana.
- Loc. Rec.—Local Records.
- Mack Mss.—Mackenzie Manuscripts.
- M. A. R.—Mysore Archaeological Reports.
- Major.—India in the Fifteenth Century, Ed. R. H. Major.
- Monier Williams—Sanskrit English Dictionary by Monier Williams.
- N. D. I. (or N. I. D.)—Inscriptions of the Nellore District by Butterworth and Venugōpālacheṭṭy.
- Nn. Cr. (or Nv. Cr; Nr. Cr.)—Navanāthacaritra by Gaurana.
- Nr. Pr.—Nṛsiṃha Purāṇam by Egga Pregaḍa.
- Pd. Pr.—Padma Purāṇam by Maḍiki Siṅgana.
- Pm. Bh.—Pāṃpa Bhāratam.
- Pn. Cr.—Paṇḍitārādhyaacaritra by Pālkuṅḍiki Sōmanātha.
- Pn. Mh.—Pāṇḍuraṅga Mahātmyam by Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa.

- Pn. Pn.—Pañcālīpariṇāyam by Mūrtikavi.
- Pv. Cr. (or Pr. Cr.)—Palmāyivīracaritra by Srinātha.
- Riyāz-us-Salātīn—Riyāz-us-Salātīn (Eng. Translation) by Ghulam Husain.
- Rk. Cr.—Rukmangadacaritra by Praughakavi Mallana.
- Rm. VI.—Rāmavilāsam by Ēnugu Lakṣmaṇakavi.
- S. B. E.—Sacred Books of the East.
- Sewell—Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell.
- S. I. I.—South Indian Inscriptions.
- Sk. Cr. (or Sd. Cr.)—Śōḷasakumaracaritra by Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya.
- Sk. Nt. Śukra Niti.
- Sk. Sm.—Sakalanītisammata by Maḍiki Sīngana.
- Sl. VI. (or Sv. VI.)—Sivalīlāvilāsam by Kommana.
- Sm. Dv.—Sinhāsanaadvātrīṁśika by Koravi Gōparaju.
- Sn. Pn.—Sunandaparīṇāyam by Cintagunṭa Kōdaṇḍarāmāmatya.
- Sr. Bh.—Sṛṅgarabhūṣaṇa Bhāṇa by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa.
- Sr. Mh.—Srirāṅga Mahātmyam by Bhairavakavi.
- Sr. Nd.—Sṛṅgara Naiṣadham by Srinātha.
- Sr. Sn. (or Sr. Sr.)—Sṛṅgara Srinātham by Vēṭūri Prabhākara Sāstri.
- Sv. Dh.—Sivadharmōttaram by Mallā Redḍi.
- Sv. Mh.—Sivaratri Mahātmyam by Srinātha.
- Tel. Eng. Dic.—Telugu English Dictionary by C. P. Brown.
- T. S. V.—Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara (Journal).
- Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss.—Triennial Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts.
- Ut. Rm.—Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇam by Tikkana.
- Vb. Vj. (or Vr. Vj.)—Virabhadravijayam by Pōtanāmātya.
- V. C. E.—Vijayanagar: Origin of the City and the Empire by Dr. N. Venkaṭaramaṇayya.
- Vk. Cr.—Vikramārkacarita by Jakkana.
- Vm. Cr.—Vēmabhūpalacaritam by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa.
- Vn. Pr.—Viṣṇu Purāṇam by Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrana.
- Vr. Pr.—Varaha Purāṇam by Nandi Mallayya and Ghaṇṭa Sīngayya.
- V. R.—Topographical list of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, (3 Vols) by V. Rangachārya.
- Vs. Rm.—Vasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam by Maḍiki Sīngana.
- Vv. Cr. (or Vv. Vc.)—Velugōṭivari Vamsacaritra by Vellāla Sadāsiva Sāstri and Avadhānam Sēṣa Sāstri.
- Vv. Vm. (or Vl. Vm.)—Velugōṭivari Vamsāvali.

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
vi	3	intensely	intensively
„	35	Srinātha	Śrinātha
„	37	Thmmayya	Thammayya
17	f.n. 4	Swell	Seweli
25	21	sate	state
31	42	somewhera	somewhere
53	14	flourshed	flourished
57	34	Kammas	Kammes
65	8	Reddi's	Reddis
73	28	wiht	with
229	1	renumerated	remunerated
225	27	<i>Vaiṣyavāmīkasudharmāra</i>	<i>Vaiṣyavāmīkasudhākaram</i>
226	11	assult	assault
243	11	diety	deity
253	18 & 21	similies	similes
262	f.n	पुनः पुनः	पुनः पुनः
295	21	<i>Abhilaṣitārthacintanam</i>	<i>Abhilaṣitārthacintānam</i>
295	29	Nicolo de Donti	Nicolo de Conti
360	21	<i>Davana Purnima</i>	<i>Davana Pannama</i>
394	34	<i>Artha Śāstra</i>	<i>Artha Śāstra</i>
421	6	<i>Bhīmeśvara</i>	<i>Bhīmeśvara</i>
427	20	<i>Ratnapāñclakā</i>	<i>Ratnapañcālaka</i>
435	31	Ragunatha Nāyaka	Raghunatha Nāyaka
463	7	Peda Komṭi Vēma	Peda Kōmaṣi Vēma
467	26	Kolaca Mallinātha	Kōlacala Mallinātha

CORRIGENDUM

117	30	"Anavēma's brahman general"	"Anavēma's general"
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CHAPTER I

SOURCES

With the materials now available, an attempt is made in the following pages to present the reader with the history of the Reddis who ruled the Andhra or Telugu country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era. It is reconstructed with the help of evidence drawn mainly from three sources, namely, inscriptions, literature, and traditional accounts.

I. INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions form the most important of these sources. It must, however, be admitted in the beginning that the original purpose of these inscriptions was quite different from that of furnishing historical information. They were mere gift-deeds, registering grants of land or money to temples or of *agrahāras* to brahmins, made either by kings, their courtiers or by private individuals. Some of these record the construction of temples or ancillary structures and the setting up of idols in them. So, though very important, these inscriptions alone do not throw much light on the events of the day and cannot help us in writing a succinct history of the country. They are pressed into service to yield some reliable evidence in reconstructing it. Inscriptions may be classified under two heads (1) Copper-plate inscriptions, and (2) Stone inscriptions or lithic records.

(i) *Copper-plate records:*

Inscriptions written on copper - plates generally register grants of *agrahāras* or lands to brahmins, well-versed in Vēdic lore and Sūtras. Each set may contain three, four, five or even six plates according to the requirements of the occasion. These plates are held together by a circular copper-ring, the ends of which are secured in an oval, square or circular seal, bearing the *lāñchana* or emblem of the grantor. Generally, the seals of the grants of the Reddi kings bear the sign of a couchant bull and suggest that they were Śaivites in religion. These copper-plate grants generally contain the ancestry of the grantors and the grantees, a description of the former's exploits, if any, in *kāvya* style couched in hyperbolical terms, and the date of the grant with astronomical details, sufficient at times for verification. The grantees

are generally learned scholars proficient in Science or in Vēdic literature. It is noteworthy that all the copper-plate inscriptions register grants made only to Sanskrit scholars and not to any one proficient in the language of the country.

(ii) *Stone inscriptions :*

Stone inscriptions record, as already stated, gifts made in kind or coin to temples, either by kings or their servants, or by private individuals. Inscriptions of the last category generally mention the name of the king holding sway over the locality at the time of the gift, besides giving full particulars of the date on which the gift was made. It may be reasonable to conclude from a study of these inscriptions that the absence of records of a ruling prince in his dominion for any length of period is generally indicative of abnormal and chaotic conditions prevailing in that region. The extent of the dominion of a ruler can be fairly determined by the provenance of his stone inscriptions; for none of his records would be found, even in holy places lying outside his dominion; records found in any locality beyond his own dominion, indicate that he was either a conqueror or a friend of the king of that region.

Of the inscriptions of the Reddis discovered so far, copper-plate records are greater in number than the stone inscriptions.

II. LITERATURE

The next source of our information, namely, literature may again be classified under two main heads, Indian and foreign, the first including in it Sanskrit and Telugu literatures and a number of Muslim histories written in Arabic and Persian languages, and the other some Muslim itineraries and accounts of European travellers. There is another kind of quasi-historical vernacular literature which, though last of the literary varieties, is by no means the least important to us as evidence for our historical research. This forms a very useful variety by itself and may be properly called "traditional accounts," as it is mainly preserved in tradition.

Indian :

Many Sanskrit and Telugu poets and Scholars flourished under the patronage of the Redḍi and other kings of this period. Some of the rulers of this period were themselves great scholars and poets besides being patrons.

Sanskrit Literature : Of the Sanskrit works of this period which serve us as sources of history, special mention should-

be made of *Kumāragīrīrājīyam*, a commentary on Kālidāsa's three dramas, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, *Vikramōrviśīyam* and *Mālarikāgnimitram* by Kāṭiya Vēma; *Śṛṅgāralīpikā*, a commentary on *Amaruśatukam* by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma; *Vēmaḥhūpāla Cāṭiram* by Vāmanabhakṣa Bāya; and the commentary on *Haradattācārya's, Caluvēda-tātparya-saṁgraha*, also called *Gīṛṅgaślisūktimālā* by Sivaliṅga Redḍi of the Kandukūri family. *Rasāṇavasudhākaram*, a work on rhetoric by Singabhūpāla of the Rēceḷa family, and *Camatkāra Cūdrīkā*, another work on the same subject by Viś.śvara, are very valuable sources for the history of the Rēceḷa chiefs. Besides these, there are many dramas, *tāḍyas* and other writings which throw much light on the social conditions and achievements of the age.

The attention of readers may be drawn here to another Sanskrit work called *Alaṅkārasaṁgraha*¹ on rhetoric and poetics. It contains five *paricchēdhis* dealing with (i) *Varnājamaṇicāra*, (ii) *Śab ārthanirṇaya*; (iii) *Rasanirṇaya*; (iv) *Netrābhedaṇicāra*, and (v) *Alaṅkāranirṇaya*. Its author Amṛtanandayōgi wrote this work at the instance of a certain Manvabhūpati or king Manva, son of Bhaktibhūpati, a devotee of Śiva. Manva is styled as "*Sōma-sūrya-ka' - o'āmisah*"—the ornament of both the lunar and solar races. This indicates that his father belonged to one dynasty, and his mother to another. There is only one Bhaktibhūpa so far known to South Indian epigraphy, and he was the Ēṇya chief, Bhaktirāja² of the Telugu Cōḍa family, who flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century A. D. He was a great devotee of Śiva. He had two sons Bhīmaliṅga or Bhīmadēva Cōḍa or Cōḍa Bhīma³, and Annadōva Cōḍa⁴ or Anna-bhūpa. Through out this work the king's name is mentioned as Manvabhūpa and not even once as Anna-bhūpa. It cannot be taken to be a mistake since the substitution of Anna for Manva does not hold good in many places for grammatical reasons. Manvabhūpa, in the work under reference, is given the title komaraṅkabhīma and other Telugu Cōḍa titles which are conspicuous by their absence in the records of both Bhaktirāja and his son, Annadōva. Future research has to make it clear if Manvabhūpa, the patron of Amṛtanandayōgi, is another son of Cōḍabhūpa.

Telugu Literature: The Telugu works produced during this period are very helpful in the reconstruction of the history of the Redḍis. Special mention should be made here of *Bhīmēśvara Parāṇam* and *Kūśikhaṇḍam* of Śrīnātha, and *Śivaliṅgaślisūktimālā* written by Kommaṇa.

1. D. S. C. M. (Madras) No. 12791, pp. 8601—05 ff.
2. J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.
3. Sl. VI., (introduction), Vide, Appendix to chapter VII, part II of this work.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

Both were court-poets of the Reddi kings and wrote the works under their patronage. These works furnish much information which is not available otherwise. Besides the above works *Haraviṭṭasam*, *Kṛiṭābhīrāmanī*, *Simhāsanaśāstrinīṣika* and many other Telugu poems of the period, when studied from view-points other than political, provide us much useful information. Whatever theme the poets of the period under review might have taken for the subject of their compositions, and however high they might have soared in their flights of imagination, they could not escape from the atmosphere of the period and the realities of the world around them. The theme might be Purāṇic or non-Purāṇic, the hero might be a mortal king or an immortal *dēva*; yet the descriptions given in their works, of customs and manners, of art and architecture, of weapons used and the modes of warfare, and a host of other details, were no doubt taken from contemporary life. In this connection an example or two may be given. In the seventh chapter of Śrinātha's *Kāśikhanda* lord Śiva gives an account of the 'mukh' maṭṭapa' in Kāśi to Acyuta or Viṣṇu, in the course of which he narrates the story of a brāhman named Mahananda of Ānandakanana who, desirous of earning money, is said to have put on the guise of a 'Goraga', a 'Bṛamaṇḍa', a 'Buddha', a 'Kūṭāka', and a 'Jina'. The 'Goragas', and the 'Bṛaminḍas', the Śīva devotees of Mailāra and of Ēkavīrādēvi respectively, earned their livelihood by begging. The worship of god Mailāra and goddess Ēkavīra was widely prevalent in the Andhra country, during the Kākatiya and the Reddi periods. A fine description of the members of these two orders and of their activities is given in the *Kṛiṭābhīrāmanī*, mentioned before. Śrinātha, keen observer of life and nature that he was, could not refrain from using these terms, even while translating from the Sanskrit original a mythological story concerning gods, to enhance the beauty and give effective colouring to his picturesque narration. Another instance also may be cited. We know that Śrinātha was the 'Vidyādīkārī' of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court and the writer of all his copper-plate inscriptions. He did not let this experience go in vain. He utilised it in his work, *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, which tells us how Indra, the celestial ruler granted Bhīmakaṇḍa to Śiva. Śrinātha makes Indra write a 'dharma-śāsana' and indulges in a description of this grant in all its details. He makes Indra address his order to the people of the locality, just as kings on earth do at the time of granting lands and fixing their boundaries. He even notes the date of the grant as 'Caturdaśī, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, in *Siddhayaṅga*, when the moon was in conjunction with Rōhīṇī, and

6. Ka. Kh., vii, v. 280.

6. Kd. Rm., vv. 128-130; 142-145.

concludes it with an invocation to kings ruling at the time of the grant, as well as to future kings, to protect the *dharma* and never to violate it.⁷ Many instances of this kind can be cited from the Telugu works of the period, which throw light on the social life of the times. It may be stated, therefore, that a careful and cautious study of these works provides interesting material to reconstruct the life of the period under review, though such evidence unsupported by other information may not be sufficient and accurate.

Muslim Histories : Muslim histories constitute one of the most important sources. These furnish accounts of expeditions of the Muslim rulers of Delhi to the Deccan and their conquests of the Southern kingdoms. It was 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji who first turned his attention to the South. He sent several expeditions to conquer Teliṅgāna and Mahārāṣṭra. With the death of Harapālādēva of Devagiri, the Mahārāṣṭra kingdom was finally annexed to Delhi in Śaka 1239 / 1317 A. D. Teliṅgāna became part of the empire of Delhi with the final conquest of Warangal in Śaka 1245 / 1323 A. D. For the first time in the annals of the Muslim rule in India an independent Muslim state, the Bahmanī kingdom of Gulbarga was founded in the Deccan in Śaka 1269 / 1347 A. D. by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gangū Bahman Shāh. It was the chief Muslim power in the Deccan, contemporaneous with, and rival to, the Reḍḍī kingdoms of both Koṇḍaviḍu and Rājamahēndravaram and the kingdom of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. In fact, it was against the rising power of the Muslims of Gulbarga, which threatened to sweep away the Hindu kingdoms of the south, that the Reḍḍīs and the Rāyas had to contend in a life and death struggle to defend and protect their religion and culture. Chief of the Muslim authorities for the history of the Deccan, primarily for the history of the Bahmanī dynasty, are mentioned below.

(1) *Khazāin-ul-Futuh* or the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* by Amīr Khusrau is a very important history of the reign of 'Ala-ud-Din, dealing with the period A. H. 695 - 711 / 1296 - 1312 A. D. Some extracts, translated into English, are given from this work in Elliot's '*History of India*.' This work has been recently translated into English by Prof. Muhammad Habib of the Aligarh Muslim University and published by D. B. Taraporewala, Sons & Co. Bombay. This work is valuable for the history of Teliṅgāna, inasmuch as it gives an account of the Muslim invasions during the reign of Pratāparudra of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal.

(2) *Futūh-us-Sulāṭīn* by 'Isāmi, 'another important work relating to the history of the Mussalmans, from the time of Sabuktigīn of Ghaznī to Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The text was recently published by Dr. A. Mahdi Husain of Agra. "Isāmi was born at Delhi about 1310 A. D. and at the age of sixteen, when Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq transferred his capital in 1327 A. D. to Dēvagīr, he was obliged, by the royal command, to migrate to that city like other citizens of Delhi. He lived at Dēvagīr during the next quarter of the century. After the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom at Gulbarga, he composed his history in 1349 50 A. D., and dedicated it to his sovereign. 'Isāmi was, thus, not only a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughlaq but an eye-witness to several events of his reign, especially those pertaining to the history of the Deccan.'"

(3) *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Zia-ud-Dīn Baranī. This treats of the history of the Sultans of Delhi from the accession of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Balban in A. H. 662 / 1266 A. D. to A. H. 758 / 1357 A.D., the sixth year of the reign of Firūz Shah. He commenced his work in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, and completed it in A. H. 758 / 1359 A. D. A translation of the major part of this work was published in Elliot's '*History of India*'.

(4) *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-siraj 'Afif is essentially a history of the reign of Firūz Shāh, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Afif wrote it under the patronage of Firūz Shah (1357 A. D. to 1388 A.D.). An English translation of a considerable portion of this work is found in 'Elliot's' '*History of India*'.

All the chroniclers mentioned above were contemporaries of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Of these 'Afif was perhaps, his youngest contemporary. They are our chief authorities for the first half of the fourteenth century. Besides these, there were some later historians whose works also are very important to us. They are as follows:

(5) *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* by Yāhya bin 'Ahmad bin Abdullā Sirhīndī. This narrates the history of the Sultans of Delhi from the time of Muizuddīn bin Sam, the founder of the Ghōrī dynasty, till A.H. 838 or 1434 A.D. The author wrote his history under the patronage of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyid dynasty who ruled Delhi from 1427 A.D. to 1435 A.D. An English translation of this work was published by Mr. K.K. Basu in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*.

(6) *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* of 'Ali bin Azīz Ullah Tabātabā. This is essentially a history of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. It was written under the patronage of Burhan Nizām Shāh II (1590 A.D. - 1594 A.D.) after whom it is named. It was commenced in 1591 A.D. This history was translated by Major J. S. King and Lt. Col. Sir W. Leeseley Haig in the *Indian Antiquary*. The portion dealing with the Bahmani dynasty was subsequently published in a book form.

(7) *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Khwaja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad deals with the history of the Muslim rule in India from the time of Shahab-ud-Dīn Muhammad Ghōrī till A.H. 1002 / 1593 A.D., the thirty eighth year of Akbar's reign. Besides the history of the Sultans of Delhi, the author gives also an account of the different Muslim kingdoms that flourished in different parts of India. The author, Khwaja Nizām-ud-Dīn was appointed to the office of 'bakhshī' of Gujarat, in the twenty ninth year of Akbar's reign and died in his service in A.H. 1003 / 1594-95 A.D. An English translation of this work was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(8) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* or *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī* of Mullā 'Abdul Kadar Badāūnī is a general history of India from the time of the Ghaznivides to the fortieth year of Akbar. The author was in the court of Akbar, who employed him frequently to make translations of Sanskrit and Arabic works into Persian. This history as the author admits, is simply an abridgement of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. It was translated into English by Lt. Colonel G.S.A. Ranking.

(9) *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā* by Muhammad Kāsim Hindu Shāh Ferishtā is a comprehensive history of the rise of the Muslim power in India. The author was born at Astrabad on the borders of the Caspian sea about 1570 A.D. When he was very young he came to India along with his father, and reached Ahmadnagar in the Deccan during the reign of Murtazā Nizām Shāh. After serving for some time under the Nizām Shāhi Sultāns of Ahmadnagar, he left that place and proceeded to Bijāpūr. He arrived there in 1589 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, under whom he served for the remainder of his life. At the request of his patron he wrote his history after consulting "no less than thirty-five works." Ferishtā did not complete his work till about A.H. 1015 (1606 A.D.). This work gives a more detailed account of each reign than any other history. Its value is, however, diminished to some extent by the generally unreliable and incorrect nature of the account it furnishes. In spite of its unreliability, scholars have to cling to it, because no

other work gives us such an abundance of information about the kingdoms of the Deccan. Ferishtā's work was translated by Colonel Scott and John Briggs. Brigg's translation is complete and more reliable than Scott's, and the references given in this book are to Brigg's version.

In the period under review, we are mostly concerned with the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga. As for Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign there are histories by contemporary writers as well as later ones, either to supplement or to correct one another. Even here we are not on firm ground. Dates assigned to the same events in Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign, and the chronological order in which they are narrated, vary considerably in the different accounts written either by contemporaries or by later historians. One has to check them at every step and establish their authenticity and accuracy. The force of this statement may be better understood by a reference to the work and papers published so far, relating to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, particularly by Ishwari Prasad, Mahdi Hussain, Haig, and Venkataramanayya, to mention only a few, wherein one comes across much difference of opinion and argument in establishing many salient points. One such point, for instance, has been the date of the rebellion of Tilang which forms the most important landmark in the mediaeval history of the Andhra country. When such are the discrepancies found even in contemporary works, one can easily judge for oneself the difficulties one has to confront in elucidating and co-relating histories written by later writers.

There are comparatively more histories which give an account of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq than of the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga. Those that are available in English translations are *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, *Tārīkh-i-Ferishṭā*, *Burhān-i-Mā'asir* and the extracts given by King from the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk*. *Burhān-i-Mā'asir* and *Tārīkh-i-Ferishṭā* are the only two important authorities for the history of the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga; the former is generally more reliable than the latter. Ferishṭa's statements, when they relate to the Hindus, have to be carefully and cautiously weighed before being accepted; when they relate to his co-religionists, they verge on exaggeration. I followed only the English translations of Muslim histories.

Foreign :

Muslim Itineraries: Travels of Ibn Batūtā: His full name is Shaik Abū Abdullā Muhammad, Ibn Batūta of Moracco. At the early age of twenty one in 1325 A. D. he set out on his travels

and finally returned to his country in 1353 A. D. He died in 1368 or 1369 A. D. He completed the account of his travels in A. H. 756 / 1355 A.D. Ibn Batūta's work is known as *Tuhfatūh-al-Nuzzār fī Ghara'ib-al-Amsār wa rajaib-al-Safar* or *Safar Nāma*. He reached India in 1333 A. D. Muhammad bin Tughlaq received him cordially and appointed him as the qāzi of the capital. He remained there for eight years and set out from that place in 1342 A. D. In 1344 A. D. he proceeded to Ceylon and from thence to Ma'bar. He wrote about his travels from memory, having lost his notes during the voyage. His account is available in English translations in Elliott's '*History of India*' and in Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's useful and indispensable '*Foreign notices of South India*'.

There is another similar work which should be mentioned alongside of those, the *Travel's of Abū al-Bayzā'ik*. He was born at Herat in 1413 A.D. and entered the service of Shah Rukh as the qāzi of the place in 1437 A. D. In 1441 A. D. he was sent on an embassy to the court of Vijayanagar which he visited in 1443 A. D. After staying there for a time, he left India in 1444 A. D. The above dates clearly show that he was at Vijayanagar at a time when the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram passed into the hands of the kings of Vijayanagar. His account of travels, though not very helpful to us politically, provides much information regarding some phases of the life of people of the period. A translation of this work is found in Elliot's *History of India* and also in Major's *India in the fifteenth century*.

Accounts of European travellers: Under Foreign literature, the accounts of European travellers form the main division. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, just before the beginning of our period, the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo visited India. He started from Venice in 1271 A.D., and reached the court of Kublai, the Grand Khān of China, after travelling for three years and a half across Asia. After residing there for seventeen years he left for Khorāsān in a ship. He arrived at that place voyaging in the Indian seas for over a year and a half. Thence he travelled to Constantinople, and finally reached Venice in 1295 A. D. During the return voyage he touched at many lands and visited Ma'bar and arrived at the port of Mōṇupalli in the Bapaṭla Taluk of Guṇṭūr District about 1292-1293 A. D. His observations on the Muslims of our country are well-known.

Nicolo de Conti was the next European traveller to visit India in the period under review. He was also a Venetian. He went to the city of Damascus and settled there as a merchant when he was young. After a time he conceived the idea of going on travel. The date

when he started is not known to us; but after travelling as far as China in the East he returned to Venice in 1444 A. D., after an absence of twenty-five years. In the course of his travels he came to India and visited Vijayanagar. He is said to have reached a city and sea port called "Poudifetania" on the road to which he passed by two cities, named "Odeschiria" (Udayagiri in Nellore district) and "Cenderghiria" (Chandragiri in Chittoor District). From there, he proceeded to Mylapore (Madras) and so on.

Athanasius Nikitin was a Russian. He set out on his travels in the latter half of the fifteenth century and returned to Russia in 1474 A.D. In the course of his travels he visited India and stayed for some time in the Deccan. In the reign of the Bahmanī Sultan, Muhamad Shāh II, he was at Bidar, the new capital which was founded in 1423 A.D., by Sultan Ahmad Shah, the successor of Sultān Firūz Shāh.

The accounts left by these travellers were translated into English and are found in the publication, known as *India in the Fifteenth century* edited by R. H. Major.¹⁰

These travellers were followed by Portuguese officials, Tome' Pires and Duarte Barbosa who visited South India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Their accounts were translated into English from the Portuguese and published by the Hakluyt Society. These travel-journals do not generally furnish useful information relating to our political history; but they provide much material for an intelligent understanding of the life in the age of the Reddis. They also confirm and corroborate many points of social and religious interest which are alluded to in the literature of our country, particularly in the Telugu works of the period. The accounts of foreign travellers, therefore, form a valuable supplement to our knowledge obtained from other sources, occasionally furnishing new information, not forthcoming from elsewhere.

III. TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS

Accounts concerning a particular locality, individual or family which are preserved in tradition, either in the form of prose or poetry, come under this category. *Velugōvāri Vamsacaritra*, the *Cāṇu Kṛtulu*, the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, the *Local Records* and the *Birudāvaṇis* of the families of yore belong to this class.

10. In his introduction the editor R. H. Major furnishes a good account of some of the foreign travellers that visited India during this period.

Velugōṭivāri Vamiśacaritra : This is a modern work dealing with the history of the Velugōṭi family, a branch of the ancient Rēcērla line, written by two pandits, Śrī Vellala Sadāsiva Śāstri and Śrī Avadhānam Sēsha Śāstri, under the patronage of the present chief of Venkaṭagiri belonging to the above-said family. State records in possession of the descendants of the extant branches of the Rēcērla line, ancient inscriptions of this family, and the *Velugōṭivāri Vamiśāvali*, an anthology of verse, constitute the chief authorities in writing this work. Some of the ancient inscriptions of the Rēcērla chiefs are given as appendices. These inscriptions are all eye-copies. No attempt has yet been made to take good estampages of these stone records and edit them properly.¹¹ Even these few records do not supply us with much historical information.

So we have to depend on the "*Velugōṭivāri Vamiśāvali*", an anthology of verse composed and sung in ancient times by itinerant and family bards, called Bhaṭṭarājus in praise of different chiefs of the Rēcērla family recounting their heroic deeds and great charities in their usual extravagant style, with little sense of proportion". In this way the traditional lore and verses in praise of the Rēcērla chiefs grew in quantity from generation to generation and were preserved with meticulous care. Even an insignificant chief holding a small fort is given in these verses the same importance as a great king ruling a considerable dominion and both were described in the same strain. Most of the chiefs mentioned in these verses as having been defeated or killed by Rēcērla chieftains are unidentifiable. Because of the lack of confirmatory evidence, the facts mentioned in the *Vamiśāvali* have to be taken for what they are worth. Another difficulty that confronts us in freely utilising this material is the confusion prevailing in some of these verses. Some of them ascribe the exploits of one chief to another, whereas some others attribute the same exploits to several individuals in successive

11. The original dominion of the Rēcērla chiefs comprised a great portion of Telinganā which has not yet been epigraphically surveyed systematically. Epigraphical material in the Hyderabad state which furnishes useful information for reconstructing our past history, lies still buried. Without utilising this material no history of our country can be said to be complete and perfect. Until all the inscriptions in the districts of Telinganā are copied and properly edited, one has to depend on those given in appendices and make use of them.
12. In fact, one of the chief features which formed part of the regal pomp and contributed to the splendour of the mediæval period was the maintenance of a special sect of people--Vandis and Māgadhas as they were generally called--by every military chief of note and by every important noble, to sing the glory of himself and of his family by recounting his and his ancestor's exploits, on all auspicious occasions and to herald his arrival in public. There is reason to believe that this had been a feature of the Telugu court from early times.

generations. It must, however, be admitted that the history of the Rūcerla chiefs has to be re-constructed mostly with the help of these verses and partly with the help of the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśacaritra* and the few inscriptions given in its appendices.

Cāṭu Kṛtulu or *Cāṭu Verses*: *Cāṭu* means pleasing words of discourse, or flattery. *Cāṭu* verses appear originally to have been composed by different poets to please or flatter the hero concerned, on different occasions. A scrutiny of such poems in Telugu leads us to infer that the *Cāṭus* were composed by poets and bards of former times, either to express their own inner feelings or to flatter or even to censure any individual or family, or merely to describe a locality. The subject of these verses may be anything. All the verses in the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvali*, as has been stated already, are of this kind. Generally these verses are not recorded but were handed down orally from generation to generation. Śrīnātha's *Cāṭus* which have come down to us, are many in number and very popular in the Telugu country. No other Telugu poet of the mediaeval period is so well-known for his *cāṭus* as he. In his view no subject was too insignificant or unimportant to be the theme of a *cāṭu*. Even a gross theme was transmuted into gold at his magic touch. [Since he travelled far and wide, visiting many countries and kingdoms, his *cāṭus* provide us with a panorama of life of his times. He recorded in his poems all that he had observed during his peregrinations. The physical features of the country, the habits and customs of the people, the food they ate, and many such interesting details form the subject-matter of his compositions.

Traditional accounts of many of the villages of the Andhra country, and of some of the ruling dynasties of ancient times have been preserved to us in what are now known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and *Local Records*, housed in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Mackenzie, after whom the collection is named, was a remarkable person to whom, South Indians in general and the Andhras in particular, are much indebted. Colonel Collin Mackenzie was an Englishman. He came to India and joined the Madras Engineers in 1782. While he was serving under the East India Company, he toured throughout South India. In the course of such tours, he found many temples and other architectural structures of striking beauty which were unlike those he had seen before, and many stones bearing some kind of writing which, in some instances, differed from that in vogue in the locality. In fact, wherever he went, many things in the country around excited his curiosity, and as a consequence he was searching for one who could initiate him into the mysteries of this land. His desire was fulfilled when he established

contact with a young talented brāhmin, Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Borriah of Ellore in West Godavari district. He engaged him at his own expense to try his hand, if possible, at deciphering these quaint inscriptions found in the country, and to explain to him their content and also to tell him something about the language, literature and the religion of the people of the land. Borriah succeeded in deciphering inscriptions not only of the later but also of the early period written in Sanskrit and Hale Kannaḍa. When every one regarded these inscriptions as unintelligible and meaningless lines, scribbled by some superhuman beings in bygone ages, Borriah's decipherment was certainly a marvellous feat that speaks much of his genius. He was, without doubt, the first Indian epigraphist who successfully probed into the mysteries of ancient inscriptions. "The connection that I then formed" writes Mackenzie, "with one person, a native and a brāhmin (the lamented C. V. Borriah, then almost a youth, of the quickest genius and disposition, possessing that conciliatory turn of mind that soon reconciled all sects and all tribes to the course of inquiry followed in his surveys), was the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge. Devoid of any knowledge of the languages myself, I owe to the happy genius of this individual the encouragement and the means of obtaining what I had so long sought. On the reduction of Seringapatam, not one of our people could translate from the Canarese alone: at present we have translations made, not only from the modern characters but the more obscure, I had almost said, obsolete, characters of the *Śāsanams* (or inscriptions) in Canarese and Tamil; besides what have been made from the Sanskrit; of which, in my first years in India, I could scarcely obtain any information. From the moment the talents of the lamented Borriah were applied, a new avenue to Hindū knowledge was opened; and though I was deprived of him at an early age, his example and instructions were so happily followed up by his brethren and disciples, that an establishment was gradually formed, by which the whole of our province might be analysed, on the method thus fortuitously began and successfully followed." Mackenzie became the Surveyor-General of Madras in 1810. Soon after, he was called away to command the Engineers in Java (1811-15). He rose to the position of the Surveyor-General of India in 1816 and died near Calcutta in 1821. The activities of Mackenzie in this field and the results achieved by him cannot be described better than by the words of Lord Willingdon who, as the then Governor of Madras, happened to open the proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Madras in 1924. In his opening speech he says "Colonel Collin Mackenzie, who ended his career

as Surveyor-General devoted his spare time for a space of thirty eight years to collecting manuscripts bearing on history, ethnology, literature and tradition, chiefly of the country of south of the Kistna river..... The collections..... included as many as 1,568 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayālam, Uriya, Mahrathi, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Hindūstani, Javanese and Burman. In addition to these, he collected as many as 2,070 local tracts bearing on history and ethnology, 8,076 inscriptions, 79 plans, 2630 drawings, 6,218 coins, 106 images and 40 antiquities. The collection was purchased just a century ago by the Marquess of Hastings, then Governor General for a sum of £. 10,000. A large part of it consisting of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Javanese, and Burman books, with the plans, coins, images and sculptures, were sent to England; but the books and tracts in the languages of Southern India to the number of 5,31,255, local tracts and over 8,000 inscriptions were handed over to Madras. They were first lodged in the College Library, then entrusted in 1830 to the Madras Literary Society, then handed over in 1836 to the Rev. William Taylor to be examined with a view to publication. He published five reports in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science and started restoring the manuscripts, which were already becoming lost by the decay in the ink or the material..... Nothing more happened till 1846 when the books were returned to the College Library. About forty years later the collection was transferred to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.....". This collection is now known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. Some time later C. P. Brown who had done yeoman service to Telugu literature got some of the manuscripts recopied and bound in volumes which are now known as *Local Records or Kaiḥiyats*.

The *Gudikaṭṭu lekka* and its detailed edition, *Daṇḍakavile*, the two main account-books relating to *grāma* or village, and *Sima* or taluk, and the *Birudāsaḥi* or the titular account of a prince, *nāyak* or dynasty form the last, but by no means the least, of the sources that help us in reconstructing our ancient history. These account-books maintained from generation to generation, give full details regarding several items of the administration of a village or *Sima* like village services, temples, agriculture, irrigation, and handicrafts. The *Konḍuṭṭisima Daṇḍakavile* is a good example of the *Sima* account-books. '*Kavile*' means a record and the term '*daṇḍu*' seems to be a corruption of '*daṇḍu*' which means army or military. Judged by the name, these *Daṇḍakaviles* appear to have come into existence only

during the rule of the Gajapatis of Orissa who divided the country into military administrative divisions called *daṇḍapāḍus*. Koṇḍavīṭṭaṇḍapāḍu was one of such divisions. Even if they owe their origin to the Gajapatis it is certain that they contained in them all the information preserved in the previous accounts; for, they give us also a good account of the *simas* before the rule of the Gajapatis.

The Telugu work *Rāmairājīyam* written by Andugula Venkanna is a good specimen of the '*Bīrudāvalī*'. Vinnakōṭṭi Peddana, a Telugu poet of the fifteenth century called *bīrudāvalī* by the name '*Bīrudāvalī*' in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra-āṭīnāṇi*, a work on rhetoric. The Oriental Manuscripts Library preserves a Telugu manuscript containing the '*bīrudāvalīs*' of the seventy two Nāyaks that served under Kākati Pratāparudra of Warangal.

These are the sources from which evidence is drawn for reconstructing the history of the Reḍḍis, who were the main custodians of the Hindu religion and culture in the coastal region of the Andhra country in the mediaeval period, subsequent to the rule of the Kākatiya monarchs.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE TELUGU COUNTRY

A study of the political condition of the Andhra country at the time of the foundation of the Konḍaviḍu kingdom will give us the proper background to trace the history of the Redḍis and their relations with neighbouring powers.

After the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D., the whole of the Andhra country passed under the sway of the Tughlaq emperors of Delhi. They appointed 'amīrs', 'malīks' and other officers of state to carry on the administration of this newly-acquired province. Armies were stationed at all important centres in the country, and the nature of the administration was military. Many unjust taxes were imposed on agriculturists and collected with an iron hand. Money was squeezed from the rich without any consideration. Brāhmanas and cows were killed; *agrahāras* bestowed upon brāhman scholars by kings of yore, were confiscated, and all brāhmanical sacrifices and ritual were compulsorily stopped. Temples were desecrated and idols were broken. Drinking of wine, eating of beef, libertine indulgence, and brāhman-slaving became the creed of the Mussalmans'. Great was the opprobrium and horror attached to the Muslim rule. The Muslim officers appear to have made a total war against the Hindus and their religion. The copper-plate grant' of Viḷasa is a very remarkable, though solitary, document of his reign which gives a graphic account of the Telugu country under the Muslim domination. Their cruel and inhuman acts naturally evoked a keen yearning in the minds of the Hindu sufferers to protect, even at the cost of their lives, the cow and the brāhman, the two visible symbols of their *dharma*, one, of spiritual and the other, of material prosperity. The well-being of the Hindu Society rested chiefly on agriculture which was dependent on the cow, and on helpful rains in time caused, as the ancient Hindus believed, by the regular performance of brāhmanical sacrifices. The unwise policy adopted by the Muslim administrators, inflamed the Hindus intensely and a profound discontent prevailed all over the country. It knit them together for their emancipation from this oppressive political bondage.

1. *Forgotten chapter*, p. 20; Appendix, I. p. 103.

2. *Bhārati*, Vol. XIX (1912), March number.

Forgotten chapter, Appendix I, pp. 100-110.

The down-trodden Hindus did not remain long under the heel of the Muslims. A movement to throw off the foreign yoke and protect their *dharma* and culture was set on foot in the coastal tract of the Andhra country. All the nayaks living therein joined together into a confederacy with the common purpose of freeing the country from foreign domination, and to re-establish Hindu supremacy. Some old generals like Kolani Pratāpa Rudradīva and Annamantri who had survived Pratāparudra, the last of the Kākatiya monarchs, came forward to guide the movement and its destinies. Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family was chosen leader of the confederates. Since the Hindu records³ of the coastal region reappear from Śaka 1247 (1325 A.D.), it seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that in that year Prōlaya Nāyaka and his confederates rose in rebellion against the Muslim authorities and freed their region from foreign domination.

Prōlaya Nāyaka became the acknowledged leader of the coastal Andhra country and probably all the nobles in that region loyally obeyed his commands. He made Rēkapalli in the vicinity of the Gōdāvari (in the Bhadrachalam taluk of East Godavari district) his capital and re-established the Hindu *dharma*. He patronised Vēdic learning and revived Vēdic sacrifices in his dominion and re-endowed the *agrahāras* to their claimants, which were in their enjoyment until the Muslim occupation of the country. All the unjust taxes were repealed and peasants paid to the king as tax, a proper share of their produce even as enjoined in the *Śāstras*, in the same way as the ancient sages paid one-sixth of the fruit of their penance to the kings of their days. Prōlaya Nāyaka established law and order in the country and set right everything that was undone by the Mussalmans during their period of rule.

Encouraged by the success gained by the nobles of the coastal country the nāyaks of the western Andhra country (now known as the Rāyala Sīma) who were under the subjection of Malik Neby⁴, Muhammad bin Tughlaq's governor of Kanpili rose in the rebellion and made administration impossible under the leadership of the Cālukya ksatriya prince of the lunar race, Sōmadevarāja of the Aravēti family. They put the Muslim governor to flight, and captured the forts of Mosalimadugu, Sātānikōṭa, Kandanavol (Kurnul), Kalvakolanu, Rācūru,

3. N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 73, pp. 1022—29.

See for a discussion of the date—*Forgotten chapter*, p. 39, f. n. 7; and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 139, f. n. 5.

4. Swell's *Forgotten Empire*, Vide, Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz, p. 297. The Governor's name is given as Muhammad and Muhammad Maluka in the Telugu works *Bala Bhāgavatam* (*Dvīpāda kavyam*) and *Narapativijayam*.

(Raicur), Ētagiri (Etgir), and Gaṅginēnikoṇḍa. They fought several successful battles at Ānegondi, Mudugallu (Mudgal), and other places and drove away the Muslim officers⁵. The names of the battle-fields and of the forts indicate the extent of the region over which Sōmadē-varaja operated during this rebellion. From the forts he had captured and the battles he had won, it is evident that a great part of the southern portion of the present Hyderabad state also came into his possession. He appointed his kinsmen, and officers as governors of those forts which they retained in their possession for a long time. Western Andhra country thus slipped out of the control of the Muslim authorities most probably about 1328-29 A. D.

Prōlaya Nāyaka and his paternal uncle's son, Kāpā Nēḍu or Kāpaya Nāyaka did not stop their efforts with the re-conquest of the coastal region. To deliver the entire Andhra country from the Muslim domination was their sole aim and object. In achieving that end Prōlaya Nāyaka appears to have been unsuccessful; one is not sure if he ever made any attempts in that direction. As his name is not mentioned by any of the Muslim historians in connection with the rebellion of Waraṅgal, it is reasonable to conclude that he did not live long to carry out his cherished wish.

The mantle of Prōlaya Nāyaka fell on his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka who succeeded him as the leader of the chiefs of the coastal tract. To fulfil his object he secretly carried on negotiations with the Hindus of the Waraṅgal country and the neighbouring Hindu monarchs like Ballāla III of Dvārasamudra, to make common cause for emancipation from the Muslim rule. His plans succeeded and under his leadership the Hindus of Waraṅgal rose in rebellion in Śaka 1258 - 59 (1336-37 A.D.) against the Muslim governors in Teliṅgānā above the Ghats. Defeating them in battle they drove them away, and captured the fort of Waraṅgal. Thus was the Hindu independence of Teliṅgānā established once again. Kāpā Nēḍu of Isāny, Kanyā Naik of Baranī, Kabā Nāyand of Aziz-Ullā Tabātabā, Kaṁbā Naik and Krishn Naik of Ferishta, who is said to have been the leader of the Hindu insurgents of Waraṅgal, is no other than Kāpaya Nāyaka, the cousin of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family. After driving away the Mussalmans from Teliṅgānā he made Waraṅgal his capital.

Kāpaya Nāyaka became the chosen leader and the uncrowned king of the entire Andhra country and assumed the titles Andhra-dēśādhiśvara, lord of the Andhra country, and Andhra Suratrāṇa, the

5. *Forgotten chapter* pp. 48-51.

sultan of the Andhras. He was served, according to the Kaluvacēṅṅu grant⁶ of Anitalli, by the traditional seventy five nāyaks of the Andhra country, the descendants of the nobles that had served the last Kākatiya monarch. The different nāyaks in the country appear to have ruled, as of old, their hereditary *niyōgas* or provinces under their charge independently, while formally acknowledging him as their overlord.

The liberation of the Andhra land from foreign domination naturally brought about a change in the attitude and outlook of the Hindu nobles in different parts of the country. The sentiment that had fired their imagination and united them for a common purpose, failed to animate them further to work together soon after the attainment of independence. The first flush of enthusiasm, consequent on their gaining a signal victory over the Imperial forces of Delhi, evoked in their hearts a note of self-confidence and self-reliance fostering in them an independent spirit. The victory they had won, begot in them a false and pernicious sense of prestige and power which naturally tended to discord and cleavage. The ideal for which they had united and fought, was lost sight of in no time, and each one of the chiefs began to assert his power and extend his authority at the expense of the other. As a consequence, these principalities developed soon into independent states with an aggressively autonomous attitude, which, if it did nothing else, served to make unity among them well nigh impossible. This attitude of the nobles tended to deprive Kapaya Nayaka of his leadership of the Andhra country, and his dominion comes to be counted as only one of the several new kingdoms, established in the early post-Kākatiya period.

During this period there were as many kingdoms and principalities as there were chiefs, chief of them being the kingdoms of Waraṅgal of the Musunūri chiefs, of Rācakonḍa of the Padma Velama chiefs, of Vijayanagar of the kṣatriyas of the yadava clan, and of Koṅḍavīḍu of the Redḍis of the Paṇṭa clan, besides the comparatively small principalities of the Mañcikonḍa Nayaks of Koṅḱonḍa and the Koppula chieftains of Piṭhāpuram. Besides these there was the ancient kingdom of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kāliṅga with its fiefs.

6. J.A.S.P., Vol. IV, pp. 93-112; Vide, vv. 23-33. *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, Nos. June and July (1941); This grant was re-edited by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. The number of Nayaks that served the last Kakatiya monarch is given differently in inscriptions and literature. It is given as seventy-seven in the *Velugotuturi Vainśavali* and in the *Caṭṭas* in the second part of the *Caṭṭapadya nāyamañjirī* (pp. 6-63), seventy-two in the introductory verses in the *Śrīraṅgaśarāṅg* (Subhashī 1927, October number), and as seventy-five in the Kaluvacēṅṅu grant (A.S.P.P., IV, verse 30).

The Kingdom of Waraṅgal :

An account of the careers of Prōlaya Nāyaka, and Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family who liberated the Coastal Andhra country and Telingānā respectively, and the distinguished part they played in the history of the Deccan were detailed in the earlier work "*A Forgotten chapter of Andhra history.*" That brochure is really in the nature of a prologue to the history of the Reddi kingdoms of the Andhra country which forms the subject of the present treatise. Hence, only the broad features of the history of Waraṅgal after its re-conquest by Kāpaya Nāyaka are noted down here.

Kāpaya Nāyaka inherited much of the old kingdom of the Kākatīya monarchs which extended from Kaulas and Bidar in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. In spite of the victory he had gained over his enemies in 1336-37 A.D., he was not sure of his ground and was uncertain of his throne; for he was apprehensive of an invasion of Telingānā at any moment by Sultān Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq of Delhi. In order to protect himself from this danger and to safeguard his kingdom, Kāpaya Nāyaka made common cause with the rebel Centurions of the Deccan and despatched a considerable force in aid of Jāfar Khān, one of their leaders, when such help was needed most. These Centurions vanquishing the Imperial forces, and putting an end to the authority of the Sultan in the Deccan country, set up a new independent Muslim state contiguous to the kingdom of Waraṅgal, and elected Jāfar Khān as their king. Jāfar Khān ascended the throne in 1347 A.D., assuming the title of Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gaṅgu Bahman Shah, and became the founder of the new Bahmanī kingdom which played a very important part in the history of South India for over a century and a quarter. His capital was Gulbarga.

Kāpaya Nāyaka very soon realised that the trust he placed in Jāfar Khan, now Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh, was misplaced and the aid he gave him was misdirected; for Alā-ud-Dīn, almost from the inception of the Bahmanī kingdom, waged war with the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms in order to reduce them to submission, and to extend his authority. Kāpaya Nāyaka's kingdom did not prove an exception. He realised also that he could not bestow much attention on the affairs of the coastal region, having in his neighbourhood a growing Muslim power which was bent upon wiping out the independent Hindu kingdoms. So, he appointed his cousin Toyvōḍi Anavōtā Nāyaka as his viceroy over the coastal region. The latest record of the reign of Kāpaya Nāyaka in the coastal country is dated in Śaka 1268 (1346 A.D.) and that of his cousin Anavōtā Nāyaka in Śaka 1269 (1347 A.D.). These

records roughly indicate the date of the appointment of Anavōtā Nāyaka as the Viceroy of the coastal Andhra country.

Soon after his accession to the throne, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh led a successful invasion against Teliṅgānā and compelled Kāpaya Nāyaka to sign a treaty by ceding him the fortress of Kaulas with its dependencies. This defeat at the hands of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh affected Kapaya Nāyaka's prestige and power and considerably weakened his authority over the coastal Andhra country.

The death of Sultān Muḥammad Bin Tughlaq gave 'Ala-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah further encouragement and freedom to prosecute his cherished wish of re-conquering all the country previously subject to the Sultans of Delhi. With this object he launched an extensive campaign, during which he once again invaded the kingdom of Teliṅgana in about S. 1278/1356-57 A.D. The cause of this second invasion appears to be that Kapaya Nāyaka did not become 'Ala-ud-Dīn's vassal paying an annual tribute, even though he had already ceded to the Sultān Kaulas with its dependencies. The Muslim historians credit 'Ala-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah with victory this time also. They state that, inflicting a severe defeat, 'Ala-ud-Dīn compelled Kāpaya Nāyaka to pay the annual tribute he had heretofore been remitting to the Sultan of Delhi and to cede further again the fortress of Bhōnagir (Tribhuvanagiri) which thence forward became the eastern boundary of the Bahmanī kingdom.

Kapaya Nāyaka made a bid to recover his lost possessions soon after the death of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah in 1359 A.D., with the help of the king of vijayanagar. He sent his son⁷ Vinayak Dēv, the fief-holder

7. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that Vinayak Dev was a cousin of the Rēcerla chief, Anavōtā Nāyaka I and it was to chastise him that Muḥammad Shah I Bahmanī led his forces to Velampattan (VI. Vm., intro, XII). He also says that the death of Kapaya at the hands of the Velamas "took place in 1369 A.D., or a little earlier". Vinayak Dēv was already dead by A. H. 764 (*Forgotten Chapter* Appendix, IV, p. 127). This year begins in October 1362 A.D. The Lucknow text of *Perishta* furnishes also the date of Muḥammad Shah's expedition to Velampattan against Vinayak Dev as A.H. 763. This year commences from the 31st of October, 1361 A.D., and ends on 21st October 1362 (Saka 1281). We know also from VI. Vm., that Anavōtā I avenged the death of his father, Siṅgama Nāyaka in Saka 1283 (Śikhi-kari-Bhānu) and from VV. Cr., (appendices, Nos. 6, 7 and 8) that he was fortifying Rajukōṇḍa in Saka 1287; The earliest inscription to mention the conquest of Waraṅgal by Anavōtā I is his Ainavolu record dated in 1369 A.D., (Saka 1291) which clearly states that he made the gift registered thereon after returning from a successful military campaign (*Forgotten Chapter*, p. 98). In the light of the above-mentioned facts I am not inclined to indentify Vinayak Dev with Naga Nāyaka, the cousin of Anavōtā I.

of Velampattān who re-conquered Bhōnagir and was preparing to recover Kaulas also. Having heard this news Muhammad Shāh I (1359 A.D. to 1376 A.D.), the son and successor of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh proceeded at once by rapid marches to Velampattān and laid seige to the fort. Vināyak Dēv escaped to the citadel which was forthwith invested, and finally reduced. He was then captured and burnt alive.

Exasperated by the inhuman and cruel death meted out to his son, Kāpaya Nāyaka grew desperate and appealed to Sultān, Firūz Shāh of Delhi, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq for help to crush the Bahmanī power, promising him at the same time to bring the whole of the Deccan once again under the sway of the Emperors of Delhi. This appeal did not bear fruit. Enraged by the reported overtures of Kāpaya Nāyaka to the Delhi court, Muhammad Shāh I invaded Teliṅgānā and ravaged the whole country in Sāka 1288 / 1366 A.D. Kāpaya Nāyaka was reduced to straits and applied for quarter. A treaty was subsequently drawn up between the king of Waraṅgal and the Sultān of the Bahmanī kingdom, by which the former "ceded the hill fort of Gōlconḍa in perpetuity to the Sultān besides presenting him three hundred elephants, two thousand valuable horses and thirty three lacs of rupees" as indemnity. Gōlconḍa since then became the boundary between the Bahmanī and Waraṅgal kingdoms. Muhammad Shāh I is said to have warned his successors not to molest the kingdom of Waraṅgal as long as its rulers refrained from breaking their faith. On this occasion Kāpaya Nāyaka presented to Muhammad Shāh I a beautiful throne studded with emeralds which was, therefore, called *Tukht-i-Firūza*.

While Kāpaya Nāyaka was involved in struggle with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga the Rūccerla chief Siṅgama Nāyaka I launched a campaign for territorial aggrandisement, and even challenged the authority of Kāpaya Nāyaka, the acknowledged leader till then of the confederacy of nobles of the Andhra country in succession to his cousin Prōlaya Nāyaka. After the death of Siṅgama Nāyaka in Sāka 1283 (1361 A.D.) his son Anavōtā Nāyaka led an expedition to the north, accompanied by his brother Mādā Nāyaka I and his son Peda Vōdagiri Nāyaka, and contended with Kāpaya Nāyaka for supremacy over Teliṅgānā. The hostile armies met in the present Waraṅgal district of the Hyderabad state, and a fierce battle was fought at Bhīmavaram in about Sāka 1289-90 (1367-68 A. D.) in which Kāpaya Nāyaka was defeated and slain. Thus came to an abrupt end the rule of the Msunūri chiefs over Teliṅgānā. None of the descendants of Kāpaya Nāyaka is known to history.

The Kingdom of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa :

The Rēcerla chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, Padma Velamas by caste, served the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal from the time of Gaṇapatidēva, as commanders and vassals, and rose to distinction and power. Their history however virtually begins in the post-Kākatiya period from the time of Anavōta I, son of Siṅgama Nāyaka I. Though his father laid the foundations of their power by his conquests to the south of Rājukoṇḍa or Rājacala, it was only his son Anavōta, the real architect who built the edifice of the Rēcerla kingdom. Rājukoṇḍa, one of the important towns in the Rēcerla territory until his time, became his capital. Anavōta made it impregnable by the construction of fort walls, ramparts, tanks and wells*. He came to the throne in Saka 1283 (1361 A.D.) and ruled till about Saka 1306 (1384 A.D.). After slaying Kāpaya Nāyaka in the battle of Bhīmavaram he took possession of the Waraṅgal kingdom and became the sole ruler of the whole of Telingānā. He was ruling the forts of Waraṅgal, Bhōnagir, Rājukoṇḍa and others in the Telugu country by Saka 1291 (July 1369 A.D.), the date of his Ainavōlu inscription. From his time Waraṅgal was reduced to a secondary position.

Anavōta Nāyaka I, stationed at Dēvarakoṇḍa his brother Mada Nāyaka who ruled the territory around it with its dependencies. Since that time Dēvarakoṇḍa became the capital of the descendants of Mada Nāyaka in the same way as Rājukoṇḍa was that of the off-spring of his brother Anavōta I. The Kingdom of Dēvarakoṇḍa was subordinate to, and formed only an integral part of the Kingdom of Rājukoṇḍa. Though the chiefs of the collateral lines acted independently in their respective dominions, they whole-heartedly co-operated with one another and worked together as one in the best interests of the united Rēcerla kingdom, in dealing with foreign powers and protecting the integrity of their state. The so-called partition of the Rēcerla kingdom, adverted to in the Annals of the Rēcerla chiefs, between Anavōta Nāyaka and Mada Nāyaka seems to be nothing but a convenient administrative arrangement and a territorial adjustment between the brothers which contributed to the strength and not to the weakness of the Rēcerla kingdom as a whole.

It is interesting to note that the Bahmani Sultans of Gulbarga did not invade the kingdom of Telingānā even once after it passed into the hands of the Rēcerla kings. It might be that the chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa were actually in alliance with the Bahmani Sultan against Kāpaya Nāyaka

8. Inscriptions recording construction of these works by Anavota are given in Appendices nos. 6, 7 and 8 to Vv. Cr., (Vide pp. 27-29) ;
Forgotten chapter, p. 95.

and that, on the death of the latter in the battle of Bhīnavaram, the former ratified their conquest of the waraṅgal kingdom, subject to their adherence to the terms of his former treaty concluded with Kāpaya Nāyaka. This was probably the reason for the friendly attitude of the Bahmanī Sultāns towards the Rēcerla rulers of Rājukoṇḍa. Anavōta I and his successors were very loyal to the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga and assisted them in their campaigns even against their Hindu compatriots. The Bahmanī Sultāns, in their turn, rendered assistance to the Rēcerla kings when their territory was overrun by their Hindu adversaries. For little over a half of a century from the time of Anavōta Nāyaka I the political relations between these two neighbouring states, the Hindu and the Muslim, were very cordial.

Virtually, from the inception of the Rājukoṇḍa kingdom the Rēcerla kings were at war with their neighbouring Hindu powers of Vijayanagar and Koṇḍaviḍu in the south and south-east respectively. The river Kṛṣṇā separated the Rājukoṇḍa kingdom from both the Vijayanagar and Koṇḍaviḍu kingdoms.

Anavōta I and Māda I were succeeded by their sons Siṅga Nāyaka II and Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu respectively. Siṅga II (cir. 1384 to cir. 1399 A.D.), Kumāra Siṅga as he was also called, was a great Sanskrit Scholar and a great patron of letters. During his reign Peda Vēdagiri, his cousin and contemporary at Dēvarakoṇḍa, afforded asylum to the Ēruva chief, Annadēva Cōḍa who was dispossessed of his principality in the coastal region by the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. This factor further embittered and complicated the relations between the Rēcerla chiefs and the Redḍi kings, and turned the enmity between the two rival houses into a family feud, which continued with unabated vigour until the end of the Redḍi rule.

Siṅga II was succeeded by his son Anavōta II, also called Kumārānnavōta (cir. 1399 A.D. to cir. 1425 A.D.). Kumāra Māda Nāyaka, son of Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu was his contemporary at Dēvarakoṇḍa. Closely following in the foot-steps of their fathers both these rulers adopted the same policy of hostility with their Redḍi contemporaries. Anavōta II however deviated from the traditional policy of loyal subordination to the neighbouring Muslim state and joined the Vijayanagar forces when Panugal near Nallagoṇḍa was besieged by Sultān Firūz Shāh in 1417 A.D. The Rēcerla kings were however unable to maintain this policy of friendship and co-operation with their Hindu ally of Vijayanagar consistently in later times, owing to persistent invasions of their territory by Firūz Shāh's brother and successor, Ahmad Shāh I who ruled the Bhamanī kingdom from Bīdar, the capital which he had built newly.

Kumāra Anavōṭa's son Sarvajña Śiṅgama Nāyaka III (Cir. 1425 A.D. to cir. 1475 A.D.) and Liṅgama Nēḍu, son of Kumāra Mādā Nāyaka who inherited their respective kingdoms after the death of their fathers, often swerved in their loyalty to the Sultāns of Bidar and joined hands occasionally either with the kings of Vijayanagar or with the powerful king Kapilēśwara, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty of Cuttack who newly established his power in Saka 1538 / 1435-36 A.D., after the fall of the Eastern Gāṅga line of Kaḷiṅga.

Liṅgama Nēḍu, the last powerful ruler of Dēvarakonda is credited to have led incursions into the Redḍi kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu and Rājamahēndravaram even from his twelfth year and carried the rivalry between both the houses to logical conclusion, until the subversion of the Redḍi kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram which outlived Koṇḍaviḍu for about a quarter of a century.

It was during the closing years of the reign of Ahmad Shāh I that the Rēcerla chiefs lost Waraṅgal and Rājukonḍa. Liṅgama Nēḍu struggled hard in vain to recover the lost possessions of the Rēcerlas. Rājukonḍa waned as a power and sank into oblivion amidst the din of strife and struggle.

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar :

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was in fact the re-formed and enlarged edition of the sate of Kāmpili, and came into existence during the momentous period of the Hindu re-conquest of Waraṅgal.

The Muslim convert-captive Harihara Dēvarāya was released from prison along with his brothers and appointed governor of Kāmpili by Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, to crush the rebellion of the Hindus against the Muslim governor stationed there, to recover the lost territory of the kingdom of Kāmpili, and to re-establish law and order in the country. Though Harihara succeeded partially in fulfilling his mission he was yet opposed by the neighbouring rulers and did not inspire confidence even in his own subjects, the Hindus of the kingdom. He struggled hard to make himself popular in the country, and soon followed the example of Kāpaya Nāyaka. Apostatising from *Islām* he won the favour and confidence of the sage Vidyāranya of the Pāṁpā Virūpākṣatīrtha, and defying the authority of the Emperor, asserted his independence.

With the guidance and help of Vidyāranya, and with the close collaboration of his brothers Kāmpa I, Bukka I, Marapa and Muddapa who, implicitly obeying him, carried out his commands. Harihara Dēvarāya set himself to subdue the neighbouring states and extend his

authority. The old state of Kāmpili was thus transformed into the mighty Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar under the spell of Vidyāranya, the friend, guide and philosopher of the first three rulers of Vijayanagar, namely, Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II, and was re-fashioned into a bulwark of Hinduism under the able guidance of that sage.

Harihara I had his capital first at Ānegondi and then at Vijayanagar on the banks of the Tūṅgabhdra which was built in commemoration of the victory won and in the name of his guru Vidyāranya. Harihara I rallied the Hindus under his banner and created a powerful Hindu state to safe-guard the Hindu interests and to counteract the spread of *Islām*.

Within a few years after the birth of Vijayanagar in about 1336-37 A. D. (Saka 1258) Harihara I and his brothers by their united effort were successful in making it a power to reckon with, and extended their authority far and wide from the eastern to the western seas. By taking on itself the onerous task of protecting the Hindu *dharma* and by spreading the new message of unity among the Hindus irrespective of their sectarian differences, in order to defy and check the Muslim advance, the new kingdom of Vijayanagar rapidly grew into a formidable power, which attracted to its bosom and nurtured in it all the scattered and dissipated forces of Hinduism. Vijayanagar soon became the symbol of Hinduism and the citadel of Hindu culture and stoutly resisted the onslaughts of the aggressive *Islām* and arrested its southward march.

Within a decade after the foundation of Vijayanagar, Udayagiri in the Kavali taluk of Nellore district became its chief fortress in the east. It was constituted into a separate province called Udayagiri Rājya, attaching to it all the territory which the kings of Vijayanagar conquered in the east. Udayagiri was thus from almost the beginning of the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu, a strong military base of the Vijayanagar rulers, from which they carried on their operations into enemy's territory with ease and facility. The fortress of Udayagiri thus became a constant menace to the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu ever threatening its very existence. It was during the reigns of Bukka's son Harihara II (1377 A. D., to 1404 A. D.) and his son Dēvarāya I (1406 A. D., to 1422 A. D.) that the Vijayanagar kingdom expanded in all directions in leaps and bounds. King Dēvarāya's foreign policy successfully crippled the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu.

The Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar became also the target of attack by the Bahmanī Sultāns who tried their might in vain to reduce it to vassalage. They were however successful in annexing much of the

territory lying between the rivers Tungabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, even from the time of Harihara I. Though the successors of Harihara I extended their power over the whole of the South Indian peninsula and even over Ceylon and were thus amply recompensated for their loss of territory in the north, they did not keep quiet without attempting to recover the doab region. Thus, from almost the beginning of their rule the doab region between the river Tungabhadra and the Kṛṣṇa became the bone of contention between the two powers, the Bahamani Sultans of Gulbarga and the Rayas of Vijayanagar. Many a deadly battle was fought with equal tenacity on either side between the Muslims and the Hindus, during the next two centuries and a quarter, battles which measured their depth of unity, their strength of organisation, their capacity of statesmanship, their ardour of faith and intensity of purpose.

The Koppula Chiefs:

The existence of this minor dynasty of feudatory chiefs, Vīrasāmantas as they were called, is revealed to us for the first time from the Donepūṇḍi grant of Namaya Nayaka dated in Saka 1259. This grant informs us that these chiefs established their sway over the region to the north of the Godāvari, and that their territory, known as Andhrakhaṇḍamaṇḍala comprising a portion of the Andhra country, extended from the banks of the Godavari in the south to Kāliṅga in the north. Pithapuri, the modern Pithāpuram in East Godavari district, was their capital. What little we know of this family is derived from the grant referred to above and a few lithic records at Simhachalam in Vizagpatam district.

The first member of this family referred to in the Dōnepūṇḍi grant is Kapaya Nayaka. His son Prōlaya Nayaka had, by Cōdamāmbā, a son named Namaya Nayaka who had the title of *pagameccuganḍa*, the hero admired by his adversaries. He ruled the country "nourished by the river Elā". This river, now popularly called Elēru, runs through the Yellavaram and Pithapuram divisions and the Peddapuram taluk of East Godavari district. Namaya granted the village of Donepūṇḍi, after re-naming it Prōlōram (corruption of the name of Prōlavaram) after his father, as an *agrahāra* to a brahman, named Gaṇapati of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who was well-versed in Vēdic lore and Praśnaṣṭaka. The Dōnepūṇḍi grant does not furnish any more information about the history of this family'.

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 356 ff.

9. The Mallōśvara Svamin temple at Bezvada contains an inscription (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 765) dated in Saka 1189 registering the gift of a lamp to god Mallōśvara by *Pagameccuganḍa* Koṃppula (not Koppula) Prōli Nayaka, Muppa Sani, Doḍḍa Devara and Nagana Bōyudu for the merit of their grand-father, Goppa Maḍeḍḍi (? Koppula Maḍeḍḍi), of their father, Nare Bōyudu, of their mother, Kama Sani, and of their elder brothers Kornupati Erapōti Nāyaka and Doinkena Mar Neḍu. The family name (Koṃppula) despite its slight variation and the title, *pagameccuganḍa* point to the fact that this might be an early record of the Koppula family. The chiefs of this Bezvada record seem therefore to have been the ancestors of Namaya Nayaka of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant (Vide, my article, Koppula chiefs in J.A.H.C., Vol. I, pp. 42-47 ff.).

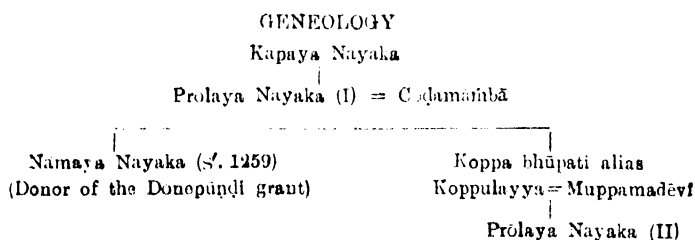
There are some more records of the Koppula chiefs at Simhachalam to be taken into account; one¹⁰ of them damaged and undated, furnishes the ancestry of the Koppula chiefs for four generations beginning with Kapaya Nāyaka. Kāpa's son was Prō a I. His son was Koppula Nāyaka or Koppulayya. He had a son named Prōlaya Nāyaka II. The record then refers to the wife of some one, most probably of Prōlaya Nāyaka II himself, who is compared to the wives of Madhudviṭ (Viṣṇu) and Mahōśvara. Unfortunately the record is damaged here and the last portion of the inscription is lost. As such, her actual name is unknown. Kāpa of this record seems to be identical with his namesake, the grandfather of Nāmaya Nāyaka.

Another record¹¹ registers the grant of Adulapalli (Aṁdulāpalli) for 'pṛaṇecccugandabhoga' by Muppamadēvi, wife of Koppulayya in the Śaka year 1310 (1388 A. D.)¹²

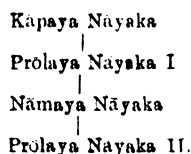
10. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 822.

11. Ibid., No. 823.

12. The genealogy of the Koppula chiefs may be formulated as shown below with the aid of their records, referred to above.



It is possible to interpret the term Nāma in the passage "Koppula Nāma Bhupala" (S.I.I., VI, 823, l. 3) as a proper name. In that case the genealogy of the family has to be modified as follows :



But it is not possible to fix the place of Koppulayya, husband of Muppamadēvi in the genealogy as his relationship with the other known members of the family is not known. Similarly, the position of two other members of the family, namely Kapi Nāyaka and Nāma Bhūpala mentioned in two other Simhachalam records dated Śaka 1281 (S.I.I., VI, 821) and Śaka 1291 (ibid., 921) respectively, is also uncertain.

It seems likely that Kāpaya Nāyaka¹³ was the first member of the Koppula family to hold office of Nāyaka (*āyokatano*) under the Kakatiyas. His son Prōla I, probably a contemporary of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, co-operated with him in liberating the coastal region of the Andhra country from the Muslims. Prōla's son, Nāmaya Nāyaka was the first independent and powerful ruler in this family who ruled the 'Andhra-khaṇḍa-maṇḍala'. If Nāmaya Nāyaka's rule is taken to have extended over the Guddavādi viṣaya also, he should have ruled the entire region from the east coast up to the Yellavaram division in East Godavari district.

What became of the Koppula chiefs subsequent to Nāmaya Nāyaka's rule is not known. Andulapalli, the village granted by Muppmadēvi, to God Simhaśrinātha, is in the Sarvasiddhi taluk of Vizagapatam district. Hence, it is evident that the latter members of the Koppula family were obliged to move further north owing to the pressure from the neighbouring chiefs in the South. Koṭham in the Tuni division of East Godavari district appears to have been their capital. This town was known as "Koppulavari Koṭṭham"¹⁴; Koṭṭham of the Koppula people even at the beginning of the seventeenth century. No records of Koppa Bhūpati or Koppulayya have so far come to light. We may not be far wrong in supposing that he lived in the latter half of the fourteenth century or about Śaka 1280. Granted a rule of twenty five years from Śaka 1259, the date of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant, Nāmaya Nāyaka's reign comes to a close in Śaka 1284 on the presumption that the grant was issued in the beginning of his reign. Who succeeded Nāmaya Nāyaka is still a problem.

Annadēva Cōḍa, a chieftain of the Cōḍa family credits his father Cōḍa Bhaktirāja with having defeated the Gaḷapati in the east in the battle at Pañcadhārla (in the Sarvasiddhi taluk, Vizagapatam District) and of having crowned Koppulapati,¹⁵ probably identical with Koppa-

13. In No. 822 the first line, though damaged, suggests that Kapaya was the lord of the country of Gudravaṭi, surrounded by the Gautami and the Kṛṣṇa. Gudravaṭi seems to be the same as the ancient Gudrahara or Gudravara Viṣaya, and to have a close resemblance to Guddavaṭi or Guddavadi of the Eastern Calukya grants. Gudravara Viṣaya comprised the taluks of Bandar and Guḍivaḍa in the Kistna district and Guddavadi, of Rajole, Cocanada and Ramachandrapuram taluks in East Godavari district either partly or wholly. It is likely that Gudravaṭi and Gudravara were originally two districts whether combined or separate, and went by the name of Gudravara. In support of this conjecture the Pithapuram pillar inscription of the Velanāṭi chief Pithivisvara may be cited. It refers to Gudravara-dvaya, two territorial divisions, named Gudravara (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV., p. 41, v. 18). See also J.A.H.C., Vol. I pp. 45-46).

14. S. I. I. Vol. VI. No. 1184.

15. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 141 ff;

J. A. H. R. S., Vol. 1, p. 188.

though at first he was unwilling to do so. He married the niece of Kapaya Nayaka, who was given the title of 'Andhra Suratrāṇa' in the Akkalapūṇḍi grant. Mummaḍi Nayaka had his capital at Kōḡukonḍa, not far from Rajamahēndravaram. He appointed his two brothers, Siṅgaya Nayaka and Gannaya Nayaka at Kōṭipuri" and at Taḍipāka (Taṭipāka in the Rajōle taluk, East Godavari district). Siṅgaya Nayaka who had the title "Gaṇḍagōpāla" fixed his capital at Mummaḍivīḍu on the banks of the river, Paṁpā.

The Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nayaka record the re-granting of the village of Kōṭṭāllapattu to Śrīraṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam by the mother of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara," the original recipient of the village from Mummaḍi Nayaka. Siṅgaya Nayaka's grant of the village of Akkalapūṇḍi to Parahita-Paṇḍita who was well versed in Ayurvēda is registered in the Akkalapūṇḍi record.

Besides these two copper-plate grants there is another stone record" of Mummaḍi Nayaka of Śaka 1275, inscribed on a pillar set up in the court-yard of the Lakṣmīnarasiṁhasvāmin temple on the hill at Kōḡukonḍa. This inscription referring to the foundation of the temple of Narasiṁhasvāmin who was believed to be an incarnation of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, records Mummaḍi's gift of lands and villages to that temple. From these inscriptions we come to know that the Kōḡukonḍa chiefs rose to power only after the downfall of the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal

Kēśami Nayaka and his son, Gaṇapati Nayaka were probably some chiefs of note during the last days of the Kākatiya rule. The Kōḡukonḍa record refers to Kēśami Nayaka's victory over the Pāṇḍyas", probably during the southern campaign of the last Kākatiya monarch,

21. Some historians like Chilukūri Virabhadra Rao took this "Kōṭyātipuri" to be the Kōṭhām in the Tuni division of East Godavari district (An. Cr., III, p. 123). This identification is untenable. Kōṭṭhām was the capital of the Koppala chiefs, who were contemporaries of Mummaḍi Nayaka and Siṅgaya Nayaka. Kōṭi may be Kōṭipalli in the Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Godavari District. Mummaḍivīḍu (probably modern Mummidivaram in the Amalapuram taluk, East Godavari district) is not very far from Kōṭipuri (Kōṭipalli) in the same district.
22. About Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, see the chapter on Religion in Part II of this work.
23. Ep. Coll., No. 44 of 1912.
The kaffiyat of Kr states that dēvadāśi Lakṣmī got representations of war scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, of the daśavatāra of God Viṣṇu and of Aṣṭa dikpālas, lords of the eight quarters sculptured on the black stone walls of the Vināṇa of the temple of Nṛsiṁha and that Mummaḍi Nayaka presented the Cakrapāda on the temple. The hill on which the temple was built is called Parāśara Śāila, since god Narasiṁha is believed to be an incarnation of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara.
24. The passage describing Kēśami Nayaka begins thus "Vijitya yah Paṇḍyam - abandhi....." etc.,

Pratāparudra. Kūnaya Nāyaka, son of Gaṇapati Nāyaka was a contemporary of the Musunūri chiefs, Prōla and Kāpa. He got his son, Mummaḍi Nāyaka married to the niece (sister's daughter) of Andhra Suratrāpa Kāpaya Nāyaka, unmistakably of the Musunūri family. This alliance with Kāpaya Nāyaka enhanced the prestige of Kūnaya Nāyaka's family and raised his status among the Vīrasāmantas of his age. Kūnaya Nāyaka probably helped Kāpaya Nāyaka's cousin Anavōta in the administration of the coastal region. It is likely that Kūnavaram in the Bhadrachalam taluk of East Godavari district, situated at the confluence of the Sabari with the Gōḍavari was founded, by Kūnaya Nāyaka after his own name. If this is taken to be true it indicates in a way the extent of territory over which Kūnaya exercised his Sway.

It is probable that Anavōta of the Musunūri family died sometime before Saka 1275-1353 A. D., without leaving any heir to the throne of Rājamahēndravaram. In these circumstances Mummaḍi Nāyaka seems to have assumed the reins of government in deference to the wishes of his father about Saka 1275. Thus came into existence the kingdom of Kōḡukonḍa, once served as a military outpost to keep in check the wild people living in the mountainous region in the north from incursions into the fertile plain below. Probably during the reign of Mummaḍi Nāyaka it was converted into a strong and formidable fortress on the north bank of the Gōḍavari.

From the statements in the Kōḡukonḍa epigraph and the Śrīraṅgaṃ grant of Mummaḍi Nāyaka we are led to believe that with the death of Toyycūti Anavōta, the region between Rājamahēndravaram and the sea on either side of the Gōḍavari was lost to the Musunūri Chiefs, and that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, as their representative by virtue of his ties of relationship with Kāpaya Nāyaka, conquered most of this region afresh. He is said to have brought under his subjection the kingdoms of Pānāra, Kōṇa, Kuravaṭa, Ceṅgaṅa and others lying on either side of the Gōḍavari. It is, thus, evident that the kingdom of Mummaḍi Nāyaka was contiguous, in the north, with the dominion of the Koppula chiefs. The countries conquered by Mummaḍi Nāyaka can be identified and located.

Pānāra : The term Panāra is a popular but corrupt form of Pāvunavāra, Pāḡunavara or Pāḡuṇāra, the ancient name of the country between the Vaśiṣṭha branch of the Gōḍavari and the river Gujantani, popularly called Gōṣṭani nadi that runs through the Bhīmavaram and Tanuku taluks of West Godavari district. This territorial division finds mention as Pāvunavāra and Pāḡunavāra in the

records of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgī. It thus comprises the modern taluks of Narasāpuram, Bhīmavaram and a portion, if not all, of Tanuku in West Godavari District ”.

Kōṇa : The country of Kōṇa was also called ‘*Reṇḍēṅula naḍimi-
viṣaya*’, that is, the region between the Vasiṣṭha and the Vṛddha
Gautamī, the two main branches of the Gōdavarī. It was the hereditary
kingdom of the Haihayas, the descendants of Kārtavīryarjuna.
Mummaḍi Bhīma, the first member known so far of this Haihaya royal
line received, in the middle of the eleventh century, the insignia of
royalty from Rajendra Cōḍa, otherwise known as Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I.
Since that time the Haihayas were the rulers of that fertile
Kōṇa country for nearly more than two centuries. Throughout the
period of their rule they were destined to be subordinate to the
sovereign power of the country, either of the Eastern Cālukyas of
Vēṅgī, or of the Kakatiyas of Waraṅgal or of some other power. After
the deliverance of the Coastal region from the Muslim yoke it is
probable that they were subordinate to the Musunūri chiefs who extended
their power even over the Kōṇa country as is evident from the new
vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka.

Subsequent to Śaka 1222 the records of the Haihayas are
very rare. Only three records, two²⁵ of Kōṇa Bhīmavallabha of Śaka
1240 and Śaka 1286 and two²⁶ of Kōṇa Cōḍa, have so far come to light.
Cōḍa’s inscription is found in Kaṭiṅga, and Bhīmavallabha’s in the
Panara country. As this chief was a contemporary of Mummaḍi it is
likely that he was defeated and brought under subjection by the latter,
if his talk of conquest of Kōṇa and Pānāra countries is not a mere boast.
Kōṇa Bhīmavallabha’s connection with the main ruling line of the
Haihaya chiefs is not yet known.

Kurāvāṭa : This country is probably identical with the region
around Kuravāṭa, modern Kūrāḍa in the Cocanada taluk of East
Godavari District.

Ceṅḡuru : This may be the region known as Ceṅga Nāṇḍu that
finds mention in an inscription²⁷ at Bhīmavaram in East Godavari
District. The correct name appears to be Ceṅḡuru Nāṇḍu, of which
Ceṅga Nāṇḍu and Ceṅgaṅa are incorrect but popular forms. The village
of Marripūḍi, said to have been situated in this Nāḍu or territorial
division, may be in one of the agency taluks of the Godavari District
bordering on the Gōdāvarī.

25. *Bharati*, Vol. XXIII (1946, May issue), pp. 479-481.

26. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 128; *Ibid*, No. 156.

27. *Ibid*, No. VI, No. 657.

Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 674.

28. *Ibid*, No. 43 “*Ceṅganāṭṭi sthānamulo(ni) Marripūḍi*”.

The latest limit of Mummaḍi Nāyaka's reign is difficult to fix. At Siñhāchalam there are three inscriptions²⁹ of a chief, named Maṅgi-pūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka, dated Śaka 1286, 1304 and 1310. He was, most probably, Mummaḍi Nāyaka, son of Kūnaya Nāyaka of Kōṅkuṇḍa. The record dated Śaka 1304 mentions Siṅgaya Nāyaka as his brother besides his wife Śriraṅgalakṣmī.

The correctness of this identification is borne out by another piece of evidence. A copper-plate grant³⁰ of Kāṭaya Vēma, prime minister of Komaragiri Redḍi register in Śaka 1317 the grant of the village of Gōpavaram in the vicinity of Rājamahēndravaram to God, Gōpinātha. This record informs us that the original name of this village was Taḍukalēṅu and that it was formerly granted as an *agrahāra* to brāhmins by Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Kāṭaya Vēma purchased and re-named it Gōpavaram before granting it to the god. The only ruler bearing that name that held sway over this region before the rule of Komaragiri Redḍi was the Kōṅkuṇḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Hence, Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka referred to in Kāṭaya Vēma's record mentioned above, was no other than Mummaḍi Nāyaka, brother of Siṅgaya Nāyaka. On the basis of this identity Mummaḍi Nāyaka may be said to have lived till Śaka 1310 or 1388 A.D.

The record dated Śaka 1286 at Siñhāchalam gives us to understand that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, a Vaiṣṇavite by religion was the disciple of Kandāḍa Aiyamṅar, probably a member of the well-known Kandāḍai family. It is likely that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, subsequent to the death of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, became the disciple of the Kandāḍais.

These chiefs were later on, reduced to submission by the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu.

The Kaiḍiyat of Kōṅkuṇḍa informs us that Mummaḍi Nāyaka had three sons, Kūna II, Anna and Kāṭama, and that the period of their rule was forty years.³¹ The Kōṅkuṇḍa record of Mummaḍi Nāyaka

29. Ibid., Vol. VI. No. 841 of Śaka 1286, no. 1084 of Śaka 1304, no. 1090 of Śaka 1310. Maṅgi-pariki, the surname of Mummaḍi Nāyaka in no. 841 is evidently a wrong reading. It has to be corrected to Maṅgipūṇḍi. Mummaḍi Nāyaka seems to have assumed the title of Śrīraṅgavaradhana (Śrīraṅgavaradhanat - praptam Mummaḍi Nāyaka - namn=ōyam) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 94, v. 52) after he became the disciple of Parāśarabhaṭṭa.

30. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 211. Gopavaram grant of Kaṭaya Vēma, v. 28. "Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍindradatam Taḍukalēṅu=ini khyatam....."

31. The Kaiḍiyat says that the three sons of Mummaḍi ruled for forty years, and that Siñhadri Seṭṭi and Vobili Seṭṭi who acted as regents to Kūna (II)'s son Mummaḍi II while he was a boy, made some gifts to the temple in Śaka 1317 (Kf. Kr., p.p. 5-10). The kaiḍiyat thereafter adverts to the rule of Kaṭaya Vēma Redḍi, prime minister of king Komaragiri. Hence the kingdom of Kōṅkuṇḍa may be said to have passed into the hands of the Redḍi kings prior to the time of Komaragiri.

bears evidence to the truth of the statement regarding his offspring. It is specially interesting to note that the name of one of Mummaḍi's sons was Annavēma, Arna of the kaifiyat. Records of the sons of Mummaḍi Nāyaka have not yet come to light. There is, however, an undated and damaged record of one Kūna Bhūḷāla, probably son of Mummaḍi Nāyaka at Penukonda in the Tanuku taluk of West Godavari District. The kingdom of Kōḡukonda, ultimately, became merged in the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu.

The Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga :

From almost the beginning of the sixth century A. D., Kaḷiṅga which extended from the river Mahanadi to at least Piṭhapuram in East Godavari district, was ruled by the kings of the Gāṅga dynasty, known in history as the Eastern Gāṅgas. The Eastern Gāṅgas inaugurated an era of their own (known as the Gāṅga era) to mark the beginning of their rule in the Kaḷiṅga country about the first decade of the sixth century. For nearly six centuries the Eastern Gāṅga kings used to date their copper-plate records in the Gāṅga era. The latest grant to be dated in this era is that of Madhukāmārṇava, son of Vajrahasta II. He issued his charter in the 528th year of their family era. Mudhukāmārṇava's successors Vajrahasta (III) who ascended the throne in Saka 960/1038 A. D., abandoned that custom and dated his grants in the Saka years. His reign marks the beginning of a new era in the rule of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga. Vajrahasta's predecessors on the Gāṅga throne are generally termed as the Early Gāṅga kings and his successors as the later Gāṅgas. Kaḷiṅganagara (the modern Mukhalingam) on the river Vamsadhara was the capital of the Gāṅga kings.

Of the descendants of Vajrahasta III his grandson Anantavarman Cōḍa Gaṅga, a very powerful ruler conquered the country of Utkal or Orissa and extended his authority as far as the confines of Bengal. With the extension of their authority over Orissa the Gāṅga monarchs came into conflict with their neighbouring Muslim rulers of Gaur or Lakhnauti. The first clash between the Gāṅga rulers and the Sultans of Bengal occurred in the reign of Anāṅga Bhīma's son Rāja Rāja III who ruled from 1197 to 1213 A. D. The descendants of Rāja Rāja III bore the brunt of the Muslim invasions from Bengal. From the middle of the thirteenth century the Gāṅga monarchs used to assume the names of Narasiṁhadēva and Bhānudēva alternately. Narasiṁhadēva III who ascended the throne of Kaḷiṅga after his father Bhānudēva II in 1326-27 A.D. and his successors, Bhānudēva III (1351-52 to 1377-78 A.D.), Narasiṁha IV (1377-78 to 1409 A. D.), and Bhānudēva IV (1409 A.D. to 1434-35 A. D.) were contemporaneous with the Redḍi kings

of Koṇḍavidu and of Rajamahēndravaram. These Gaṅga monarchs, also called Gajapatis, carried on predatory raids into their territory often particularly during the period of internal troubles in their kingdom. The region of Kāliṅga is generally called the Eastern quarter in common parlance.

In the early years of the second quarter of the fifteenth century the Gaṅga dynasty which had held uninterrupted and unbroken sway over the Kāliṅga country for more than nine centuries, came to an end and was succeeded by the kṣatriyas of the solar race, a new dynasty recognised as the Gajapatis of Orīssa, which is different from the line of the Gaṅgās of the lunar race who also had a like-title. Kapilēndra, the founder of this dynasty ascended the throne in Śaka 1357-58 / 1435-36 A. D., and made Cuttack in Puri district of Orīssa his Capital.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHRONOLOGY of THE REDDI KINGS of KONḌAVĪḌU

The chronology of the Reddi kings of Konḍaviḍu is not yet satisfactorily settled. It is difficult to ascertain the initial year of the independent rule of Prōlaya Vēma alias Kōmaṭi Vēma, the founder of the Konḍaviḍu kingdom and the last year of rule of the last Reddi monarch, Raca Vēma.

We come to know from the *Local records* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts* that six kings in all of the Reddi dynasty ruled at Konḍaviḍu. The *kaifiyat* and the *daṇḍakavile* of Konḍaviḍu which trace the history of the place, furnish not only the reign-periods of different kings but also the total duration of the Reddi rule. The reign of Prōlaya Vēma, according to these works, began in Śaka 1242 corresponding to 1320 A. D. This is corroborated by several *kaifiyats* in the Mackenzie collection, which assign that year to the end of the Kakatiya as well as to the beginning of the Reddi rule. Though this date was accepted as the initial year of the Reddi rule by several scholars¹ specially of the previous generation, no serious attempt worth the name has been made till recently to investigate the problem of Reddi chronology and establish it on a sound basis. The periods of rule assigned to different Reddi kings both by the *Local records* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts* tally with those furnished by a *cūṭu verse*²

1. The late K. Viresalingam Pantulu, author of the *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, J. Ramayya Pantulu and K. V. Lakshmanarao - all accepted the date 1320 A. D. as the date of the initial year of Vēma's reign for want of specific data to start with and made it the sheet anchor of the Reddi chronology.

2. వాలయశేషున్న చాలపారంబుండెండు

వచ్చినందులు గాచె వసుధ యెల్ల

అటవెన్ను ముప్పుచే యెవరోతీవేమన్న

వన్నె వానికి నెక్కి వసుధ యేరె

ధర్మస్మృతి దావేమ ధరణీకి క్రితుండు

పదియైశేషిట భూమి పదిలపటిచ

పదిల కుబ్జసముగఁ బదునాల గొడులు

కొమరగి శేరమ సమయవాడె

ఏరె గోమటివేమన యరువదేండు

రాచవేమన్న నాల్గవర్షముల శేరి

మించి కట్టిరి నృపారాజుడొకొండ

నీట నారేండు రెండు భూవిభజి చాచె

which has been current in the Andhra country for the past many generations. According to this verse, the duration of rule of each of the Redḍi kings that sat on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu is as follows:—

1. Prōlaya ³ Vēma	ruled for	12 years
2. Anavōtu Vēma ⁴	" "	30 "
3. Anavēma	" "	15 "
4. Komaragiri	" "	14 "
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	" "	20 "
6. Rāca Vēma	" "	4 "

Total period of rule 95 years.

Different versions of the *caṭu* verse mentioned above are current in the country and they agree with one another in all details except the periods of rule of Anavēma and Kōmaṭi Vēma, the third and fifth rulers who are assigned a period of fifteen or seventeen years, and twenty, twenty five or twenty seven years respectively. It is not possible to understand how this discrepancy arose. In this connection it has to be pointed out that the periods of rule of the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu indicated by this verse are not confirmed by the records of the Redḍi kings discovered till now, as will be shown later on. Hence, this verse may be dismissed out of our consideration.

Let us now proceed to fix first the upper and lower limits of the Redḍi chronology within which the dates of different kings have to be accommodated. No doubt, the tradition preserved in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*, as stated already, assigns the commencement of the Redḍi rule to Śaka 1242 or 1320 A. D., a date which cannot be freely accepted as it is not quite in agreement with the available data. The latest date for Kākati Pratāparudra is furnished by a damaged

3. The name of each Redḍi king has two or more variants. Prōlaya was also called Prōla Redḍi. Similarly, we have the alternative forms—Vēma Redḍi, Vemaya and Vemana; Komaragiri, and Kumaragiri; Kṛtaya and Kṛtū Redḍi; Allaya and Allāḍa Redḍi; Viraya, Virabhadraya, Virā Redḍi and Virabhadra Redḍi and so on. Prōlaya Vēma bore the names Kōmaṭi Vēma and Anavēma also. Among the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu there were four kings who had the name of Vēma, namely, Prōlaya Vēma or Anavēma (Vēma I), his son Anavēma (Vēma II), Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (Vēma III) and his son Rāca Vēma (Vēma IV). Because many of these kings had the name Vēma they are generally called Vēma Redḍis in common parlance.
4. The *caṭu* verse refers to Prōlaya Vēma's son, Anavōta as Anavōtu Vēma. This finds corroboration from Anavēma's (Vēma II) Daksharam record (S. I, I, Vol. IV, No. 1380) wherein Anavōta is referred to as Anavōtu Vēma. It must however be pointed out that this usage was very rare and he was better known as Anavōta Redḍi or Anavōtaya. Consequently Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was also called Mummaṭi Vēma.

epigraph⁵ of Pedda Rudra, son of Muppidi Nāyaka at Dākshāram, dated Śaka 1243, Durmati. Unfortunately the original which was in existence in the time of Col. Collin Mackenzie, is unfortunately lost.

Until the final overthrow of the Kakatiya power, which brought the whole of the Telugu country under the sway of the Sultans of Delhi, there was little chance for the birth of a new kingdom in the coastal region. The first expedition against Warāṅgal by Ulūgh Khān (the later Muhammad Bin Tughlaq) was undertaken in 1322 A. D., and the city was finally captured in 1323 A. D. The entire Telugu country was conquered along with the coastal region as evidenced by Ulūgh Khān's inscription⁶, dated in 1324 A. D., in the big mosque at Rajamahēndravaram. It is thus evident that at least until that date the coastal region was under the Muslim domination. Vēma's independent rule could not, therefore, have begun before Śaka 1246 or 1324 A. D., a date which may safely be accepted as the upper limit of the Reddi chronology. Adding the total period of rule of one hundred years of the Reddi kings assigned by tradition we get Śaka 1346 (1424 A. D.) for the dismemberment of the Reddi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. This is exactly the date of a record⁷ of the Vijayanagar ruler Dēvarāya II in the Reddi kingdom at Paidipāḍu in the Ongole taluk of Guṇṭūr district, which states that his subordinate, Paṇṭa Mailāra Reddi made a fresh settlement regarding the *dēvabrāhmaṇa vṛttis* of the village after inquiring into the custom formerly prevailing during the time of Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reddi. This inscription suggests that, after the conquest of the Reddi kingdom by the kings of Vijayanagar, they made a fresh settlement in the villages regarding *dēvabrāhmaṇa vṛttis*, after making an inquiry into the custom obtaining in the time of Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reddi, that is, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the fifth ruler of Koṇḍaviḍu.

A still earlier date, Śaka 1344 for the Vijayanagar occupation, if not for the final overthrow of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, is furnished by a record of Dēvarāya I at Pottūru⁸ in Guntur district. If the cyclic year Śārvari in this inscription is taken into account, then it looks as if the Reddi rule had actually commenced in Śaka 1242/1320 A. D. But this could not have happened, for as stated already, the coastal Andhra country was under the domination of the Sultan of

5. J. O. R., Vol. XII, pp. 213 ff.

6. Ep. Ind. Mos. 1923-24, pp. 18 ff.

7. N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 104, pp. 1089 ff.

The reference to Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reddi (Vēma III) in this record indicates that Rāca Vēma's reign was both a short and insignificant one.

8. Ep. Coll. No. 125 of 1917.

The name of the village where the record is found is Pottūru and not Pāṭūrū as given in the Ep. Rep. The Śaka year 1844 corresponds to Śubbakṛt and not to Śārvari as given in the record. The Śaka year equivalent to the latter cyclic year was 1342.

Delhi until 1324 A. D. The pottūru record, no doubt, indicates that a major portion of the Redḍi territory passed into the hands of the Rayas of Vijayanagar by Śaka 1342 / 1420 A. D.; but the conquest of the entire Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu was not completed, as will be shown later, until Śaka 1346, the date of the Paidipāḍu record referred to before. The foregoing discussion makes it clear that Śaka 1242 or 1320 A.D. the traditional year for the starting point of the Redḍi chronology, given by the *Mackenzie manuscripts* and the *Local records* is wrong, and has, therefore, to be rejected.

The earliest Hindu records subsequent to the Muslim conquest of the coastal region are the Mallavaram⁸ and Santamiḡulūr⁹ inscriptions dated Śaka 1247 / 1325 A. D., and Śaka 1248 / 1326 A.D. The former refers to Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi (Vēma I), as the supreme ruler of the region around Addaṅki, whereas the latter refers to Kolani Rudradēva, a minister of the last Kakatiya monarch and to his gift for his master's merit in that year. These two records bear testimony to the reconquest of the coastal region and to the re-establishment of the Hindu supremacy about 1325-26 A.D. During the period from 1325 A.D. to 1332 A.D., the date of Prōlaya Vēma's second inscription¹⁰ at Nekarikallu in the Narasaraopeta taluk of Guṇṭūr district, none of his records has come to light. During this period he was probably busy in subduing the unruly chiefs in the neighbourhood of his territory and in laying the foundations of the Redḍi kingdom.

With these limits of the rule of Redḍi kings fixed, let us now try to settle their chronology. For this purpose we have to know first the earliest and the latest dates of each of the rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu as furnished by their inscriptions. The earliest extant record of Prōlaya Vēma is his Mallavaram inscription dated in Śaka 1247 referred to above. His Vēlpūru inscription furnishes the date Śaka 1272¹¹. The next in chronological order is the record¹² found at Maṇikōṣvaram in the Ongole taluk, dated in Śaka 1275. This inscription registers the charities and the construction and consecration of temples by Maṇicirāja, son of Rāmarāja, for the merit of his deceased elder brother, Mallinatha who

8. N. D. II., O. 73, pp. 1022 ff.; The date of this record as given in Butterworth's *Inscriptions of the Nellore district* is wrong. See the discussion about this date in "*A forgotten chapter*" p. 89, f. n. 7.

9. Ep. Coll. No. 308 of 1916; Ep. Rep. 1916, para 53.

10. Ep. Coll. No. 340 of 1915.

11. Ep. Coll. No. 599 of 1925. The gift recorded in this inscription was made in the cyclic year Vikṛti, on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭha. Śaka year is not given; but the cyclic year Vikṛti corresponds to Śaka 1272.

12. N. D. I., III, O. 78, p.p. 1037 ff.

is said to have obtained from Vēma 'the great glory of sovereignty' (*ma'atim = mahārājya-śrīyam*) and to have been honoured by his son Anavōta also. This inscription refers, thus, to Prōlaya Vēma and his son, Anavōta, but does not explicitly mention the ruling monarch at that time. As inscriptions subsequent to Saka 1275 all belong to Anavōta, one of the two dates, Saka 1272¹³ or 1275, most probably the latter, must be the last date of Vēma. The provenance of the inscription¹⁴ of Anavōta Reddi at Tripurāntakam in Kurnool district dated as early as Saka 1268, does not go against this conclusion, because Anavōta, according to the Telugu work, *Hiricārika* of Eṭṭā Peggāḍa, was then the *Yuvarāja* or the heir apparent. This work states clearly that the *Yuvarāja* was the commander of the Reddi forces and he assisted his father in the administration of the country.¹⁵ This makes it quite evident that Anavōta was ruling conjointly with his father. Saka 1275 (1353 A.D.) may therefore be accepted tentatively as Prōlaya Vēma's last year and his son and successor Anavōta's initial year of rule.

Anavōta's latest record is his Kollūru copper-plate grant.¹⁶ The original plates of this inscription are now lost. The text, however, is preserved in the *Local records* and Elliot's *Telugu inscriptions*. It records the grant of the village of Kollūru on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā to the brahman scholar Rāmāśvara yajña in Saka 1286, corresponding to the cyclic year Sōbnaḥṣṭ in the month of Māgha at the time of

13. A copper-plate grant from Kondapalli in Kistna district, dated in Saka 1272 Bahudhanya in the reign of Anavema Reddi of Kondavīdu is noticed in Sewell's List of Antiquities, Vol. I, pp. 49-50 and in the Annual Report on Epigraphy as well. It is C. P. No. 5 of 1925-26. This same grant was edited some years back by Mr. K. Virabhadresvararao garu in the Telugu Journal *Sarada* in 1925, May issue, pp. 88 ff. This is a spurious grant. The date is irregular. The Saka year 1272 corresponds to Vikṛti and not to Bahudhanya as given in the grant. The gift recorded in the grant was made on the occasion of a Solar eclipse on Sunday in the month of Magha. There was no Solar eclipse either in the cyclic year Vikṛti or Bahudhanya.

14. Ep. Coll., No. 191 or 1905.

15. చిత్ర యువరాజు చిహ్నం

శ్రీరమోతయ సైవ్యశాసన సమూహసూ

చిహ్న సంకర సేవాని

సీత ప్రతీక్తి సమస్త శివసూక్తి! "Hr. Vm, II, ix.

16. Loc. Rec., Vol. LVII pp. 210 ff; Elliot's *Telugu inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 206 ff. The date portion in the copy given in the Elliot's collection is lost. The copy preserved in this collection is incomplete. The fourth plate is missing.

*ardhōdaya*¹⁷ *puṇyakāla*. The same record states in the end that Anavōta's brother, Anavēma also made a gift of land to the extent of fifty *kēsariṇṇāṭṭi* *puṭṭis* and added it to Kollūru.

The last year of rule of Anavōta and the initial year of rule of his successor Anavēma is not definitely known. From the Kollūru grant of Anavōta it is clear that he reigned till almost the end of that year as he made that grant in the month of Māgha. It is gratifying to note also that his brother, Anavēma figures as an additional donor in the Kollūru grant by making a gift of land measuring fifty *kēsariṇṇāṭṭi* *puṭṭis* in all, separating it from fields in the adjacent villages and adding it to Kollūru, the village granted.

Like the Kollūru grant of Anavōta the earliest and the latest inscriptions of his successor, Anavēma, are known only from the *Mackenzie manuscripts* and Elliot's inscriptions. His Kōru Tāḍiparṇu grant¹⁸ is one of Anavēma's earliest records. He is said to have granted Tāḍiparṇu, alias Kōru Tāḍiparṇu to the Vēlic scholar, Puruṣōttama

17. Loc. Rec., Vol. Ivi pp 210-211, also see Vols. -III, pp. 184-196 ff; and VII, pp. 450 ff. The text is very faulty. The verse containing the date of the grant found in the copies in these volumes is as follows:

आयोदं क्रतुदन्तिभास्करमि श्रीशोभकृन्दस्त्रे
मावेचोत्तममामि पुण्यदिनमचार्योदयपर्वणि
मदद्या दनवोतगट्पुस्वर कोल्लूरु कृणात्ते
श्रीगजश्वरयज्वेदविदुषां भोगोष्टकैस्सयुतां ॥

The date of the Kolluru grant is irregular. Śaka date 1286 corresponds with Krodhi and not with Sobhakṛt or Sōbhana. The verse giving the date of the grant is faulty. It says that the grant was made on the occasion of *ardhōdaya* in the month of Māgha. But according to the *Indian Ephemeris* *ardhōdaya* is the special *tithi* *amavasya* falling on a Sunday at the end of the month of Pauṣa and the beginning of the month of Māgha, coupled with the *nakṣatra* *Śrāvāṇam* and the *yoga* *vyatipāt*. (Vol. I, part i, p. 64 and p. 69). As the *tithi* *amavasya* in the Pauṣa month falls on Thursday and Wednesday in the Śaka years 1285 Sōbhkṛt and 1286 Krodhi respectively it fails to satisfy the above-mentioned conditions. Hence there was no *ardhōdaya* *parva* in those two years. However, in both the Śaka years 1284 Sōbhakṛt and 1287 Viśvavasu Pauṣa *amavasya* falls on a Sunday; and the *nakṣatra* on that day happens also to be *Śrāvāṇam* whether it is present at the sunrise or comes in the course of the day. I did not calculate to see if the *yoga* also was *Vyatipāt*. One of the above-mentioned two years must be the date of the Kolluru grant.

18. Mack. Mass., No. 15-1-41; The Kāṇḍiyat of Tāḍiparṇu; Loc. Rec., Vol. V, p. 36,

Sōmayājīn of the Jammalamadaka family in Saka 1286, Krōdhi. Unfortunately, the original plates of this grant were lost by the donee's descendants during the conquest and occupation of the coastal country by Ibrāhīm Kutubshāh, the sultan of Gōlkonḍa, after the battle of Rākṣasa-Taṅgaḍi. Similarly, there is yet another grant, the Korrapāḍu plates of Anavēma dated in the same year Saka 1286, Krōdhi. These plates register the grant of the village of Korrapāḍu as an *agrahāra* to Sōmarājayya and Virabhadradēva, sons of a certain Sōmasēkhara-Mahāpātra on the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Kārtika. The original plates of this grant also were lost and like the Kōru Tadiparṇu grant it was only noticed in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*¹⁹. Anavēma's latest inscription is his Manyamāpuram grant,²⁰ dated in Saka 1304 Duṁḍubhi or 1382 A. D. Unlike the earlier grants a full text of this record is preserved in the Elliot's collection. After Saka 1304 inscriptions of Anavēma have not been found till now.

There is no inscription of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu for nearly three years after the date of the Manyamāpuram record. The Anaparti grant²¹ of Komaragiri Redḍi, the successor of Anavēma dated in Saka 1312 is the next known record of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. Within the period of Saka 1304 and Saka 1312 we have three inscriptions of Komaragiri's brother-in-law and prime-minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. Of these his Palakollu inscription²² is the earliest one. He makes a grant of land to god Kṣīra Ramēśvara in Saka 1307 Krōdhana, on Monday on the first tithi in the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa, i. e., on Monday, 21st August, 1385 A. D. In this record there is no mention of any of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, though the donor was given a string of titles, viz., Jaganobbagaṇḍa, Kōḷadirāya, Āneyamaṇḍali-karaṇḍa, Appaya-Goppaya diśapaṭṭa, Ceṇcumalacūrakāra, Rāyacē-kōlugāṇḍa, Jagadagōpāla, Paṇḍyarāyagajasīmha, Saṁgrama - Dhanatūjaya, Pallvatrinayana, Pallavāditya and Jagarākṣapāla-titles that were commonly borne by the Redḍi nobles. There is nothing in this inscription to show that Kumārāgiri was already on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu by that date. So, the Palakollu inscription may be treated as a private record. The titles are there since Kāṭaya-Vēma was a noble of note connected with the royal family by marrying Anavota's daughter. The next record to be considered is Kāṭaya Vēma's Sīmhacālam

19. Mack. Mass., No. 15-6-86. See the kaifiyat of Korrapāḍu. Somasēkhara Mahāpātra is said to have been a yajūśśākhadhīyayin of the Bharadvāja gotra.

20. Elliot's Collection, Vol. I. pp. 270 ff.

21. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 191 ff.

22. S. I. I., V No. 155.

inscription,²³ dated, Saka 1308. Kāṭaya Vēma who is mentioned here as the *pradhāni* (prime minister) of Komaragiri Redḍi, makes a gift to god Simhadrinātha on Sunday, the seventh of the bright half of the month of Kārtika in Saka 1308. There is yet another record of Kāṭaya Vēma of the same year at Amarāvati²⁴ in Guntur district. It registers the gift of a flower garden to god, Amarāśvara by kāṭaya Vēma Redḍi's minister Peddi or Jatanamu Peddi, son of Appana in the Saka year 1308, on Wednesday, the second of the first half of the intercalary month of Āṣāḍha (Wednesday, 30th May, 1386 A. D.). The presence of this record of Kāṭaya Vēma at Amarāvati may be taken to suggest that, as the prime minister of Komaragiri, he was probably in possession of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom between May, 1386 A. D., and October, 1387 A. D. It is therefore obvious that Kumāragiri must have ascended the throne between Saka 1304, and Saka 1308, most probably at the end of that year. Kumāragiri's inscriptions are very few. He is referred to in many records of Kāṭaya Vēma, and others as the ruling monarch.

Again there is considerable uncertainty as to the last year of rule of Kumāragiri. That he was alive till Saka 1324, i.e. 1402 A. D. is proved by the Tālḷūru record²⁵ which registers a grant for the merit of Kumāragiri and his wife, dated in that year, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti* in the month of Puṣya in Citrabhānu.

Kumāragiri's records after Saka 1316, that is, 1394 A.D., are not found to the south of the Gōdāvarī. It has, however, to be pointed out that there is a record at Kottūru²⁶ in the Bejavaḍa taluk of Kistna district which registers a gift of land by an unnamed king on the occasion of *Makara Saṁkrānti* in the month of Puṣya in the cyclic year Vṛsa,²⁷ corresponding to 1322 if current, and to 1323 if expired, and not to Saka 1312 as given in the inscription. It is hard to say who the donor was, whether Kumāragiri or his successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Since the latter's records are not found before Saka 1322/1400 A.D. it is likely that the king referred to in the Kottūru inscription was Kumāragiri.

23. Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 781. Kartika śu. di. 7 falls on a Sunday in Saka 1309 and not in Saka 1308. The English equivalent of this date seems to be 20th October, 1387 A. D. Sunday.

24. Ibid, No. 226.

25. J. A. S. P., Vol. 10, No. 1. The English equivalent of the date seems to be either 26th or 27th of December, 1402 A. D.

26. Ep. Coll. No. 895 of 1926.

27. Makara Saṁkramaṇa in Saka 1322/1401 A.D. occurred on Tuesday, the 7th of the dark half of Pauṣa, i.e., Tuesday, 27th December, 1401 A.D.

To ascertain the earliest date of Komaragiri's successor, the Taṅgeḍa inscription²⁸ of Anavēma has to be taken into consideration. The Śaka year in this inscription is damaged. Only the intercalary month of Bhādrapada, the tithi, Su. di. tṛtīya, and the week day, Wednesday are very clear. On consulting the estampage of this record with the kind permission of the superintendent of Epigraphy (Southern circle) the passage in the damaged portion containing the date is found to run thus "..... *nu saṁvatsara* *adhika Bhādrapada śu 3, Bhadravāramunāṇḍu*.....". The last letter in the word preceding the saṁvatsara furnishes the clue to find out the cyclic year. The name of the year is either Cītrabhānu or Svabhānu, the only two years in the Jupiter's cycle of sixty years that end in *nu*. These two years occur only in the reigns of Prōlaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Each of these kings had the alias Anavēma. As there was no intercalary month of Bhādrapada either in Cītrabhānu or in Svabhānu in the reign of Prōlaya Vēma the Taṅgeḍa record in question has naturally to be assigned to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the Śaka years 1324 and 1325 (that is, in 1402 and 1403 A.D.) corresponding respectively to Cītrabhānu and Svabhānu, there was an intercalary Bhādrapada in the former year and the astronomical details given in the Taṅgeḍa inscription work out correctly for that year and the equivalent English date is Wednesday, 2nd August, 1402 A.D. The foregoing facts, therefore, enable us to assign the Taṅgeḍa inscription (of Śaka 1324) to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma which is the earliest record of his reign. His latest inscription, the Rudravaram grant bears the Śaka date 1341 (1419 A.D.). After this date none of his records has come to light.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's son: Raca Vēma was the last ruler of Koṇḍaviḍu. Not even a single record of his reign has been discovered till now, though he is referred to in the Amīnābād inscription²⁹ of Śaka 1337 as one who, in the reign of his father, had a channel dug as a feeder to the tank of Santāna Vāridhi, constructed by his mother.

Now, for convenient reference the earliest and the latest dates of the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, together with the duration of their reigns as deduced from their inscriptions both published and unpublished, and their periods of rule, as furnished by *cāṭu* verse referred to before, are given here :

28. Ibid, No. 372 of 1926.

29. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 319; p. 326.

Name of the king.	Known dates.		Periods of rule.	
	Earliest.	Latest.	Deduced from inscriptions.	Assigned by <i>Cātu</i> verse.
1. Prōlaya Vōma	Saka 1247	1275	28 years.	12 years.
2. Anavōta	„ 1275	1286	11 „	30 „
3. Anavēma	„ 1286	1304	18 „	15 & 17
4. Kumāragiri	„ 1308	1324	16 „	14
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma	„ 1324	1341	17 „	20, 25, 27
6. Rāca Vōma				4 „

The above table clearly shows the difference in the length of each individual reign as deduced from their records so far discovered and as furnished by the *cātu* verse referred to before. We seem, therefore, to be justified in refuting the period of rule given to each king by the *cātu* verse. The total duration of the Redḍi rule of one hundred years seems, however, to be correct.

We have now to fix the length of each individual reign with the available material. We may not be far wrong if we fix, with the help of the Mallavaram record, the initial year of Prōlaya Vōma's independent rule as Saka 1247. His inscriptions stop with Saka 1275. This date may be accepted as the last year of his rule. In other words, it is the initial year of rule of his son and successor, Anavōta. The early grants of Anavēma, noticed in the *Mackenzie manuscripts* show that he succeeded his brother Anavōta in Saka 1286—87 Krōdhi. His reign may be said to have extended till almost Saka 1308. Kumāragiri was alive till Saka 1324 and this is also the date of the earliest record of his successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma's reign extended from Saka 1324 to about Saka 1342. His son Rāca Vōma was the last Redḍi king of Koṇḍaviḍu. As stated already, he left no records of his rule. The *Cātu* verse and the *Local records* state that he ruled for four years. His reign may be, therefore, said to close in Saka 1346 (1424 A.D.). Even during the reign of Rāca Vōma the kings of Vijayanagar occupied much of the Redḍi territory and advanced almost to the heart of Koṇḍaviḍu. By 1424 A.D., the Vijayanagar conquest of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom was complete and the authority of Vijayanagar rulers was firmly established in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā.

The dates of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, as determined above, are detailed below. These dates are only tentative

1. Prōlaya Vōma	Śaka 1247 (1325 A.D.) to	Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.)
2. Anavōta	Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) to	Śaka 1286 (1364 A.D.)
3. Anavēma	„ 1286 (1364 A.D.) to	„ 1308 (1386 A.D.)
4. Kumāragiri	„ 1308 (1386 A.D.) to	„ 1324 (1402 A.D.)
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma	„ 1324 (1402 A.D.) to	„ 1342 (1420 A.D.)
6. Rāca Vōma	„ 1342 (1420 A.D.) to	„ 1346 (1424 A.D.)

(b)

Dodda¹ = Gundāmbikā

Pōta

Cittā
m. Vāsāmbikā

Naga

Annemāmbā' (wife
of Kōmati Prōla)

Nūmka

m. Nārāmbikā

Nalla Nūnka

m. Vēmāmbā (daughter of Anna, brother of
Prōlaya Vēma)

(c)

Kāta I

Māra

Kāṭa II

m. Doḍḍāmbikā
(daughter of Prōlaya Vēma)

Rāma

Vēma^s (or Kāṭaya Vēma)

m. Dodḍāmbikā
(daughter of Anavōtu)

1. He was the father-in-law of Komaṣṭi Prīḍa. His name is not given in the *Vemabhūpalaccharitam*.
2. According to the *Vemabhūpalaccharitam* her name is Anantambā. Anyamambā or Annemāmba appears to be the tadbhava of Anantambā.
3. For further particulars, see chapters VIII, IX and XI.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KONDAVĪḌU FAMILY.

The origin and development of the term 'Redḍi' makes a most interesting study not only in history but also in language. It is fully dealt with in an appendix at the end of this chapter.

Redḍis are even to-day one of the chief agricultural classes of the Telugu country. They are noted for their industry, perseverance and attachment to agriculture. All Redḍis are Kāpus but all Kāpus may not be Redḍis.

Divisions of the Paṇṭa clan.

There are many divisions among the Kāpus of the Telugu country, of which that of the Paṇṭa Kāpus or Paṇṭa Redḍis is one. Poet Srinātha refers to this section as 'Paṇṭamah=ānvaya' in his *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam*.¹ Inscriptions² also mention this Paṇṭa vaṁśa.

1. "కీ శివశర ఘంటాపథంబైన పంటసహస్రములు .."—Bh. Pr., I, pr. 31.

2. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 208 -- 09; p. 212; Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 322 :

తల్లి పఠక్కులెనామ ప్రస్తుతంబు గుఱియెని ., v. 6.

Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 57.

పద్య ప్రజానాం వంశేష్వభృజగతి పఠక్కుల ప్రవీతమ్ .—v. 4.

Srinātha mentions in his *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam* the different communities comprising the *Chaturtha varṇa*. They are Padma nayakas, Velamas, Kammās, Sarisarlas (?) and Oṭṭarīs etc. It is interesting to note here the omission of the Redḍi community in this list. There is reason to believe that there was little difference between the Redḍis and Velamas during this period; for, Ananta, the author of the Telugu work, *Bhōjaya jīyam* of this period (See part II, under Telugu literature) mentions in his work the terms Velama and Redḍi as synonyms. I quote the Verses below :

అని నుమ నేక్య యాతరుని యాతడు త్సత్రియుఁ డేను విపుడఁడ
విను నణిఁజొందు నాఁ డితఁడు తెల్లయు నల్లఁడు గొల్లి దీనిది
క్రూరఁ జరియించుచుండునును కొండొక కాలము చెల్ల నింది నా
మనములఁ గల్గు ప్రేమపరిమాణ మెఱుంగఁదలంచి యిట్లును.

— VII, v. 66,

The Same Velama is spoken of as Redḍi-koduku in the following verse :

అని న నుమ నేక్యంబు
అని న నిండు గొవిందు కలియఁగలిగెను
అని ను సారఁగఁ గొమటి
అని యు గొరిగిండును కలియఁగలిగెను .

—VII, v. 77.

These Panṭa Kāpus or Panṭa Reddis are said to have again been subdivided into fourteen sects.³ The adage Panṭa of fourteen sects is an old one. The names of these fourteen subdivisions are given below as stated in a *Cūṭa* verse⁴ of the fifteenth century, ascribed to a Bhaṭṭa rāja of the time of Bukkabhūpāla, son of Pinnamarāja of the Āraṇḍa family.

1. Pakanāṭi	Kāpus.	8. Nēreṭi	Kāpus.
2. Velanāṭi	"	9. Bhūmañci	"
3. Mūṭāṭi	"	10. Dēsaṭi	"
4. Morasa	"	11. Ayōdhyā	"
5. Pongali nāṭi	"	12. Ōruganṭi	"
6. Munniṭi	"	13. Kuricēṭi	"
7. Panṭa	"	14. Gaṇḍikōḷa	"

Another list was given by Edgar Thurston in his *Castes and tribes of Southern India*. There are some differences between that list

3. Panṭa is generally said to be a "fourteen community", that is, it is said to consist of fourteen sects. Different numbers like fourteen were added on in ancient days to agricultural and industrial communities. It is unknown why they were added, and what the real significance of those numbers could be. For instance, old records discovered in our country inform us that the Ol-mongers were a "one thousand community" (*Velva recuru*); that the Velamas were a "one thousand community" (*Velamu Veyi*), that the Visvakarmas were a "eighty four community", that the Nagaras were a "one hundred and two community" and that the Devaṅgas were a "ten thousand community."

“పరిగిన కశ్యపబ్రహ్మగోత్రములు

సిగ్గిలం బడిపిటి దేవంగ ఘనులు

పరమ సమృద్ధమంతోఁ బడ వేలకులము” — *Dr. Pr., D.C.T.M., (Madras), Vol. IV, p. 1251.*

Even the Dommaras was a 'twenty four sect'.

“ఇరువై నాలుగుకులాల కొమ్మరకు” — *N. D. I., Vol. II, Kr. 41, p. 566.*

4. పరిటాన్యయనునను పదునాల్గుకాపులఁ

జక్కఁ గా వివరింతు సత్యమరిసి

మోటాటి తెల్పాటి మొగస శేరె డయోధ్య

పంట పొంగలి నాటి వాక నాటి

భూమంచి కురిచేటి మున్నూటి దేసటి

యొనర గండి ముకోట యోరుగంటి

యనఁ బరగుచునుండు నంగధావనీపతి

గౌరవాధిపతి కాపు కులము

పంట పనునాల్గు కులములం చంట జగతిఁ

దర తరంబుల నుండియు వరతెడినుడి

పీని కుపజాతు లున్నవి వివిధములుగ

తులులూటోప! పిన్న ను బుక్కభూప!

and this.⁵ In fact, some more lists are also available in the country. All of them agree with one another except over two or three subdivisions.

A glance at the list given before will show that many subdivisions of the Kāpus took their names after the territories and towns in which they settled. The first eight of the foregoing list derive their names from Pākanāḍu, Velanāḍu, Mōṭati (a corruption of Moṭṭavāḍi), Morasa, Poṅgalināḍu, Munnuḡu Paṇṭa and Nērṭi (a corruption of Naḷavāḍi or Neravāḍi) territorial divisions⁶ of the ancient Andhra country and the last four were named after the towns, Ayōdhya, Ōrugallu (Waraṅgal),

5. "The Kapus or Reddis are the largest caste in the Madras Presidency numbering more than two millions, and the great caste of cultivators, farmers, and squireens in the Telugu country..... It is a common saying among the Kāpus that they can easily enumerate all the varieties of rice, but it is impossible to give the names of all the sections into which the caste is split up. Some say that there are only fourteen of these, and use the phrase *Paṇṭa Padmalugu kulatu*" or Paṇṭa fourteen sections.

"The following sub-divisions are recorded by Mr. Stuart as being the most important. "Ayōdhya, Baliḷa, Bhūmañḇi, Desūru, Gaṇḍikoṭṭai, Gazula, Kammapurī, Morasa, Neraṭi (or Neradu or Neravāḍi), Ōruganṭi, Pākanāṭi, Palle, Peḍakanṭi and Paṇṭa...

"As examples of exogamous sects among Kapus, the following may be cited :

Avula	Guḷise	Nagali
Alla	Guntaka	Taṅgeḍu
Baṇḍi	Koḍla	Uḍumala
Barṇeru	Mekala	Varige
Daṇḍu	Kanugula	Yedduka
Goṛre	Mungaru	Yenuga

"At Conjeevaram, some Paṇṭa Reddis have true totemistic sects of which the following are examples.

"Mogili (*Pantanus fascicularis*)-Women do not, like women of other castes, use the flower-bracts for the purpose of adorning themselves. A man has been known to refuse to purchase some bamboo mats, because they were tied with the fibre of this tree.

"Ippi (*Bassia longifolia*)-The tree, and its products, must not be used as food. Mancham (cot) They avoid sleeping on cots.

Arigula (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*)-The grain is not used as food.

Chintagiṇḇalu (Tamarind seeds)-The seeds may not be touched, or used.

Pucoḷa (*Citrullus Vulgaris*)-Water melon. The fruit may not be eaten."

The extract given above is from the third volume (s. v. Kapu). I omitted explanations and meanings. (Vide, also E. R. E., Vol. XII, p. 402, s. v. Totemism -India).

6. The territory extending along the sea-board from the Pennar to the Guṇḍalakamma was called Pākanāḍu in ancient times. Velanāḍu was the northern half of Guṇṭur district. Moṭṭavāḍi and Nereḍu, a corruption of Naḷavāḍi or Neravāḍi corresponded roughly to Markapuram and its adjacent taluk on the Southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgabhadra. Poṅgalināḍu is unidentifiable. Munnuḡu is Muliki-three hundred country. Morasa is the Kolar country in the Mysore state. Paṇṭa will be discussed later on in the text.

Kurucōḷu (in Nellore district) and Gaṇḍikōṭa (in Cuddapah district). Of the other two, Bhūmañci is inexplicable. Probably it is the name of a village which gave its name to the Sect. Paṇṭa and Dōsaṭi will be discussed in a later context.

In course of time, some of the Redḍis gave up their plough for the sword and took to military service under their rulers. They distinguished themselves in that service and held posts as generals and commanders. They gained the favour of their rulers by their valour and loyalty and gradually rose to political power and prominence.

During the Kākatiya period they became chiefs of some *nigōgas* and by their administrative capacity, they gained the favour of their overlords and grew very powerful. They wielded much influence in the state. Under the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal Redḍi chieftains like Ceṇaku Jagadālu Bollaya Raḍḍi, and others¹ flourished as *mahāsāmantas* ruling over certain tracts of the Telugu country. But it is interesting to note that none of the inscriptions of the time of Prātāparudra which have so far been discovered, refer to any of the ancestors of Vēma Redḍi, the founder of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. Yet, as will be shown later on, there is sufficient reason to believe that their political life began during the rule of the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal.

Donti and Dōsaṭi :

The *Kōṭṭavīpi-bhaṇḍakavilā* and the *kaṇḍiṇḍa* of Koṇḍaviḍu relate that some Redḍi families were living, since a long time, in the village of Chadaluvāḍa in the Ongole taluk of Guṇṭūr district, and that their tutelary deity was god Rāghava of that place. The two accounts give their family name as Donti and narrate a story that, in the course of tilling the ground, some members of the Donti family found a treasure-trove which they appropriated without much ado, and without the knowledge of the villagers. However, some days later, the matter became public and the villagers compelled them to hand over the treasure to them. Under the circumstances, it is said, their tutelary deity, god Rāghava appeared to them in a dream and advised them to migrate to some other place, and wherever they were, to worship him in the form of a golden idol, assuring them that they would become prosperous in course of time. Thereupon the Donti family migrated to Anumakoṇḍa near Waraṅgal and stayed there for a long time, until a certain Aliāḍa Redḍi of the same family came down with his friends and relations to the country of Koṇḍaviḍu. These are said to have been

Ep. Coll., Nos. 321 and 322 of 1937-38; Ins. Cod. Dec., No. 109, p. 459. Members of the Recola Redḍi family of Pillakamarri held high posts under the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal.

the founders of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. The date of their immigration to the Koṇḍavīḍu country is given as Śaka year (represented by Rjis (7), Vārḍhi (4), and Rudras (11), i.e., 1147, corresponding with the year Tāraṇa.⁸

Now, let us see if there is any truth in the account given above. Since the cyclic year correctly corresponds with the Śaka year it may appear as if there is some truth in this account. But it ought to be pointed out here that it is not corroborated by any other evidence, either by the inscriptions of the Reddis or by the extant Telugu literature of the period.

The family name Donti is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the Reddi kings. The Telugu works "*Kāśīkhaṇḍam*" and "*Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*" written under the direct patronage of the Reddi rulers, refer to the family as Dēsaṭi, one of the subdivisions of the Paṇṭa community, and not as Dōsaṭi. Śrīnātha, the author of these two works describes the ruling Reddi family as "the great Dēsaṭi family of the Paṇṭa clan which is the head-ornament of the fourth caste and the royal road of pleasure-ground for Fame"—(*Caturtha kula maṇḍanamūrtai, karttirihāra ghaṇṭā - pathanibaina Paṇṭa - Dēsaṭimah āvayamūrtai*)⁹). Vēma's court poet, Eṇṇā Preggaḍa addresses his patron as 'Dēsaṭi Vēma'¹⁰ in his *Haviramaṣṭam*. Śrīnātha addresses Allaya Virabhadra Reddi, the ruler of Rājamahēndravaram as '*Dēsaṭivamsa-grāmaṇi*' (chief of the Dēsaṭi family). Another Telugu poet, Kommana, a contemporary of Virabhadra Reddi calls the Reddi rulers of Rājamahēndravaram as Dēsaṭis,¹¹ members of the Dēsaṭi family. These literary evidences prove beyond doubt that the Reddi rulers were of the Paṇṭa clan, and of the Dēsaṭi family. But it has to be pointed out that none of their inscriptions allude to them as Dēsaṭis. They broadly state that they belonged to the fourth caste which is split up into many divisions, and to the Paṇṭa Vamśa. Some of their inscriptions like the Kaluvacēru grant¹² of Anitalli describe Vēma as *Paṇṭa vamsōdbhava*, one born in the Paṇṭa vams'a. But at the same time it may be noted that some of the stone records¹³ of Anavēma

8. Mack Mss., Nos. 15-4-40; Loc. Rec., Vol. LXVII, pp. 7 ff. Sewell writes "Native tradition at Koṇḍavīḍu states that Prolaya Vēma Reddi was not connected with the family of Donti Allāḍa Reddi, but was "a guest in his house". Allāḍa Reddi is said to have lived at Dharapikōṭa near Amarāvati, and his family are stated to have "entered" that place in A. D. 1225"—Vide *Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 18).

9. Bh. Pr., prose passage, 81, p. 6.

10. Hr. Vm., I, ix, v. 1.

11. Ks. Kh., III, v. 1.

12. Sl. VI. See Appendix to chapter, VII, part II.

13. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

14. Ep. Coll., Nos. 380, 368 and 367 of 1926; *Bharati*, Vol. XXI

and Komaragiri as well, refer to each of them as "the moon to the ocean of Manuma kula"—(*Manumakula-vārāhi-rāśā*). Some of the nāyaks and corporate bodies also of the Telugu country claim to belong to Manuma kula. One Mardulī Mārāya Nāyaka is styled in an inscription¹⁵ of Śaka 1275 as 'the Māndhātā of the Manuma kula'—(*Manuma kula Māndhātā*). Members of the merchant corporation, the Vīrabalañjas claim to belong to Manuma kula.¹⁶ A certain Malla Nāyaka of Śaka 1082 is praised as the "moon to the ocean of Manumakula"¹⁷ (*Manuma-kula-vārāhi-rāśena-sudhākera*). Kōṭi Redḍi of Śaka 1085 is stated to belong to Manuma kula¹⁸. Kālapa Nāyaka, an officer of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva was extolled as "the ornament of the Manuma kula"¹⁹ (*Manma-kulābha-rajā*). What this Manuma kula is and how and why the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu claimed to belong to that *kula* are matters to be elucidated by future research. The evidence cited above shows that the Redḍi kings, besides being members of the Manuma kula, were Dēsaṭis also of the Panṭa clan. So, the statement in the *Local records* that the Redḍi kings were of the Donti²⁰ family, has to be rejected.

Dēsaṭi Vamśa:

What does this Dēsaṭi signify? The term Dēsaṭi is found as a suffix to some proper names in early Telugu inscriptions of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D., especially in Kistna and Guntur districts. An early chief, the progenitor or the Vamśa-kartā of the Kōṇa-Kaṇḍravāḍi family is known as Koṇḍa Dēsaṭi.²¹ An undated record²² probably of the tenth or the early eleventh century at Inumellā (in the Vinukonda taluk of Guṇṭūr district) alludes to some *pratyakṣhā* made by one Kāṭya (Kātaya) dēsaṭi. The local feudal chiefs or maṇḍalīkas who held sway in times of yore over the territory called "Ōṅgēru mārga" or the region through which the river, Ōṅgēru in Guṇṭūr district flows, were known as the 'Dēsaṭi mahāsāmantas'. An inscription²³ dated 1043 A. D., at Valivēru (in the Tenali taluk of Guṇṭūr district) refers to maṇḍalīka Guṇḍaya as the son of Dēsaṭi

15. Ibid, No. 184 of 1905.

16. Ibid, No. 180 of 1905.

17. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 649.

18. Ibid, No. 598.

19. Ibid, Nos. 602 and 603. *Manuma kula*, *Durjaya kula*, *Dinakara kula* and *Sōma kula* were the four chief ancient dynasties of the Andhra country, which gave rise to most of its ancient ruling families.

19a. There was however a Redḍi family named Dōtiparti (not Dōnti). Neither the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, nor of Rajamahendravaram seem to have had any connection with this family.

20. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1153.

21. Ep. Coll. No. 218 of 1936.

22. Ibid, No. 673 of 1920.

mahāsāmanta Nambaya of the *Ōṃgēṅu mārga*. *Ēṅapa Nāyaka*, the commander of the last Velanāṭi chief, Kulōttuṅga Prthivīvara of the twelfth century A. D., is said to be the son of Ghadyana (Ghadyana), and grandson of *Ēṅapa dēsaṭi*.²³ An inscription²⁴ at Bejavāḍa dated 1229 A. D., registers a gift made by Malli dēsaṭi, son of Prōi dēsaṭi of the fourth caste. The presence of the suffix *dēsaṭi* in the above instances and its absence in the case of the Reddi kings is unaccountable.

The term *Dēsaṭi* seems to be the developed form of *Dēśarattōḍi* which occurs in a copper-plate grant of the Eastern Cālukyan king, Ammarāja Vijayāditya VI of his tenth regnal year, that is, of Śaka 877 (955 A.D.). Ammarāja grants the village of Ponduva grāma in Atti-lināṇḍu viṣaya along with the title *mahāsāmanta* to his subordinate, named Māḍiya Dēśarattōḍi, son of Kallikiya Dēśarattōḍi, and grandson of Māḍiya Rattōḍi in appreciation of his services²⁵. This is the earliest dated reference to the term *Dēśarattōḍi* in inscriptions of the Andhra country. Just as Rattōḍi became Rattāḍi, Rattī and Raḍḍi, *Dēśarattōḍi* appears to have changed into *Dēśarattāḍi*, *Dēśarattī* and *Dēsaṭṭi*. Had *Dēsaṭṭi* not been the contracted form of *Dēśarattī* it would not have the double ṭ; *Dēsaṭṭi* in course of time might have become *Dēsaṭi*. The early form *Dēśarattōḍi* persisted till the thirteenth century A.D. It is found in an inscription²⁶ dated in Śaka 1152 (1230 A. D.) The form *Dēsaṭṭi* occurs in many records. As *Dēsaṭi* is the later and contracted form of *Dēśarattōḍi*, it may probably signify the indigenous section of the Reddi tribe, as opposed to the foreign immigrants of a later period.

The *Dēsaṭlas* were mentioned in an inscription²⁷ dated in Śaka 1069 from Kopidena in Guṇṭūr district, along with other nāyaks and kṣatriya princes. On the analogy of *Bāpaṭla* (a town in Guṇṭūr district) *Dēsaṭla*, a probable variant of *Dēsaṭi* might also be construed as the name of a town. *Dēsaṭla* is known to be a town from the *birudāvaṇi* or *prāśasti* of the seventy two nāyaks of the court of Pratāparudra of Waraṅgal. The *Dēsaṭlas*, one of the seventy two nāyaks who served under Pratāparudra had the title "the lord of *Dēsaṭlapura*"²⁸ (*Dēsaṭla-puravar* = *āḍhīśvara*). This title clearly shows that *Dēsaṭla* is a town.

23. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1338.

24. Ep. Coll., No. 321 of 1919.

25. C. P. No. 7 of 1937 - 38.

26. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1290: "*Bhōṣapūramuna Dēśarattōḍiṇu*."

27. Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 639: ".....Moṭṭavāḍi Guṇḍikarta Racakoḍukulu, Dēsaṭlu

28. Mys. Mss., No. 15.5.32: *Dēsaṭlavari birudu* "Dēsaṭla-puravar = āḍhīśvara, Daṇḍā-lakoṭa-rāya-veśyābhujāṅga..." etc.

The existence of a hill fort called Dēsaṭi is known from an inscription²⁹ dated in 1005 A. D., of Maḥasāmantā S'ōbhānarasa, a subordinate of the Western Cālukya king Iṣivabēdaṅga Satyāśraya, wherein he was given the title *Dēsaṭi-giri-durga-malla*, the conqueror of the hill fort named Dēsaṭi. If this is accepted, then Dēsaṭi or Dēsaṭla might have been the early original habitat also of the Redḍis, just as Laṭṭalūr or Raṭṭalūr is said to have been the original habitat of the Raṭṭas or Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had the title "lords of the town of Raṭṭalūr or Laṭṭalūru" (*Raṭṭalūru-puravar-ādhīśvara*). Even granting that Dēsaṭi or Dēsaṭla is a town, it is difficult to locate it. The above evidence makes it clear that the Redḍi kings were Dēsaṭi's (Dēsaṭlas). The statements regarding their surnames in the *kañfiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu and the *Local records* have to be rejected as they are not based on facts.

Before the foundation of the Redḍi principality the Redḍi nobles were living in Nellore district. We come to know from contemporary Telugu literature that towns like Simbhavikramapuram (Nellore), Dūvūru, Gaṇḍavaram and others in the Nellore and Kōvūr taluks of the present Nellore district, were the original abodes of the members of the Paṇṭa vaṁśa or Paṇṭa clan³⁰. This is confirmed by another piece of evidence. The term Paṇṭa itself in Paṇṭa Kāpu or Panta Redḍi is capable of furnishing the clue.

'Paṇṭa' clan.

It is well-known that the ancient territorial divisions like Valanāḍu, Vēgināḍu, Pākanāḍu and Āruvēlu or Śaṭṣahasradēśa of the Telugu country have given rise to many communal divisions or a *śākhās* like Velanāṭi, Vēgināṭi, Pākanāṭi and Āruvēla sects among the brāhman community. Similarly, it is probable that some of the communities of the fourth caste also, as has been pointed out by the late K. V. Lakshmanarao³¹, derived their names from these territorial divisions. Lakshmanarao opines that the Brāhmins and the Sūdras of the Teliṅgāna country formed into separate sects called Telagānyas and Telagas respectively. Similarly, the Velnāṭi sect of brāhmins, and the Velama community of the fourth caste derived their names from the territorial division of Velanāḍu. While the brāhmins of Kammanāḍu are known as Kamma brāhmins or Kammas, the Sūdras of the same *nāḍu* came to be called Kammas. In the same way, there are Pākanāṭi sect of brāhmins and Pākanāṭi Kāpus. It follows from this that many of the sects of the fourth caste being local communities, owe their names to

29. S. I. I., Vol. XI, (Bk. 1-, Vol. I, Pt. 1), No. 50.

"*S'rimat-Dēsaṭi-giridurga-mallam*."

30. Bh. Pr., I, pr. 31.

31. Presidential address, A. P. M., Vth Annual conference, Pithapuram, p. 45.

the ancient territorial divisions of the Andhra country. In the same way, can it be said that the community or sect of Paṇṭa Kāpus or Paṇṭa Redḍis also derived their name from any territorial division? Was there an ancient territorial division by name Paṇṭanāḍu or Paṇṭarāṣṭra like Pākanāḍu or Pākaraṣṭra?

The Aruḷala-Perumal inscription³² at Kañcī, of Tammusiddhi, son of Eṇasiddhi, one of the Telugu Cōḷa chiefs of Nellore, bring to our notice a district named Paṇṭarāṣṭra. This inscription records the gift of the village of Muṭṭiyampākkam, the head quarters of Paṇṭarāṣṭra (in Śaka 1127) to the lord of Hasti Śaila, by Tammusiddhi. Neither the village, Muṭṭiyampākkam, nor the Paṇṭarāṣṭra have yet been identified. Muṭṭiyampākkam may be identified with the present village of Muṭṭembāka in the Gūḍūr taluk of Nellore district. As it was the head-quarters of the Paṇṭarāṣṭra, this territorial division may be taken to correspond roughly to the Gūḍūr taluq and its neighbourhood. Like the Kammas and Velamas who derived their names from Kammanāḍu and Velanāḍu respectively, the Śūdras of this Paṇṭarāṣṭra are called Paṇṭa Kāpus or Paṇṭa Redḍis.

Therefore, Paṇṭarāṣṭra and not the Anumakoṇḍadēśa, as stated in the *Local records* and the local *kaṇḍiyats*, was the native country of the Paṇṭa Redḍis. They gradually spread to the west and to the east and along the coast to the north. About the time of the subversion of the Kākatiya power members of the Redḍi families which were instrumental in founding the kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu and of Rājamahēndravaram, were living, as stated before, in the Nellore and Kōvūr taluks of Nellore district.

In this connection, it is necessary to point out one interesting fact generally unnoticed. All the lithic and copper-plate records of the Redḍis and the works of Śrinātha state, without exception, that they belong to *Caturtha-kula* or the fourth caste. The Telugu *kāvya Śivalilā-rilāsam* by Kommanāmātya, while confirming this statement, alludes however to king Virabhadra, son of Allāḍa of Rājamahēndravaram as having been born in the Solar race.³³ While describing the family of the Dēsaṭis as having been born from the feet of god Viṣṇu along with the heavenly river Gaṅgā, Kommanāmātya compares Allāya Virabhadra with Rāmabhadra, son of the Ikṣvāku king, Daśaratha and states that both were born in the Solar race, skilled in archery and devoted to god Siva. He, thereby, suggests that Virabhadra Redḍi also was of the Solar race. Of course, the statement is

32. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 152 ff.

33. Vid., Appendix. Chapter VII, Pt. II,

self-contradictory, since one cannot be a member of the *Caturtha kula* and of the Solar race as well. Yet, it can be explained and justified in a way. Virabhadra may be said to have belonged to the *Sūrya vainśa* on his mother's side, as his father married the daughter of Bhimalinga, son of the *Ēṅuva* chief, *Cōḷa Bhaktiśa* of the Solar race.

Were the Redḍis Pallavas?

The Redḍi rulers assumed the titles 'Pallavaditya' and 'Pallava-trinetra', the sun and Trinetra or Śiva of the Pallava dynasty. The sign manual of some of the Redḍi kings like *Prōlaya Vēma* and *Anavēma* is 'Pallava Trinetra'³⁴. This naturally raises the question if they were Pallavas³⁵. It is worth remembering in this connection that the early Pallava dynasties that once ruled the Nellore territory, disappeared from the political scene, centuries before the rise of the *Koṇḍaviḍu* kingdom. In the intervening period between the fall of the Pallava supremacy and the rise of the Redḍis some of the chiefs who traced their descent from *Mukkaṇṭi Kaḍuv ṭṭi* or *Trilōcana Pallava* or *Trinayana Pallava*, held sway, generally as feudatories of the *Cōḷa* emperors, and occasionally as independent rulers, over a great portion of Nellore district during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After the subversion of their power, these Pallava chiefs gradually became merged in the lower Hindu social strata, and very soon lost their distinctive racial entity. Hence no identification is possible of the new royal dynasties that sprang forth into existence in the fourteenth century in terms of the old ones. One cannot, therefore, positively assert that the Redḍis were originally Pallavas for want of unimpeachable evidence. The Redḍi nobles might have contracted matrimonial alliances with the Pallava feudatory chieftains of Nellore district of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Because of these family connections with the Pallavas or, because their country was *Paṇṭa rāṣṭra* which was a division of the original *Tondamaṇḍalam*, the country of the Pallavas, the Redḍi kings felt probably justified in assuming such titles; for, during that period of Hindu revival everything old carried with it some awe and glamour. No other rational explanation can be offered to this question.

Redḍi Titles.

Very little is known about the early history of the *Koṇḍaviḍu* family before the foundation of the Redḍi kingdom. Yet, that it was sufficiently an important one is known from many of the titles of the

34. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff. The signature also of the donor *Prolaya Vēma* is *Pallava Trinetra*; S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 243; C. P. No. 15 of 1922-23.

Ep. 35.Rep. 1900, p. 20 para 57.

Reddis which suggest some political activity. Telugu works like *Harivamśam*, the *Bhīmāśvara Purāṇam* the *Kāśikhaṇḍaṇ* and the lithic and copper-plate records of this period give the Reddi kings a long list of *birudas* or titles, some of which are of great historic interest. A careful study of some of them reveals to us some of the early achievements of this family. Those given below are of special historical significance.

Appaya Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa
Jaganobhagaṇḍa
Daṇḍena gōva (gōpa)
Aḷagiyavarada-siraḥ-khaṇḍana
Pāṇḍya-rāyaga-jakēśari (śiṃha)
Ceñcumala cūrakūra
Guḷḷarīlaṭṭuribhāḷa
Rācūridurgavibhāḷa
Ācya maṇḍalikaragaṇḍa

All these titles find mention in the records of the Reddi kings giving their *praiśasti* or eulogy. It is obvious that the exploits suggested by the aforesaid titles must have taken place prior to Śaka 1252/1330 A. D., since they are found in their records subsequent to that date. The early history of the Reddis before the foundation of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom has to be reconstructed with the help of these titles, which, in a way, make up for the deficiency of records of the early members of this family. Let us now study the titles.

Appaya-Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa: This title conveys the idea that the Reddis won a victory over Appaya Goppaya (Gōpaya), that is, either over two separate individuals, viz., Appaya and Goppaya, or over Goppaya, son of Appaya. Who is this Appaya - Goppaya?

Inscriptions of the Hoysālas of Dwārasamudra reveal that Appaya and Goppaya were the two able *daṇḍanāyakas* or generals of the Hoysāla king, Vira Narasiṃhadēva II (1220-1235 A. D.) and were related to each other as father and son. When the Kāḍava chieftain, Kōpperuñjiṅga imprisoned the Cōla emperor, Rājarāja III (1216-1257 A. D.) at Sōndamaṅgalaṃ (South Arcot district) Vira Narasiṃhadēva II espoused the latter's cause and sent his two generals Appana and Samudra Goppaya or Gōpaya with orders to chastise the Kāḍava chieftain, to release the Cōla emperor from prison and to reinstate him in power. The two generals were successful in this campaign and achieved their object. The achievements of these daṇḍanāyakas were recorded in the *Tiruvēṇḍipuraṃ record*,³⁶ dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja III.

³⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp 160 ff.

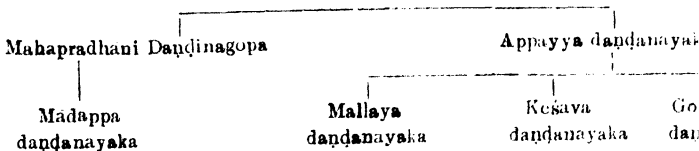
i. e., in Śaka 1153/1231 A. D. The same information is conveyed by another stone record³⁷ (in the Gubbi taluk of Tumkūr district, Mysore) dated Śaka 1155/1233 A. D., which registers the grant of a village by Vīra Narasiṃha II to his generals, Appaya daṇḍanāyaka and Gōpaya daṇḍanāyaka. We know from a record³⁸ of the Hoysāla general, Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka at Conjeevaram, dated in the fifteenth year of Rājaraḥa III, that is, in Śaka 1153 / 1231 A. D., that he had the titles Daṇḍinagōpa and Jagadobbagaṇḍa (the sole hero of the world).

Madhurāntaka Pottapicōḍa Tirukkālattidēva alias Gaṇḍagōpāla better known as Cōḍa Tikka, the powerful Telugu Cōḍa feudatory of the weak Cōḷa emperor Rāja Raja III, also took part in these wars. He was a contemporary of Hoysāla Vīra Narasiṃha and his son Sōmēśvara, also known as Kaṇṇaṭa Sōmēśa. Tikkana Sōmayāji in his Telugu work, '*Nirvacanōḷḷara Rāmāyaṇa*' states that Cōḍa Tikka subdued Kaṇṇaṭa Sōmēśvara and reinstalled the Cōḍa emperor in his place and assumed the title 'Cōḷasthāpanācārya,' the 'establisher of the Cōḷa ruler'. He was in Kāñcīpura in the fifteenth year of Rājaraḥa III, i. e. in Śaka 1153/1231 A. D., and instituted the service called the Gaṇḍagōpalansandi in the temple of Varadarājaperumāl in that year³⁹. These Telugu Cōḍa-Kaṇṇaṭa wars continued for some years more; for, an inscription⁴⁰ in the Mysore State, dated in Śaka 1162 / 1240 A. D., informs us that the Hoysāla monarch, Vīra Sōmēśvara was marching against Gaṇḍagōpāla.

The ancestors of the Reḍḍi rulers of Koṇḍaviḍu who were in the service of Cōḍa Tikka of Nellore about this period, probably took an active part in routing the forces of Vīra Sōmēśvara. In Śaka 1162/ 1240 A. D. Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka was at Kāñcīpura. He made a gift for a perpetual lamp in the Aruḷāla Perumāl temple in the

37. Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Gb. 45.

38. Ep. Coll., No. 404 of 1919. Members of this family of ministers of the Hoysāla king, Vīra Narasiṃha seem to have the titles Daṇḍinagōpa and Jagadobbagaṇḍa (Vide, Ep. Coll., No. 617 of 1919). From the inscriptions at Conjeevaram (Nos. 404, 611, 612, 615 and, 617) the following geneology of these generals may be formulated.



39. Ut. Rm., I, v. 34.

40. Ep. Coll., No. 446 of 1919.

41. Ep. Carn., Vol., VI, Kd. 100.

twenty-fourth year" of the Coḷa emperor, Rājarāja III, that is, in Śaka 1162/1240 A. D. Evidently it was about this period that the Redḍi chieftains defeated Appaya Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka.

As a consequence of this defeat, the Hoysaḷa generals, in accordance with the custom of the age, had laid down their titles of *Daṇḍinagōpi* and *Jagadobbagaṇḍa* with their insignia at the feet of the victors, the Redḍi chieftains, which the latter assumed as a proud privilege. It was one of the customs prevalent in the mediaeval period for the victor to assume the titles of the vanquished to indicate the latter's complete subjection. The vanquished had generally no right to assume them until and unless he defeated his victor once again in the field of battle. In this manner many titles of merit, in ancient times, travelled from country to country and from family to family. The Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu got these titles, *Daṇḍinagōva* (mentioned in the Redḍi inscriptions and literature), *Jagadobbagaṇḍa* (Jaganobbagaṇḍa) and *Appaya-Goppaya diṣāpaṭṭa* as a heritage from their forefathers who defeated the Hoysaḷa generals of Vīra Sōmēśvara.

Alagiya varada-kīraḷkhaṇḍana: This title implies that the Redḍis cut off the head of Alagiavarada whose identity is unknown. The Kaḍava king Kōpperuṅginga and his father were called Alagiya Sīyan, and Alagiya Pallava respectively. The term Alagiya or Alagiya may probably indicate that Alagiavarada also was a Pallava prince related to Kōpperuṅginga. If this surmise is correct, this exploit also has to be dated to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Pāṇḍyarāya-gajakēśari: This title suggests that the Redḍi chiefs gained a victory over the Pāṇḍya king or kings. When did this event take place?

Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital passed into the hands of the Mussal-mans almost about the date of the fall of Warāṅgal. According to the recent researches made in South Indian History, we come to know that this event took place in 1323 A.D.⁴² The Pāṇḍyan power was shaken to its foundations by internecine quarrels and Khusrū Khān's invasion of Ma'bar in 1319 A.D. The conquest, therefore, of the Pāṇḍyas by the Redḍi chieftains must have taken place some time before 1319 A.D., presumably during the southern campaign of Kākati Pratāparudra of Warāṅgal. Pratāparudra sent Muppiḍi Nāyaka, one of his able officers to the south "to restore his authority on the Southern frontier" by driving away the Pāṇḍyas from Kāñci, and to make it a military outpost to ward off enemy invasions from the southern region. The Kākatiya general set

42. Ep. Coll., No. 615 of 1919.

43. J. O. R. V. o, IXII, p, 212.

out with a huge army accompanied by able officers like Dēvari Nāyaka, Bāl Nāyaka, his own son, Pedda Rudra and several other chiefs belonging to Rēceṇṇa and other families. The five Pāṇḍyas, Sundara Pāṇḍya, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Vira Pāṇḍya, Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulasekhara Pāṇḍya who were in possession of Kāñci mustered their forces and offered stout resistance to the armies of Pratāparudra. A terrible fight ensued, in which Muppiḍi Nāyaka and his forces came out victorious. They captured Kāñci in Saka 1238 / 1316 A.D. and expelled the five Pāṇḍyas " from that place. The title *Pāṇḍyārūpaṇḍya-jakṣari* was conferred on the Rēceṇṇa chiefs and others who distinguished themselves in this battle. Since the Reddis also had this title it is likely that they had also taken part in this campaign. It is not unlikely that Prōla, and his son Vēma, the young warrior aspiring to fame, accompanied the Kākatiya general to Kāñci.

Ceñcumala curakāra: 'Ceñcumala' is also referred to in inscriptions and literature as Ceñjimala' which seems to be the correct name. The meaning of this title is "the plunderer of 'Ceñjimala', the fortress of Gingee. This refers to some victory gained at Gingee by Vēma Redḍi himself or by his forefathers.

Vēma's dominions never extended so far as Gingee in South Arcot district. Since this title is mentioned in the earliest grant of Prōlaya Vēma, the exploit justifying that title must have taken place prior to the establishment of the Redḍi power, most probably during the southern campaign of Kākati Pratāparudra when the Redḍi nobles followed Muppiḍi Nāyaka to Kāñci. The Dakshāram inscription⁴⁴ of Peda Rudra, son of Muppiḍi Nāyaka dated in Saka 1243/1321 A.D., furnishes many details of this campaign. From this record we understand that Nārāyaṇavanam in Chittūr District and many other strongholds in its neighbouring country were reduced, the Sāmbuvarāyaṇs were brought under subjection, and the territory of the Hoysāḷa emperor, Baḷḷa III in the Tamil country was overrun. After capturing Kāñci, Muppiḍi Nāyaka pursued the Pāṇḍyas further south as far as Jambukēśvaram in Trichinopoly district⁴⁵. An inscription⁴⁶ of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍān Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva at Vridhāchalam, south of Gingee, the details of the date of which work out correctly for 1315 A.D., praises the Kākatiya minister, Muppiḍi Nāyaka, and refers to a service instituted in his name. It was probably during their march to the south that Gingee was plundered by

44. Ibid, p. 199.

45. Ibid, pp. 213 to 216; also, see page 204; f. n.

46. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 430.

47. Ep. Coll., No. 72 of 1918.

the Reddi chieftains, some of the leading nobles in the army of Muppidi Nāyaka.

Gujjaritattu-vibhāḷa" (the destroyer of Gujjara or Gūrjara Cavalry): The only clear instance when the army of Gujarat is known to have been in action in the Deccan country about this period was during the famous siege of Kāmpili by the Imperial forces when Kāmpilirāya gave shelter to Bahā-al-Dīn Gushtāsp who rebelled against the authority of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq "The king (Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq) having intelligence of the revolt" writes Ferishta, "commanded Khwaja Jehān, with many other officers and the whole of the Gujarat forces, to chastise the rebel chief."⁴⁸ Bahā-al-Dīn Gushtāsp met the invading armies at Dēvagiri but was defeated, owing to the defection of one of his principal commanders, but fled to Sagar. The Imperialists followed him thither. He then fled to the rājah of Kāmpili with his family and all his belongings and took shelter with them. The Imperial forces still pursued the rebel and laid siege to Kummaṭa in the kingdom of Kāmpili. Here they were defeated twice by the Hirdus.⁴⁹ This was probably the occasion when the Reddi nobles, joining hands with the king of Kāmpili, defeated the Imperial Gujarāt forces and assumed the title "*Gujjaritattuvibhāḷa*". Vēma himself with his brothers and relatives might have co-operated with the king of Kāmpili in this war against the common enemy, Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. This event took place in A.H. 727 or 1326-27 A.D.

Rācūridurgavibhāḷa and *Āneyamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa*:— These two titles have to be considered now. '*Rācūridurgavibhāḷa*' means the destroyer of the fortress of Rācūru or Raichūr and *Āneyamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa*, the hero, or the conqueror of the *Āneyamaṇḍalikas*, or the feudatory chiefs of Ānegondi. The exploit suggested by the first title must have taken place between Saka 1216/ 1294 A. D., the date of the construction of the fort⁵⁰ of Raichūr and Śaka 1258/1336-37 A.D., the date of the foundation of the Vijaynagar kingdom, the capital of which was at first Ānegondi. There is reason to believe that the Reddi chiefs secured the above two titles in the course of a single campaign during the independence movement in the Andhra country in the post-Kākatiya period.

Encouraged by the victory of the nobles in the Coastal region the Āraviṭi chief, Sōmadēvarāja rose against the local Muslim chiefs about Saka 1251/ 1329 A. D., and re-conquered the country lying to the north and south of the Tūṅgabhadrā. In the course of this successful

48. Ferishta, Vol. I. pp. 418—19.

49. *History of Qaraunah Turks in India*, p. 65.

50. A. S. P. P., Vol. VI. pp. 33 ff.

campaign he conquered many forts like Ānegondi, Rācūru and so on. It is not unlikely that the Redḍi chieftains, Vēma and his followers lent their whole-hearted support to Sōmadēvarāja, the leader of the revolt. The above two titles suggest that the Redḍis played an important part in reducing the fortress of Rācūru and subjugating the Āneyamaṇḍalikas.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the ancestors of the Redḍi's of Koṇḍaviḍu entered into military service sometime about the first quarter of the thirteenth century, if not earlier. They first served the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore or Vikramasimhapura and later on, the Kakatiyas of Waraṅgal. They slowly rose to prominence by gaining influence in the state through the favour of their immediate superiors and the Kakatiya provincial governors.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva :

The members of the Ghōḍerāya family were the gurus and spiritual guides of the Redḍi kings from the beginning of their political career. Errā Pregaḍa addresses his patron Vēma in his work '*Harivaṁśam*' as one who established his kingdom by the mercy of his preceptor, Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva (*Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅga-guru-kṛpā-s'hūpita - sūmrājya samudāpita - Vēma - narēndra*).⁵¹ Vēma is also described in the Madras Museum plates,⁵² as the bee at the lotus feet of his *guru* named Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgaya. Members of the Ghōḍerāya family exercised over the Redḍi kings much influence as their *gurus* throughout their political career.

The identity of Vēma's *guru* Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva has not yet been established. There was one Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva or Gaṅgidēva, the minister of Āmbadēva, one of the powerful Kāyastha feudatories of Rudramadēvi, queen of Waraṅgal. Āmbadēva ruled the districts of Ghaṇḍikōṭa, Mulikināḍu, Renāḍu, Peḍakallu, Sakili, Ēruva, Pottapi and others from 1272 A.D. to about 1304 A.D. His inscriptions dated Śaka 1194, 1212 and 1213 or 1272, 1290 and 1291 A.D., are found at Tripurāntakam in the Markāpur taluk of Kurnool District. His minister,

51. “శ్రీ పర్యతేశ భక్తి

భక్తీతనన ఘోషాయ నంజయ్యపా

సావిత సామ జ్యసము

ద్వీపిత తమశ్రీనిధి దీప్తినివేదా” — Hr. Vm., II. iv, v. 1.

This verse stated to be found in some of the manuscripts, is given as *Paṭhan-tara* in the Vaviḷḷa edition.

52. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 15.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva⁵³ was an able and upright administrator and carried out many charitable works. Himself being a great devotee of Śiva, he made several gifts to Śaiva temples, dug canals, constructed tanks, and set up feeding houses to Māhēśvaras or Śaiva devotees. He got the land surveyed and assessed after measuring it with a standard rod. This Gaṅgayadēva may be the same as the *guru* of Vēma, referred to in the Madras Museum plates and in the *Harivaṃśam*. If this identity is accepted, and there is nothing to go against it, it may be presumed that it was he who took the forefathers of Vēma into the service of Ambadēva and appointed them to responsible posts in the region of Tripurāntakam in Kurnool District.

Vēma's family:

The early members of the Koṇḍavīṭi family did not leave behind any records, even though their titles bespeak of their long and brilliant military career in the past. The reason for the absence of their early records cannot be easily explained. In fact, the inscriptions of the Reddis of Koṇḍavīṭu refer only to two earlier generations of Vēma and Prōla, grandfather and father of Vēma respectively. Of these Vēma, the grandfather is described as *vaṃśakartā*.⁵⁴ The Muṭṭūru copper-plate record⁵⁵ of Prōlaya Vēma furnishes some interesting information about them. The original plates of this record are lost; but a copy of this grant is preserved in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*. Besides stating that Vēma's grandfather Vēma was the *vaṃśakartā*, this record informs us that he was a powerful '*śaiṅga nāyaka*', commandant of forces. It is evident from this that Vēma, unlike his predecessors, rose to the position of a commander, presumably under the Kayastha chief, Ambadēva. The statement that the family owed its rise to the favour of

53. Loc. Rec. Vol. XV, and XLV, Kaṭṭiyats of Gaṇḍikōṭa, and Andalur. Ep., Coll. No. 406 of 1911. The Drujjavaram grant (*Redḍi Rāṇi*, vol. III, pp. 157 ff.) of Anavema also states that his father Vema ruled the land by the favour of the great guru, Ghōḍerāya.

तेषां प्रशस्तमहिमाप्रसारिजातः

श्रीवेभभूमिगणो जगनोऽवगण्डः ।

श्रीघोडैरायगुरुवर्यदत्तविशेषा

त्वृधिधीं प्रशस्तिं सकलामकलकृत्तुतिः॥

54. According to the *Vemaabhūpalavarṇanam* (cento, 1) of Vamanabhaṭṭa Bapa Kama Bhupati was the founder of this Redḍi family of Koṇḍavīṭu and Prōla, father of Vema was his descendant.

Could this Kama be identical with Kama, a descendant of Brahma of the Rēcēla Redḍi family of Pillalamagṛi and the general of Kakati Prōla II?

55. Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri gave published this copy in the Telugu journal, *Redḍi Rāṇi*, Vol. III, (1926, Sept.), No. 12.

Ghōḍeraya Gaṅgayadēva seems to be the bare truth. The same record informs us that Prōla was a *kṣamānūjha*, a term connoting probably a higher rank and position in the state than that of his father. Another inscription⁵⁶ at Kandukūr in Nellore district extols him in hyperbolic terms as the crest-jewel of kings, and as having an army consisting of elephants. The Mallavaram record⁵⁷ of Vēma I calls him Kōmaṭi Prōla and describes him as 'a garuḍa to the serpents which are hostile kings'. These statements are mere hyperboles. At the most, they suggest that he was a nāyaka or a noble of some importance. The *birudāraḥis* of the seventy two nāyaks confirm this opinion in a way. As stated before, the Dēsaṭlas, members of the Dōsaṭi family were one of the seventy two nāyaks that served the Kakatīya monarch, Prataparudra. It is likely that Prōla, father of Vēma I was connected with the administration of the Triṇurāntakam region or its vicinity during the second decade of the fourteenth century A. D. It was probably because they were holding sway in this region that the lord of Kumārāgiri or Kumārasaila became their tutelary deity⁵⁸.

Though the kings of Konḍaviḍu and Rājamahēndravaram were of the same Paṇṭa clan their families and gōtras were entirely different. The former trace their descent from Vēma and the latter from Dūvuri Perumāṇḍi Redḍi. The kings of Konḍaviḍu belong to the Vellacēri gōtra, and those of Rājamahēndravaram to Pōlvōia gōtra.

As stated already, the first member of the Konḍaviḍu family known to us is Vēma. His son Prōla, Kōmaṭi Prōla as he is also called, married Annemānīā, daughter of Doḍḍa Redḍi, a commander of note. He had by her five sons, named Māca, Vēma, Doḍḍa, Annaya and Malla, of whom Māca and Malla were the eldest and the youngest respectively. Eṅga Peggada does not mention Doḍḍa in his work *Harivaṁśam* while describing his patron's family, the reason for which might be his premature death.

Like their father Prōla, his sons Māca and Vēma also have the prefix Kōmaṭi to their names. Vēma was also called Kōmaṭindra, Kōmaṭi Vēma, Anavēma and Prōlaya Vēma (son of Prōla). It is not known how and why some of the members of this Redḍi family had come to bear the name Kōmaṭi signifying a Vaiśya or a member of the third caste, both as a prefix and a proper name. Whether true or not, a story current in the Telugu country for many generations and

56. N. D. I., II, No. 34, pp. 516 ff.

57. Ibid., III, O. 73, pp. 1022 ff.

58. The R. ḍis even recorded that the Kingdom over which they ruled, was offered them by god Tapurantaka (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226).

preserved in the *Koṇḍavīṭi daṇḍakavile* and the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīṭu furnishes the clue to this puzzle. It also tells us how the Reddis were able to establish their independent power within such a short time.

In brief, the story is this. There was one Allāḍa Reddi of the Donti family. A merchant (Kōmaṭi) by name Vēmana or Vēmu who had spent a number of years in forests with Siddhas and Yōgis and acquired a piece of philosopher's stone that transformed iron into gold, came as a guest to his house. The merchant Vēma took enough care to hide and protect his precious treasure in utmost secrecy. However, in course of time Allāḍa came to know of this and waited for an opportunity to rob it from him. He bethought himself of an ingenious plan and put it into execution. When Vēma was once absent from the house, Allāḍa took possession of the philosopher's stone and in order to be above suspicion, set the house on fire. Poor Vēmana, after returning home, became mad with dismay to find the house on fire. He asked Allāḍa about his stone, when the latter pleaded ignorance and replied that it might have probably shared the same fate as his own dear house, if ever there were any such thing on earth. Overpowered with grief and disappointment for the loss of such an invaluable treasure which cost him the labour of his whole life, Vēmana leapt into the fire and committed suicide.

Sometime after this, the story goes on to say that Komaṭi Vēma, once making his appearance in Allāḍa's dream, told him that he had come to know the truth of the affair and held out a threat that he would ruin his family, in case the money thus obtained was not utilised for charitable purposes. He also asked him to name his descendants after him. Tradition asserts that Allāḍa and his sons raising a large army with the money obtained by the philosopher's stone, defeated the local chiefs and rose to power.

This is the story and neither Allāḍa, nor the Donti family are historically true. However, we have to note this fact that many of the kings of Koṇḍavīṭu had the names Vēma and Kōmaṭi, names rarely found among the other Reddi families. It might be that the records wrongly give the names of Allāḍa and Donti for Prōla and Dēsaṭi; for, the Mañchāḷa copper-plate grant⁵⁹ of Prōlaya Vēma credits him with having known the art of alchemy (*Śaraṇakaraprasiddhiṃ labdhavā*). This might be a mild and covert allusion to the story recorded in the *Koṇḍavīṭi daṇḍakavile* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts*.

59. Mack. Mss., Nos. 15-16-17 and 15-3-64; Loc. Rec., XLVIII, pp. 130 ff., XII, pp. 13 ff.

Anyhow, in those dark days of misrule and anarchy consequent on the fall of Waraṅgal, when there was no recognised central government in the country, Prōla, like every other potentate, might have also tried for the acquisition of political power. He did not, probably, live long enough to achieve his object. Nevertheless, his political ambitions were fulfilled and his dreams realised only in his second son, Vēma, the founder of the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu.

CHAPTER IV.

APPENDIX, 'A'

The term Reddi has long been in use in the Telugu country as a suffix to the names of the members of the Kāpu community. It furnishes to some extent the clue to the origin and history of this community. No word in the Telugu language has undergone so many changes in its evolution as the term Reddi. Reddi is the final form in the course of centuries of development, its immediate predecessor being Radḍi. The form Radḍi was in vogue till the seventeenth century along with its present form of Reddi which came into use even as early as the fourteenth century. The word Radḍi was used by the Telugu poets, Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa¹ of the sixteenth century and Mallā Redḍi² of the seventeenth century in their works. Inscriptions³ of the fourteenth century bear evidence to the fact that the term Redḍi was also in use then. Radḍi was the developed form of the term, Raṭṭaḍi which had been in use earlier than Radḍi. This form is found freely used in classical Telugu works⁴, as that was evidently the form current at the time of their composition. The word, Raṭṭaḍu, plural of Raṭṭaḍi finds mention in the *Śivatattvasāram*⁵, a Telugu work by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitarādhya of the early twelfth century. Inscriptions⁶ show that the form Raṭṭaḍi was in use even from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Raṭṭaḍi evolved from Raṭṭōḍi of the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyan period. '*Raṭṭōḍi cānu*' (the field of Raṭṭōḍi), *Raṭṭōḍi tōṃṭa*

1. "ఎడెతనపుర క నీతల

రెడ్డిల నడచిరి పురస్సరహృదయముగా..." Pn. Mh., III, v. 75.

2. "రెడ్డి పేరులు తిప్పపురంబు నిరలఁ

బాదలు లింగాపురంబును బోతనాని..." Sv. Dh., I, v. 60.

3. N.D.I., Nol. II, O. 58, p. 994. Ep. Coll., No. 310 of 1926.

For the term Radḍi, See, N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 79. II, Kr. 229; Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 314; N. D. I., I, A, 24 etc..

4. "...మీ రోజునెడి నడవకుండుడు

రాజులు రట్టోడి నడచి రావల్లిటిక్కె..." v. 200.

5. N. D. I., Vol. III, P. 38, p. 1203; P. 22, p. 1180; Ep. Coll., Nos. 363 and 364 of 1905; A. S. P. P., Vol. II, p. 399; N. D. I., Kr. Vol. II, 67, p. 607; Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 139.

Raṭṭōḍi, Rodḍi, Raddodi, and Raddi are the variants of the same term Raṭṭaḍi *Raṭṭōḍi cānu* (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 139 ff. Masulipatam plates), *Raṭṭōḍi tōṃṭa* (C.P., No. 6 of 1913-14); Ep. Coll. No. 675 of 1917; *Raṭṭōḍi Kāmpulu kāvēvara* (N.D.I., Vol. II, Kr. 67, p. 607).

(the garden of Raṭṭōḍi), *Dinini Raṭṭōḍi Kāmūlu kācuvāru* 'May *Raṭṭōḍi Kāpus* protect thi-). passages like these occur in the records of the Eastern Caḷukyan period. These show that the form Raṭṭōḍi was in currency from about the end of the seventh century to the tenth or eleventh century.

Even 'Raṭṭōḍi' was not the original term. It was the corrupt or the developed form of Raṭṭakuḍi which finds mention in inscriptions of the early seventh, and of the late sixth century. The term Raṭṭagudi, another variant of Raṭṭakuḍi finds mention in the early Telugu inscriptions discovered in Guṇṭūr, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts.

1. Raṭṭōḍi - (plural) Raṭṭoḍlu
2. Raṭṭagudi - (,) Raṭṭagudlu
3. Raṭṭagudi
4. Māramma Calki Raṭṭagudi
5. Kurramma Vallava Raṭṭagudi
6. Uttamāditya Raṭṭagudlu
7. Cōḷiya Raṭṭagudlu
8. Gaṅga Raṭṭagudlu
9. Raṭṭakuḍi

The above forms are found in the Telugu inscriptions⁶ discovered in the Proddaṭūru, Jammalamadugu and Kāmalapuram taluks of Cuddapah district and in the Palnād taluk of Guṇṭūr district. From the evidence cited above it is clear that the term Reḍḍi evolved from Raṭṭakuḍi of the Telugu inscriptions of the seventh and probably of earlier centuries.

In an inscription at Dāksharam⁷ dated in the 34th year of Kullōttuṅga Cōḷaḍēva I the terms *Raṭṭaḍamu* (the office of Raṭṭaḍi, one of the forms derived from Raṭṭakuḍi) and *Rāṣṭrakūṭam* are used as synonyms in the Telugu and Sanskrit passages respectively. This makes it clear that the term *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* was used as an equivalent in meaning to Raṭṭaḍi, the later form of Raṭṭakuḍi. *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* therefore can safely be taken to be the Sanskrit form of Raṭṭakuḍi (the components *Rāṣṭra* being equal to *Raṭṭa* and *kūṭa* to *kuḍi*). The *Dēśi* word Raṭṭakuḍi and the Sanskrit term, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* being synonymous, are philologically the same. These terms were co-existent from very early times from about the seventh century or even earlier.

6. Ep. Coll., Nos., 384, 400, 400 b, 403, 408, 408 (a) of 1904; 798 of 1917; 337 of 1905; Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp, 342 - 43.

7. S. I. I., IV, No. 1281.

".....*Krundorgrāmē Rāṣṭrakūṭam sa-bhōgam*....."

"...శ్రద్ధవాదివాంటి క్రుందటం రజ్జువము..."

In fact, there were some Rāṣṭrakūṭa families which held sway over a greater part of the Deccan from the seventh century. Their records were all in Sanskrit, so much so, only the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa finds mention therein. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Malkhēḍ are described in the Kannada passages in their copper-plate records as *Raṭṭa Vidyādhara*s, *Raṭṭa Kandarpa*s, *Raṭṭa kulabhūṣaṇa*s and *Raṭṭa vaṃśōd-bhava*s. The terms, *Raṭṭakulabhūṣaṇa* and *Raṭṭa vaṃśōdbhava* mean an ornament of the Raṭṭa family and one born of the Raṭṭa family respectively. They indicate that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was also called Raṭṭa kula or Raṭṭa vaṃśa.

Considerable difficulty is experienced in tracing the development of the term, Raṭṭakuḍi still further back owing to the absence of inscriptions written in South Indian languages during the early centuries of the Christian era. Even the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa is not met with in early inscriptions. Only terms which are similar to Rāṣṭrakūṭa like Mahārāṣṭraka or Rāṣṭraka, find mention in records prior to the seventh century. We meet with the terms, Mahārāṣṭrakas in the Aihole inscription⁸ of Pulakēśin II, dated in Śaka 556 (634—35 A. D.), Mahārāṭhis in the Nānāghat, Kārli and Kanheri inscriptions⁹ of the Śāta-vāhana period, Raṭṭhikas in the Hathigumpha inscription¹⁰ of Khāravēla, king of Kāṭiṅga, and Rāṣṭrikas in the Aśōkan or edicts,¹¹ of which Rāṣṭika (Shahabazgarhi), Rāṭraka (Mansera), and Ristika (Girnar) are the variants. One can easily recognise some sort of philological relationship between Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Rāṣṭrika of the Aśōkan edicts. Raṭṭa or Raṭṭika, a variant of Rāṣṭika, Rāṭraka or Rāṣṭraka may be recognised as the first member of the compound term, Raṭṭa-kuḍi.

Countries bearing names Āraṭṭa, Surāṭṭa, Maraṭṭa and Raṭṭa-paḍi or Raṭṭavāḍi etc., are very well-known. It is an established principle that countries generally take their names after the tribes settling or inhabiting therein. From this axiom I am tempted to conclude that Āraṭṭa, Surāṭṭa, and Maraṭṭa were probably different clans of the same ethnic stock and belonged to the same tribe.

Rāṣṭra, the Sanskritised form of Raṭṭa means now a district or a province and Rāṣṭrika, Rāṣṭriya or Rāṣṭrapāla was an official in charge of a Rāṣṭra. Even as early as the time of the Śātavāhanas raṭṭa or rāṣṭra came to mean a district or a province, e. g., Śātavāhanaraṭṭa. I hold the opinion that the term raṭṭa originally denoted the name of a tribe, and that it acquired the secondary meaning of a district or a province only at a later period.

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 6. —The country of the Mahārāṣṭrakas.

9. A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, p. 107; Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 61.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 79, l. 6.

11. A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 125; Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 453.

It is an admitted fact that the Indian population is a composite one, rather, an amalgamation of different tribes and races having their own respective culture and civilisation that had come and inhabited the Indian peninsula at some very remote period. The vocabulary of each tribal language consisted of words denoting their civilisation and institutions. As time rolled on, the different tribes and their vocabularies have got mixed up so thoroughly as to form a composite Indian nation and a composite Indian language (dialectical). The term *raṭṭa* or *rāṣṭra* which we now use to denote a province, probably acquired that meaning from the political constitution that had been in vogue among the *Raṭṭas*.

As stated before, the Sanskrit term *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* is equivalent to the *deśi* term *Raṭṭa-kūḍi*, *rāṣṭra* being the Sanskritised form of *Raṭṭa*. If such is the case the term *kūṭa* should correspond to *kūḍi*. Of the two forms *raṭṭa-kūḍi* and *raṭṭa-guḍi* the former is the correct and the early form and the latter, its variant and a late form; for, generally the initial guttural letter *ka* of many of the *deśi* terms in Telugu is now changed into *ga*. Then, what is meant by the term *kūṭa* or *kūḍi*?

While editing the *Mālepaḍu* plates of *Puṇyakumāra*, the *ājñapti* of which was a certain *Māripidugu Raṭṭaguḍi*, the late Rao Saheb Mr. H. Krishna Sastri made the following explanatory observations on the terms, *Salki Raṭṭaguḍi* (*Salki Raṭṭaguḍi*), *Cōḷiya Raṭṭaguḍi*, *Vallava* (*Pallava*) *Raṭṭaguḍi* etc., occurring in the Telugu inscriptions discovered in *Cuddapah* district. "Its (the term *Raṭṭaguḍi*'s) significance", says he, "as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later Sanskrit word, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* which has been explained in the sense 'the headman of the village'..... In some inscriptions *Raṭṭaguḍi* is found compounded with the name of a royal family as *Salki-Raṭṭaguḍi*, *Gagga* (*Gaṅga*) *Raṭṭaguḍi*, *Cōḷiya-Raṭṭa-guṭṭu* etc. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty *Salki* or *Calki*, *Gagga* (*Gaṅga*), *Vallava* (*Pallava*, *Vallabha* or *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*), and *Cōḷiya* or *Cōḷa* under whose patronage the dignity (*Paṭṭamu*) of *Raṭṭaguḍi* was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase '*Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhaṇ kuṭumbināḥ*' which occurs in copper-plate inscriptions, shows also that the *Rāṣṭra-kūṭas*, were *Kuṭumbins*, cultivators (*kūḍi* in Tamil) who enjoy a higher social status than others of their community."¹²

In the passage given above the late Mr. Krishna Sastri tried to explain the prefixes *Salki*, *Vallava*, *Gaṅga*, *Cōḷiya* etc., and opined that *Raṭṭakuḍi* like its equivalent, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* was the name indicating the

12. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 342 - 43.

dignity (*potṭipṇu pēru*). He did not attempt to explain the second component *kuḍi* or *guḍi* in Raṭṭaguḍi. He almost touched the point but did not account for it. It was the late Dr. Fleet who, while editing some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, was confronted with doubt as to how he should explain the term *kūṭa* in Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

"Now the word, *kūṭa*" writes Dr. Fleet, "has the meaning among others of 'the highest, most excellent, first' derived no doubt from its meanings of 'any prominence, a peak or summit of a mountain'. In literature it occurs in that meaning in the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, (2, 9, 19), where Bhagavat (Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) is represented as addressing Brahman as '*kūṭayōginām*' — 'O Chief of ascetics'. In Epigraphic records it is used in the same meaning in the official title '*grāmakūṭa*', a 'chief or headman of a village,' and also in the word, Rāṣṭrakūṭa in an official title meaning the headman of a territorial division, technically known as a rāṣṭra. The word in the same meaning was plainly employed in making up the full family name, Rāṣṭrakūṭa. And the use of it to fill out and give sufficient pomp to that form of the name very probably suggested by the actual existence of the word Rāṣṭrakūṭa as an official title. But we need not think that the name is itself the official title or that, like the official title, it means a headman of rāṣṭra. It was plainly intended to mean 'highest, most excellent' chief or leader of the Raṭṭas".¹³

If, as Dr. Fleet contends, *kūṭa* in Rāṣṭrakūṭa means a chief it is unintelligible why another word *pramukha* denoting the same meaning had to be used as in '*Rāṣṭrakūṭa - pramukhān*' of the Eastern Cālukyan copper-plate grants. The second suffix having the same meaning as the first one is redundant and unnecessary. The very addition of *pramukha* to Rāṣṭrakūṭa connotes that *kūṭa* should have some meaning other than what was given by Dr. Fleet. When he edited the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions he does not seem to have consulted the Telugu inscriptions discovered in Cuddapah district containing the term Raṭṭakuḍi or Raṭṭaguḍi. Either they had not been discovered by that time, or if discovered, his attention was not drawn to them because of their very recent discovery. If he was aware of the term, Raṭṭaguḍi his remarks on Rāṣṭrakūṭa would have been probably different.

In Raṭṭakuḍi the second part *kuḍi* seems to be a *Dēśi* word, and the abbreviated form of *kuḍiyan* which means a cultivator, a ryot or a farmer (a *kūpu*). The term *kuḍi* in the above sense still obtains in the words *kuḍivāram* (the cultivator's share as against mēlvāram or the king's share) and in *kuḍitala* (meaning land). *Kuḍi* in Raṭṭakuḍi

13. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 223.

therefore seems to connote that the Raṭṭas were mainly *Kuḍigans* or *Kāpus*, that is, cultivators. Even to-day the usage *Redḍi-Kāpu* is in currency in the Telugu country.

The Raṭṭakuḍis of the Telugu inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries were a section of the Raṭṭas who spread over the whole of the Central Deccan in a very remote period and had their settlements both in the Canarese and the Telugu countries. The term *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukha* finds mention in the copper-plate records of the coastal Andhra Country from about the seventh century. It is absent in the grants of the Pallavas, Bhātphalāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas and Viṣṇukunḍins- the dynasties that ruled the coastal Andhra country before the seventh century. It was Jayasīṃhavallabha I, the Eastern Cālukya monarch, son of Viṣṇuvardhana I who addressed for the first time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhas at the time of making a grant of some land or village to brāhmanas. This shows that the Raṭṭakuḍis spread along the sea-board as far north as Kalinga, and that they became the leaders of the village communities by the time of Jayasīṃha Vallabha I. Ever since that time, they maintained their reputation as the chiefs of the cultivating class of the Telugu country. The kings therefore found it necessary, at the time of making grants of lands or villages to brāhmanas, to inform and address the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhas* inhabiting a *nāḍu* (a territorial division) in which the land or village donated lay.

From the seventh century onwards some of the members of the Raṭṭakuḍi families held important posts also in the administration of the country. They were the *ājñaptis*, that is, executors of grants under the Telugu Cōla rulers of the Rēnāḍu country.

These leaders of the Raṭṭakuḍis in each village appear to have been responsible for the agricultural tax, either in kind or coin, to be paid to the king by the cultivators. This duty of collecting the king's share of produce from the village devolved in course of time on the chief leader of the Raṭṭakuḍis who eventually became a prominent officer of the state, the headman of the village, and the connecting link between the rulers and the ruled. His office was known as Raṭṭaḍamu, a term which came into vogue when the form of Raṭṭaḍi, a developed form of Raṭṭakuḍi was in currency. After the form Raḍḍi came into use, the office was known as Raḍḍikikamu. Now it goes by the name of Redḍikamu since Redḍi is the form now in currency. The office has been known as Raṭṭaḍamu, Raḍḍikamu or Redḍikamu in accordance with the duties originally performed by a Raṭṭaḍi (Raḍḍi or Redḍi) even if the office-holder were other than a Redḍi by caste,

CHAPTER V.

PRĀLAYA VĒMAREḌḌI.

(A. D. 1324-25 to Cir. A. D. 1353)

The facts and circumstances under which the Reḍḍi kingdom of Korḍavidu took its birth, have not all come to light. The available material is scanty and not well sifted at that. The foundation of this kingdom, we may say, was the result of one of the several attempts made by nobles and statesmen of the mediaeval Andhra country to restore peace and order out of the political turmoil and anarchy which followed the expulsion of Muslims from the land. It came into existence as the custodian of Hindu *dharma* and culture, and to revive the old Vēdic traditions and ritual which suffered a death blow and became almost extinct under an alien rule. The Mallavaram record¹ of Vēma dated in Saka 1247 is a very important one in the history of the Andhras in general, and of the Reḍḍis in particular. In fact, it marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Telugu country. The coastal tract was liberated by the date of that record.

Vemā Reḍḍi, son of Prālaya Reḍḍi, a chieftain of Pākanāḍu or Pūṅgi viṣaya was the real founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom. The Mallavaram record describes him as the virtual Agastya to the ocean of the Mlēcchehas' *Mlēcch = ābdhi-Kumbh = ōḍbhavaḥ*). It is clear from this that he had taken an active and almost the chief part in ejecting the Mussalmans. An ardent supporter of Hindu *dharma*, Prālaya Vēma placed all his resources in men and material at the disposal of Prālaya Nāyaka in the struggle for the liberation of his country and strove hard with the help of his brothers and relations to free it from the Muslim yoke. He knew that the strength of the Hindus lay in their union and so co-operated willingly with the other Hindu nobles. Their combined efforts bore fruit and their object was at last achieved. Hindu supremacy was firmly established in the coastal region.

The limits of Vēma's sphere of action during this troublous period are in a way defined by the mention, in the Mallavaram inscription, of the three important rivers, the Brahmakuṇḍi or Kuṇḍiprabhā (Guṇḍlakamma), the Kṛṣṇā and the Gautamī. It was probably during this period that Vēma, as stated in the above

1. N. D. I., III, O. 73, p. 1022; *Forgotten chapter*, pp. 89—90, foot note, 7.

inscription, granted to brāhmins several *agrahāras* situated on the banks of the above-mentioned three rivers, - *agrahāras* which were probably in the enjoyment of the donees before the Pre-Muslim occupation of the country, - after rescuing them from the enemy. This is in a way borne out by two lithic records, one dated ' Saka 1237/1315 A.D., and the other undated,' at Mōgallu (Bhimavaram taluk, West Godavari district) which register gifts of lands to a Saiva poet and *ācārya* Pramathakavi Sirigiri (Srigiri) dēvayyanigāru. Anavēma is the grantor in the undated record. This Saiva poet, as is evident from the dated record, was a contemporary of the last Kakatiya monarch, Pratāparudradēva who ruled till Saka 1245/1323 A.D. Considering the nearness of time Anavēma, the donor in the undated record may be identified with Vēma, son of Kōmaṭi Prōlā Redḍi. This undated record supports the above contention that Vēma re-granted lands probably after freeing them from the possession of the Muslims and that his activities extended as far north as the Gōdāvarī.

We do not know about Vēma's political status and his relations with Prōlaya Nayaka, the leader of the confederacy of nobles after the liberation of the country. It is however to be presumed that he was loyal and subordinate to Prōlaya Nayaka; for, one of the later Redḍi inscriptions, the Kaluvacēṅṅa grant' states that Vēma was one of the seventy five *nayāks* that served Kāpaya Nayaka, the cousin and successor of Prōlaya Nayaka.

Prōlaya Vēma was ably aided in these wars by his powerful brothers and his maternal uncles, Pōtaya, Nāgaya, and Cittaṅṅa. MallāRedḍi, the youngest brother of Vēma was, according to the Mallavaram inscription and the Telugu work *Harivamśam*, the commander of the Redḍi army. He warded off a Muslim invasion of the young Redḍi principality by defeating the hosts of Turuṣka-mallas like Alāvaḍin and others.⁵ This Alāvaḍin was no other than Alā-ud-Dīn, the first Bahmanī Sultān of Gulbarga who ascended the throne in 1347 A. D. (Saka 1269). The Muslims did not stop with invading Tēlīṅgānā

2. EP, Coll., No. 753 of 1920.

3. Ibid, No. 754 of 1920.

4. A S.P.P., Vol. II, pp. 93 to 112; *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, (1914), June and July numbers; *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix, II, pp. 110-111.

5. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-42; The Pedapūḍi grant of KōmaṭiRedḍi.

वेमाधिपस्यावर्जोपिमल्लभूवल्लभोसो जगदेकमल्लः

अज्ञावदीनादितुरुष्कमल्लान् समुल्लभद्भङ्गणान्विजिग्ये ॥

The same verse is also found in the commentary on the *Gīrla S'ṛiśāntimalā* written by S'ivaliṅgaBhupa of the Kandukūru branch of the Redḍis.

(Hyderabad state), the Warāṅgal kingdom of Kāpaya Nāyaka, but seem to have crossed the Kṛṣṇā river and attacked the Redḍi dominion. Mallā Redḍi, the commander of the Redḍi forces drove them away after inflicting a severe defeat on the Bahmanī Sultan, Alā-ud-Dīn and protected the Redḍi kingdom. The date of this invasion cannot be fixed precisely. It must however have taken place some time after the coronation of Alā-ud-Dīn in 1347 A. D.⁶ All the brothers of Vēma as well as his son, Anavōta, assisted him in his campaigns and contributed much to his success. Mallā Redḍi, the commander of the army, is particularly credited, according to the *Harivamśam*, to have put to flight a group of enemy kings by the prowess of his arms and captured the famous sea-port of Mōṭupalli⁷ (in the Bapaṭla taluk of Guṇṭūr district), the 'Caitravara' (the summer resort) of the Kākatiya records. Though the date of the conquest of Mōṭupalli cannot be fixed definitely, it is not unlikely that Mallā Redḍi achieved this victory during the early campaigns of Prōlaya Vēma in the coastal region. The capture of Mōṭupalli did not, however, give Vēma the entire command of the east coast. A large part of it still remained outside the jurisdiction of his authority. However, as a result of their successful campaigns the Redḍis grew powerful, and their importance increased in the coastal tract.

The Redḍis regarded themselves as masters of the south-eastern portion of the Kākatiya dominion extending from Śrīśailam in the Nandikōṭṭur taluk⁸ of Kurnool district to the east coast. They continued to administer this region as usual, as in the time of Pratāparudra with Addanki on the river Kuṇḍiprabha or Guṇḍlakamma (in the Ongole taluk, Guntur district) as their capital. With their strong arms they conquered the rebel chiefs in their neighbourhood and assumed the role of independent rulers.

Of the five sons of Prōlaya Redḍi of Pākanāḍu Vēma was easily the most important. None of his brothers had his military skill, and

6. Vide *Forgotten Chapter*, p. 80.

7. కాహదర్శనునం ప్రతీత ధరణీపాలావలిగి చోలియు

తాహోదగ్రుడు మోటుపల్లి నది సప్తదీపసవ్యస్తుఁడం

హోంబుక-దన కిచ్చు నెచ్చెలి సముద్రం ప్రతీతి గావించుమఱు

మాహర్ష్యంబువహించె మల్లరక్షణీనాథుండు నోహోదధితి ||

—Hr. Vin. I, i. v. 23.

8. Inscriptions of Redḍi nobles like Coraku Jagadaḷu Boḷaya Redḍi and his son Rudradēva who held the position of the Mahāsamanthas during the Kakatiya rule, are found in the Nandikōṭṭur taluk (Vide, Rangachari - Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, p. 948, No. 409 Loc. Rec. It was probably because of this fact that Prōlaya Vēma regarded the territory as far as Śrīśailam as belonging to the Redḍis and brought it under his sway.

far-seeing statesmanship. In his love of Hindu religion and institutions he truly represented the spirit of the age and the soul of the movement for the revival of Hindu *dharma*. Along with Prōlaya Nāyaka he took a lead in organising the forces of the country and concerting measures for its defence against possible Muslim attacks. He built a large number of forts, tradition says it was eighty four, like Dhanyavaṭi or Dharanikōṭa (Amarāvati), Dhanadaprōlu (Tsandavol), Vinukōṇḍa, Kōṇḍaviḍu, Kōṇḍapalli and Bellanḱōṇḍa and stationed garrisons in places of strategic importance.⁹ His brothers and kinsmen who were attached to him and served him loyally, carried out his behests with unswerving devotion. They helped him in establishing law and order, and were mainly responsible in building a powerful Rēḍḍi principality south of the Kṛṣṇa.

Vēma I thus became the leader of the Panṭa Rēḍḍis and master of the new kingdom, the principality of Addanki which has destined to play a notable part in the history of the Andhra country for over a century. Although this Rēḍḍi principality came into existence as a result of the combined efforts of Prōla's family and his relations Vēma I is generally regarded as its founder, as it was under his direction that they worked. It is not, however, easy to explain how Vēma I was chosen king of the new principality in preference to his elder brother, Mācā Rēḍḍi. From 1325 A.D., Rēḍḍi inscriptions refer to Vēma as the ruler of the Rēḍḍi territory and not to his brother. In the light of available evidence, it is reasonable to state that Vēma's brothers and kinsmen recognised him as their chief from the beginning of the Rēḍḍi rule. The causes for this, of course, are not known, but that, however, is a different matter.

Mācā Rēḍḍi loyally obeyed and assisted his brother in setting up an independent state of the Rēḍḍis. The region to the south of the Kṛṣṇa at the end of its course was entrusted to his charge. He seems to have administered this region with Dhanadaprōlu, the modern Tsandavol (Rēpalli Taluk, Guṇṭūr district) as his headquarters. The Sanskrit prose work '*Vēmabhāpālīcaritam*' written by poet Vamana-bhaṭṭa Bāṇa refers to Dhanadapura as one of the *Śākhānagaras*¹⁰.

Vēma I ruled his dominion practically as an independent chief, though nominally acknowledging his allegiance to Prōlaya Nāyaka and his successor, Kāpaya Nāyaka. This subordination did not, however,

9. *Koṇḍaviṭṭāṇḍakavile*.

10. "....धनदपुरप्रभृतीनि शाखानगराणि, बङ्गद्याणानि द्वीपान्तराणि

भुजेन भूषणमिव भुवनभार मुद्रहन्, वन्द्यो बभूव भाचभूपालः"

—Vm. Cr., III, p. 101

last long. The first invasion of Telingānā by the Bahmanī Sultān, Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh shook the power of Kāpaya Nāyaka. The defeat he sustained at the hands of the Sultān greatly enfeebled his authority over the coastal region. He was not able to maintain his hold firmly either over the country above the Ghats or the region below. As a matter of fact, ever since the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom in the neighbourhood of Waraṅgal, Kāpaya Nāyaka was unable to turn his attention to the affairs of the coastal tract. His Gaṇapēs'varam inscription ¹¹ dated in Śaka 1268, i.e., 1346 A. D., is his latest extant record. He seems to have appointed his cousin Toyvēṭi Anavōtā Nāyaka as his representative to carry on the administration of this region. His inscription ¹² at Dakshāram is dated just the next year, that is, Śaka 1269 (1347 A. D.).

Vēma I was not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. Kāpaya Nāyaka's cousin and representative, Anavōtā Nāyaka was not powerful enough to keep in check the growing power of the coastal chieftains. Vēma I realised Anavōtā's weakness and incapacity to afford protection to people from external attacks either Muslim or Hindu. So he decided to carve out his own future and act independently. He broke his bonds of allegiance to the Musunūri chiefs and organised the defence of his dominion to ward off possible enemy-attack. He was now a full fledged independent ruler exercising authority in his own name.

The Kuluvacēḡu grant ¹³ of Anitalli, dated Śaka 1345 (1423 A. D.) gives a different account of Vēma's assumption of independent rule. It says that Vēma, originally one of the seventy five subordinate chiefs of Kāpaya Nāyaka, began to rule the territory independently only after the death of his overlord. This is the only record which indicates the political relationship that existed between the Musunūri chiefs and Vēma Redḍi, and it is on the authority of this record that Vēma's allegiance to the Musunūri chiefs has been postulated above. However, there is an important discrepancy presented by this account. The statement made by the above record regarding Vēma's independent rule, is contrary to the known facts. Kāpaya Nāyaka was not only a contemporary of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh but also of his son, Muhammad Shāh I who ascended the throne in 1359 A.D. Excluding for argument's sake, even his early records, the Mallavaram and the Nekarikallu ¹⁴ inscriptions, Vēma was issuing grants in

11. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 950.

12. Ibid., No. 1294.

13. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 98 ff. *Bharati* (1914).

14. Ep. Coll., No. 210 of 1915.

his own independent capacity from Śaka 1254, that is 1332 A.D. This is the date of his Valivēru grant,¹⁵ and of his Kuṅkalaguṇṭa inscription.¹⁶ From that time onwards till Śaka 1275, i.e. 1353 A.D., the date of the latest record at Māṇikēśvaram¹⁷ to refer to him, several inscriptions of his reign have come to light. In none of them is there any reference to his overlord Kāpaya Nāyaka, to conform with the usual custom observed in the inscriptions of other vassal chiefs. This shows that Vēma was independently ruling the country even while Kāpaya Nāyaka was alive. In fact, it was Kāpaya Nāyaka who outlived Vēma as is evident from the former's contemporaneity with Muhammad Shāh I. It is, therefore, wrong to say that Vēma assumed independence after the death of Kāpaya Nāyaka.¹⁸ How this discrepancy arose and why such a wrong account was given in the Kaluvacēru grant is a mystery which is yet to be unravelled.

Vēma's records do not furnish any important historical information regarding his reign or his campaigns in different directions. They describe him in very general terms of customary hyperbole as 'a river with a great current to the trees of neighbouring kings,' as 'the full moon to the forest of water lilies of his friends,' and as 'a wind to the cotton of arrogant *manne* chieftains.' These statements do not help us in ascertaining Vēma's conquests or the extent of his dominion. The neighbouring kings and *manne* chiefs whom he conquered were probably the descendants of local nobles who held military fiefs under the Kakatiya monarchs. It is not unlikely that some of these were the chieftains of *bōyavihārādēśa* - country of the boyas, references to which are found in inscriptions¹⁹ discovered in the Ātmakūr, Kanigiri and Udayagiri taluks in Nellore district, and the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs. From the time of the Western Caḷukyas of Kalyāṇi these Cōḍa chiefs had become a formidable feudal power in the land and spread over great portions of Kammanāḍu²⁰ (comprising the present Narasāraopeta,

15. Loc. Rec., Vol. LVII, p. 131.

16. S.I.I., Vol. No. 589.

17. N.D.I., III, O. 78, p. 1037.

18. There must have been a strong reason for such an obviously incorrect statement in the Kaluvacēru grant. The political relations between the Musunūri chiefs and the Rājās do not appear to have been smooth in the later period of the reign of Kapa Nāyaka, or probably from the beginning of his reign. It seems certain that there was some rupture between the two houses as a result of the appointment of AnaVota as the Viceroy of the coastal tract, or of some such question relating to administration.

19. Ibid, I.A. 87, p. 251; A. 38, p. 251; A. 39, p. 255;

Ibid, II, Kn. 4, p. 638; Kn. 10, p. 650;

Ibid, III, U. 46, p. 1392.

20. A record (Ep. Coll. No. 402 of 1915) of Śaka 1327 at Appapuram in the Narasāraopeta taluk, Guntur district states that Kammanāḍu formed part of "the Kōṭa province extending by the side of the sea along the river Ūṁkāra, overshadowed by the Śrīśaīlam hill" — Ep. Rep. 1916, p. 57.

Bapaṭla and Ongole taluks in Guṇṭūr district) and Pakaṇaḍu (comprising the northern coastal taluks in Nellore district) in the coastal region. The country around Tripurāntakam (in the Mārkaṭapuram taluk of Kurnool district) was at one time under their sway. " Tripurāntakam is on the north-eastern side of the Nallamalai hills and served as the main outpost to control the region to its west and south, and to command the trade routes leading to the upland country. Vēma was not slow to realise its strategic importance. He conquered the Tripurāntakam region in the early years of his reign.

This region was the original abode of a branch of the Telugu Cōḍas who are called the Cōḍas of Ēḡuva or the Ēḡuva country. Of these Cōḍa chieftains, Kamarāja, better known as Bhaktirāja, belongs to this period. According to his Madras Museum plates " he was at Sṛisāilam or Śrīparvata (Nandikōṭkūr taluk, Kurnool district) in the course of a military campaign (*dhīḥ jagīśur = vicaran*) and made a gift of the village of Kaṇḍvakolnu to a bachelor Śaiva teacher, Śrī Viśvanātha " of the Kauśika gōtra, a resident of Śrīparvata in Saka 1277". It was probably at the same time he also granted the village of Ātukūru to the Lord of the Parvata (Parvatēśvara, that is, god Śrī Mallikāṛjuna of Śrīparvata) at the instance of a certain Pōlidēvayya, chief servant of the Śaiva divine, Sānta Bhikṣāṇṭti yatiśvara of Śrīparvata. It was at the instance of the same Śaiva devotee Pōlidēvayya that he granted, probably about the same period, the village of Āmudālapalli " to god Tripurāntaka of Tripurāntakam (Mārkaṭapuram taluk, Kurnool district). Both Śrīparvata and Tripurāntakam were included, as we know, in the Redḍi dominion. Bhaktirāja

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 190 and 280 of 1905

22. J. O. R. Vol. V, pp. 128 ff; *Bharati*, Vol. VIII, 1931, (July number), pp. 120 ff.

23. Viśvanātha or Viśvēśvara seems to have been one of the powerful Śaiva teachers who exercised great influence over the Telugu chiefs of this period. Kāṇaya Nayaka of the Musunūri family, according to the Kaluvacēru-grant (A. s. p. p. Vol. II, pp. 93 ff), assumed the reins of government after the death of his cousin Prolaya Nayaka and ruled his kingdom at the behest of Viśvēśvara. This Viśvēśvara appears to be identical with Viśvanātha to whom Bhaktirāja granted the village of Kaṇḍvakolnu.

24. The English equivalent of the date is Monday, 7th November, 1356 A. D. (Vide. *Bharati*, Vol. VIII, pp. 795 ff). The grant was made on Monday, on the 15th of the month of Kartika (Mahakartikayam).

25. "భక్తిరాజాఖ్యుడే బహ్వతేశ్వరవక్త
సర్వోపేక్ష జనువాసి నామకూరు
ధరణి (దిక్కు) రుచివ సామదాలపల్లె
రామేశ్వరభవనంధులయ్యె
సటి
నానిదనయ్య చెన్నారం బుద్ధాచార్య",—Sv. Mh., I.

must have been there either as a friend or as a foe of the Reddis. The villages he donated to gods Tripurantaka, Parvatēśvara and to the Śaiva teacher Viṣvanātha of Śrīparvata are enough to furnish the clue to locate his territory; but unfortunately, it is not possible to establish their identity as there are many villages bearing those names in different districts in the Telugu country. Though Bhaktirāja was an Ēruva chief he does not appear to have been ruling over that region. It is also not yet known if his father Gaṅgādhara and his grandfather Sōmarāja were ruling Ēruva; and if they were dispossessed of their principality by the Reddi kings. These questions have to be solved by future research. There is however reason to believe that Bhaktirāja was a friend of the Reddis in the beginning of their rule and that he was a younger contemporary of Anavēma²⁶ or Prōlaya Vēma. The Telugu works *Kūśikhāṇḍam*²⁷ and *Sivalilāvilāsam* inform us that

26. Ep. Coll., No. 764 of 1920; He is also called AnnamaVema and AnnayaVema.

“శ్రీకంఠ బాహువిధవ

వ్యాకంఠవైరామయన్నయశేమా! - Hr. Vm., II, iii.

... .. స్త్రీ సుధా

నేత్రధనిశాయనానమ

హాళమలభివాండధానయన్నయశేమా! - I ibid., I, vi.

27. “అనవేమక్షితిపాలు పోత్రియగు శేమాంబా మహాదేవికా-

ఘనం దక్షుల్లడ భూమిపాలనకు” - Ks. Kh., I.

“భరితశ్రీనిధి యన్నపీఠమణుఁ డొప్పక జోగిభక్తికి

శ్రీరమానందంబు భీమలమనశ్శక్తిఁబు సత్కుత్రి బా

స్వర కాసుల్యదళానానవివాసంధాత్రి శేమాంబికన్

వరియింజెన్ ఒలిధిక్తి గౌరవదృఢవ్యాపార నిత్యంబికన్” - Sv, VI., I.

While describing the descent of Allāḍa in his *Kūśikhāṇḍam* Śrinātha informs us that Allāḍa's wife Vemambika was *pautri* (grand-daughter, of Anavēma whom the Telugu scholars and historians identified with his namesake, brother of Anavota and second son of Prōlaya Vēma. As Anavēma, brother of Anavota, is not known to have had any male issue, the late Śrī Chilikuri Virabhadra Rao, the author of the '*History of the Andhras*' (three Vols), interpreted the term *pautri* as *putryahputri* (daughter's daughter). This interpretation was accepted by all. According to this interpretation Vemambika, wife of Allāḍa, was the daughter of Bhimaliṅga or Bhīma Coḍa by the daughter of Anavēma, son of Prōlaya Vēma. If this identification is accepted we have to take Bhimaliṅga to a late date. As Allāḍa was already actively taking part in the political affairs of the kingdom during Kumaraḡiri's rule as will be shown later on, he was not much removed in time from Anavēma to be the husband of his grand-daughter. Moreover, Bhimaliṅga was probably a step-brother of Annadeva Coḍa, another son of Bhaktirāja. According to the Rajamahendravaram record (Mack Mss., Nos. 15-5-26 and 15-4-4) Annadeva Coḍa's coronation took place in Śaka 1289 (see, J. A. H. C., Vol. I, p. 40 f. n. 8), and he was already contesting for his kingdom in Śaka 1310 during the reign of Komaraḡiri. In the light of all these facts I presume Bhimaliṅga to be Annadeva Coḍa's elder brother. To be consistent with this presumption I take Anavēma, grand-father of Vemambika, to be no other than Prōlaya Vēma. Like Doḍāmbika he might have another daughter who was given in marriage to Bhimaliṅga or Bhīma Coḍa, son of Bhaktirāja,

Bhaktirāja's son, Bhīmalīṅga or BhīmaCōḍa, married the daughter (name not given) of Anavōma or PrōlayaVēma. Hence, it is not unreasonable to think that Bhaktirāja was not only a friend but also a relative of Vēma and probably helped the latter in his early conquests in the Tripurāntakam and Śrīśailam regions.

Inscriptions of the Redḍi chiefs in this region are found from Śaka 1268, the date of Vēma's earliest record²⁸ at Tripurāntakam. A certain Rāmā Nayaka's subordinate, the lord of Ālakuṇṭala, and a noble of this period claims to have captured the forts belonging to Karikāla Cōḍa and cut off the head of one Manuma Mallidēva²⁹, a Cōḍa chief presumably of this region. These conquests, whether effected during Vēma's reign or not, indicate that there were Cōḍa chieftains in this region before or about the time of the Redḍi kings. It is likely that AnnamaRedḍi³⁰ and Anavōta, Vēma's brother and son respectively, took an active part in the conquest of this region and in its defence against enemies. Anavōta is referred to in a record³¹ of Vēma at this place. His paternal uncle Annama Redḍi had his gifts to god Tripurāntaka registered in a record³² dated in Śaka 1269 (1347 A. D.). Anavōta, the heir-apparent and one of the chief commanders of the Redḍi forces, was probably the governor of Tripurāntakam.

Extent of Vēma's territory:

Vēma's authority extended far beyond Tripurāntakam, over the region including Śrīśailam and Ahōbalam, the places of pilgrimage for the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas respectively. Vēma earned the gratitude of thousands of pilgrims by building steps to facilitate the ascent to the great shrines of god Mallikarjuna on Śrīśailam and of god Nṛsiṃha on Ahōbalagiri, and for the descent to the Pātālagangā of the Kṛṣṇā there. These places of pilgrimage indirectly suggest the limits of Vēma's authority in the western quarter. The date of Vēma's construction of these steps may be fixed with tolerable certainty. His Mallavaram and Madras Museum records³³ do not allude to this act of piety. The

28. Ep. Coll., No. 191 of 1905.

29. Ibid. No. 184 of 1905.

30. Vēma's brother Anna Redḍi was one of the commanders of the Redḍi forces. He is described in the *Harivaiṣṇam* as follows:

అన్న పయో వరుండు సు బాధ పరాన్నిమం పిన్న పావనం
సముం పట్టిన్న బావాల బాసి భనాం ప్రసంగో బ్రాహ్మ
సన్నతి తిప్పరాత్తుం సువన్న విశిష్టి సువన్న బావున
భక్తిన్న తిప్పరి తీరితన భోవముం మార్జున విద్యో నెయ్యో పక్షం.

31. Ep. Coll., No. 191 of 1905.

32. Ibid. No. 250 of 1905.

33. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

earliest inscription to refer to it is his Muṭṭuru grant³⁴ dated Śaka 1265. All the Redḍi records subsequent to this grant allude to this work of merit of Vēma without fail. Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that the building of steps at Śrīśailam and Ahōbalaṃ was completed by March 1346, or a little earlier.

Now, the absence of Vēma's inscriptions in the region to the south of the Kandukūr taluk of Nellore district, makes it difficult to fix precisely the southern limit of his authority. A considerable portion of Pakaṇāḍu, the original habitat of the Redḍis, must have been liberated by Vēma very early in his reign. He was the earliest chief to take advantage of the defeat of the Mussalmans in the coastal region to extend his authority as far south as the Pennar. Nellore or Vikramasimhapura was the native place of his maternal grandfather. According to *Vēmaḥpālacaritam* his father, Prōla or Kōmaṭi Prōla, married Anantāmbā alias Annemāmbā, daughter of Doḍḍa Redḍi of Vikramasimhapura.³⁵ Ciṭi Peddana, grand-father of Peddana who was the minister of his son Anavēmā Redḍi, was the governor of Vikramasimhapura³⁶ (*Vikramasimhapur-ādhyāsi*) evidently under Prōla or his son Vēma. Ciṭi Peddana's family rose to power and influence in the service of the Redḍi chieftains. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the territory as far as Nellore was under Vēma Redḍi in the beginning of his reign. Records of the Koṇḍaviṭi family are, however, conspicuous by their absence in the region to the south of Kandukūr.

It did not take much time for Vēma to discover that he was confronted with another rising Hindu kingdom, Vijayanagar, which was fast developing into a formidable power by the united efforts of Harihara I and his brothers of the Saṅgama dynasty. The Aṭakala-guṇḍu inscription,³⁷ dated in Śaka 1261, that is, 1339 A.D., and the

34. *Redḍi Iṇṇi*, Vol. III (Sept. 1926), No. 12.

In fact, the construction of steps to Śrīśailam is referred to in the prose passage (*Śrīśaila-sukha=akṛānta-saupana-racana-sreyas-saṃpadita*, etc.) in the Mañicāḷa record of Vēma dated Śaka 1262. This act of piety of Vēma is much praised in almost all the Redḍi charters without fail. If this work was already accomplished by the time of the Madras Museum plates, I think it would have certainly found mention therein. The original plates of the Mañicāḷa grant are lost. We cannot pin our faith too much on every title and passage in the prose portion containing the prasasti. I doubt if the passage referring to the act is genuine.

35. *Vēmaḥpālacaritam*, III p. 97. This work states that Prōla Redḍi's father-in-law had his daughter Anantāmbā or Annamāmbā by the favour of god Skanda (III, 17), and that he was a native of Vikramasimhapura. It gives him the title "*Uḍḍhatṭa-rupabalaṭulḥharaghaṭṭa*"; but does not mention his name.

36. *Sr. Nd.* I, v. 22

37. Mack, *Mss.*, No. 15-4-27.

Ākumalla copper plate grant ³⁸ dated in Śaka 1262 (1340 A.D.) of Harihara I give him the title *pūrva-pāścima-samudra-ādhiśvara*, lord of the eastern and western seas. This significant title suggests that by 1339 A.D., the dominions of Harihara I extended upto the coast both on the east and on the west. This fact is further attested by the provenance of inscriptions of Vijayanagar kings and nobles in the Kōvūr, Kavali and Udayagiri taluks of Nellore district prior to 1346 A.D. The first Vijayanagar record ³⁹ in Nellore district is that of Virūpanṇa Oḍeyar, son of Bukka I, brother of Harihara I, and was dated in Śaka 1265 or 1343 A.D. The next one is the Koḍavalūru (in the Kōvūr taluk, Nellore district) inscription ⁴⁰ of Kampana Oḍeyar, younger brother of Harihara I, dated Śaka 1268 or 1346 - 47 A.D. We understand from this record that Kampa I was in charge of the region to the north of the Pennār. The above records prove that the kings of Vijayanagar extended their authority along the Pennār valley and were already masters of the region to the south-west of Kanigiri and Kandukūr, which they must have wrested from the Redḍis some time before 1343 A.D. They consolidated their power in this region by fortifying Udayagiri ⁴¹, and making it their chief and important stronghold in the east. Udayagiri, lying as it did on the south-western flank of the Redḍi kingdom, became a standing menace to it ever threatening its existence. In this way, the two rising kingdoms of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu and of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, ever since the beginning of their rule, came into conflict with one another in their struggle for supremacy in the coastal region, and this fight lasted for over a century.

The northern limits of Vēma's kingdom do not appear to have extended beyond the Kṛṣṇā river. No doubt, the field of his early activities spread as far as the Gōḍavarī; but it does not seem to have been the northern frontier of his kingdom. All the records of Vēma's reign are found to the south of the Kṛṣṇā which, therefore, may be regarded the northern boundary of the Redḍi principality during his rule.

The region to the north of the river, Kṛṣṇā was under the sway of the Musunūri chiefs and other local chieftains, probably their subordinates. The Musunūri chief Anavōta, popularly known as

38. Ibid, No. 15 - 4 - 30.

39. Ibid, No. 15 - 4 - 17.

40. N.D.I. II, No. 28, p. 789.

41. Some of the later Vijayanagar records refer to Udayagiri as the first *durga* belonging to the throne of the Rāyas (of Vijayanagar). *Rāyasvīrhasanānsiki madalidurgamaina Udayagiri*, thereby implying that it was the first important *durga* acquired and constituted after the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom - Vide, N.D.I., II, Kn. 30, p. 548; Kn. 77, p. 617.

Toyyēti Anavōta Bhūpāla, cousin and viceroy of Kāpaya Nāyaka, ruled the Vēngi country with Rajamahēndravaram" as his capital.

Again the same river Kṛṣṇā divided the Redḍi kingdom on its southern bank from that of the Rēceṇḍa chiefs in the north-west, in the Telingāna country with their capital at Rajukonḍa.

Vēma ruled his new principality very ably and justly. He strove hard to relieve the brāhman and the peasant from their miserable plight and to give them protection and every facility to follow their own pursuits and professions, unmolested by foreign aggression and internal disorders. He thereby rightly earned the title *dharmapratisthāguru*, the revered that established the *dharma*. He lavished his resources in supporting learned brāhmanas, the repositories of secular as well as spiritual knowledge, and the custodians of Hindu rites and rituals. In fact, it was to achieve the above objects that Vēma felt the need of building up an independent kingdom. Restoring to brāhmanas their *agrahāras*, which were in their enjoyment prior to the Muslim invasion, became his first and primary duty. He granted to brāhmanas many new *agrahāras* and thus earned the titles of *nissimabhūdāna Paraśurāma* and *aparimitabhūdāna Paraśurāma*, frequently alluded to in the records of the Redḍi kings and in the Telugu works dedicated to them. A stray *Cūṭi* verse⁴² current in the Telugu country states that Vēma granted as many as forty four *agrahāras* to brāhmanas, of which he granted three to the brāhmanas of the Vēgināṭi sect, thirty-six to those of the Velanāṭi sect and five to the Drāviḍas who were brāhmanas of the Tamil country, domiciled in the Andhra dēśa. From his title *anēkanagar = āpakāṇṭha-pratiṣṭhāpita-bahuvīdh = ārāma* we come to know that he took special pleasure in planting different kinds of groves in the neighbourhood of many a town. In fact, the planting of a

42. " ... వేమ వేదముల
వేమ రాజమహేంద్రవరము
నదివలె వేయ్యేటి యానంద భూపాలు ... "

-- Vs. Rm., I, v. 33.

43. तेषां श्रेष्ठतमो राजा वेमभूपालसत्तमः
ब्राह्मणोभ्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्वामान् ददौ क्रमात्
तयोवेगिकुलीनेभ्यः द्राविलेभ्यश्च पञ्चमान्
वेलनांटिकुलेभ्यश्च षट्त्रिंशद्वामसत्तमाः(?)

44. "The special administrative measure speaks highly of the cultured tastes of the ruler of the fourteenth century and of the sanitary principle which he inculcated nearly six hundred years ago, in laying out such gardens for the benefit of the citizens."—Ep., Rep., for 1920, p. 120, para 60.

garden was one of the age-old *Saptasatīnās* that perpetuate one's name on earth, and hence it was regarded as an act of merit.

Vēma made zealous attempts to revive the Hindu ritual and institutions. He extended his liberal patronage to brāhmins to perform religious sacrifices and earned the title of *anavarata-purōhita-kṛta-sōmapāna* “, one who made the *purōhita*s take the Sōma juice incessantly. In fact, this title as well as the title “*nissīmabhūdāna-Parasurāma* “, a virtual Parasurāma in granting limitless land, indicate the nature of his conquest which was in a way to revive the *dharma* of the land. Vēma also made several gifts of a religious character referred to and explained at length in the *Dāmakhāṇḍi* of Hēmadri's great work *Caluvargacinātāmonī*.

Vēma's Political Status:

Though in the beginning of his reign Vēma acknowledged in a way the supremacy of the Musunūri chiefs, he was, as explained already, practically independent in his own territory. Subsequent to the invasions of Teliṅgānā by the Bahamanī Sultān, ‘Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh he appears to have assumed full independence and ever since that time, he was busy in consolidating his conquests and placing the new principality on a firm basis. At the time of his death his authority extended as far as or a little beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the north and beyond Kandukūr (Nellore district) in the south and Srīsailam (Kurnool district) in the west. His principality thus extended over a fairly large area, equal in size to, if not actually bigger than, the feudal kingdoms that flourished in the coastal region of the Andhra country during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. Yet, it is noteworthy that Vēma did not assume the title *mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* borne by independent rulers like the Kākatiya monarchs and by many of the feudal chiefs, some of whose territory was comparatively smaller in size than his own. In the place of *mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* we find only the simple and plain term *Śrīmatu*. Vēma's descendants followed his example and avoided the use of the title *mahāmāṇḍalēśvara*, so that it is

45. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 243.

46. A śloka in the Naḍupūru Grant of Anavēma (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 286) describes Prolaya Vēma thus:

हेमाद्रिणा सम्प्रतिपादितानां

दानव्रतानां विधिवद्विधाता

निस्सीममुखी द्विजसात्सकृत्वा

तद्भुक्तशेषां स्वराजवदुक्ता v. 5.

not found in any of the records of the Reddi kings, either of Konḍaviḍu or of Rājamahēndravaram, even after the growth of their principality into a big kingdom. It may, however, be noted here that in two stone records "of the last years of his reign Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the fifth king of Konḍaviḍu is styled as Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā maṇḍalēśvaraḍu. We do not know if *maṇḍalēśvara*, an ordinary title like *maṇḍalika* was less conventional than the orthodox *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was the only Reddi king to assume even this ordinary title. This finds mention in a record of his subordinate, and not of his own.

It may be pointed out here that the Musuntūri chiefs, Prōlaya Nāyaka and Kāpayā Nāyaka also, did not assume that title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, though the latter is described as *Andhra dēśādhiśvara* and *Andhra suratrāṇa* in some of his inscriptions. And mention should be made here that the kings of Vijayanagar, Harihara I and Bukka I, almost from the start of their independent rule, assumed the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.⁴⁷

This omission of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the records of the Musuntūri chiefs and the Reddi kings is significant. The exact reason for the avoiding of this important title, the royal prerogative of the rulers of the middle ages, not only in the Andhra country but in the whole of Southern India, is not known; but it may be explained in one of two ways. Neither the Musuntūri chiefs, nor the Reddi kings received the royal insignia from an overlord in the same way as the feudatory chiefs from the Caḷukya Cōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I. Nor did they find sanction for any such title from mythological or religious sources as the Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga and the Caḷukyas of Vōṅgī, who are said to have received their royal insignia from god Gōkarpēśvara on the Mahēndragiri and from goddess Nandābhagavatī on the Caḷukyagiri respectively. Nor were they the descendants of kings of either lunar or solar dynasties that ruled the country before. These were perhaps

47. Ep. Coll., Nos. 327 and 328 of 1936-37.

48. The *Sukraṇṭi* enumerates as follows the titles of rulers of different gradations according to their incomes. *Samanta* is one who has an income from one to three lakhs; *Maṇḍalika* from four to ten lakhs; *Rajan* from ten to twenty lakhs; and *Maharaja* from twenty to fifty lakhs.

सामन्तनृपः प्रोक्तो यावल्लक्षनयावधि

तदूर्ध्वं दशलक्षान्तो नृपो मण्डलिकस्मृतः ॥

तदूर्ध्वतुभवेद्राजा यावत्त्रिंशत्तिलक्षकः

पञ्चाशलक्षपर्यन्ते महाराजः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

the reasons that influenced them to refrain from the use of the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. What actually seems to have prevented them from assuming the title was not the want of desire or the lack of opportunity, but the Hindu tradition which did not countenance the step. The Hindu *Dharma Śāstras* did not probably give them sanction to assume the title as they were not Kṣatriyas. They were not justified in laying claim to the royal prerogatives and exclusive privileges pertaining to the Kṣatriya caste, though they were undoubtedly the masters of the land, and lords of the country. While striving to revive and uphold *dharma* as envisaged by the *Śāstras* and age long custom, the Reddis and the Musunūri chiefs could not well go against their injunctions. The titles of *Andhra dēśādhiśvara* and *Andhra suratrāṇa* ascribed to Kapaya Nāyaka stand altogether on a different basis. They are ordinary titles and do not connote more than they were intended to carry, the lord of the Andhra country, and the Andhra Sultān. The kings of Vijayanagar, Harihara I and Bukka I of the Saṅgama dynasty, claim to be Candravamsa Kṣatriyas - Kṣatriyas of the lunar race; they, therefore, were justified in assuming the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* from the beginning of their independent rule.

This seems to be the possible explanation for the omission of the important title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the records of the Reddi kings. The omission did not, however, lessen their regal power or importance. They were the undisputed rulers of the country which was won by their valour and strength of arms. Their commands were implicitly obeyed and loyally carried out. By the time of Vēma's death about Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) the Reddi principality, which he founded, was a power to be reckoned with in the coastal region.

Vēma I had three sons, Anavōta I, Anamāca, and Anavēma and two daughters. Of the two, Doḍḍāmbā was given in marriage to Kaṭā Reddi II, son of Māraya and grandson of Kataya Reddi I. The other daughter, whose name is not known was married to Cōḍa Bhima, son of Bhaktirāja. Anamāca appears to have died a premature death. Vēma's brother Anna had a daughter, named Vēmāmbā⁴⁹ who was married to Nalla Nūnka, son of Nūka and grandson of Ciṭṭa. During his own life time Vēma made Anavōta, the eldest of his sons, *yuvarāja*, the king designate, and gave him sufficient training in the administration of the country. According to tradition recorded in the *Mackenzie manuscripts* Vēma, being disabled to govern the country owing to the severity of an asthmatic complaint, placed the burden of the kingdom on his son and took rest.

49. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff; Introduction, *Śṛṅgāra* [Sakuntalavyākhyā by Kāṭya] Vēma.

50. Ep. coll., No. 572 of 1925.

Vēma's court poet Eṅṅā Pregaḍa gives, in the introductory verses of his *Harivaṁśam*, an account of his patron as man and king. Vēma was an expert bow-man and a great warrior. He was humble, pious and god-fearing, and a true disciple of Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅgayadēva. He was very liberal to brāhmins well-versed in Vēdic lore and gathered round him many Sanskrit scholars and Telugu poets. He acquired eternal merit by having *sapta-santānas*, the seven kinds of off-spring that continue one's name on earth. He bestowed *agrahāras* on brāhmins eminent in learning and *tapas*, and established them as the performers of sacrifices; built temples, and constructed tanks and made them worthy ones; he instituted *nidhis* (treasures), supported brāhman *agrahāras*, set up feeding houses and sheds for supplying drinking water, and planted flower and fruit gardens. He performed all the *vratas* and *dānas* prescribed by Hēmādri. Such were the achievements of Vēma, according to Eṅṅā Pregaḍa and we may well accept this description as truthful, as Eṅṅā Pregaḍa is rarely given to exaggeration on such points.

APPENDIX.

A NOTE ON THE CĪMAKURTI PLATE OF ANAVĒMA.

This record incised on a single copper-plate was secured by the Government department for Epigraphy from the *karaṇam* of Cīmakurti in the year 1920, and was edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 276 ff.

The inscription registers the grant of the village, Rāmatīrtham in the Ammanabrōlu *sīma* or division, situated in the Śrīśailabhūmi (the province of Śrīśailam) as a *sarvāgrahāram* to Cīṭṭamūri Timmana-Bhaṭṭa Sāstrulu, son of KoṇḍuBhaṭṭāraka, and grandson of Kāmēśwara Bhaṭṭa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, Yajus-sākhā, and Āpastamba Sūtra, in the Śaka year 1257 corresponding to the cyclic year Yuva, on the occasion of the *manvādinahāpūṇyakūla* on Thursday, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight in the month of Kartika. In addition to the above, the donee was granted, in the five villages of Cīmakurti, Bhīmēśvaram, Pulikoṇḍa, Mailavaram and Komarapuri, a fourth portion of the land in leaf (betel) gardens and sugarcane fields in the dry and wet lands below the tanks as *sarvamānya*, and a sixteenth portion of all kinds of produce raised in the remaining three fourths portion of that land, a fifth part of the income in coin *suvarṇādāya* (in the above villages), a tenth portion of the grain produce in the villages other than those (mentioned above), that were irrigated by the waters of the big tank, and lastly, 200 kuṇṭas of land in every big village and 100 kuṇṭas of land in every small village, measured by a pole of sixteen *bāra*, in the whole of the *sīma* as *sarvamānya*.

A careful study of this record in all its bearings made me suspect its genuineness. The points that gave rise to this doubt are noted below:—

(i) The language of all the copper-plate grants of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, particularly of Vēmā Redḍi, registering gifts of land or *agrāhāras* to brāhmins, was Sanskrit with the exception of the passage enumerating the boundaries, which was always in Telugu. This is Vēmā's second copper-plate record written completely in Telugu the first being his Koṇḍapalli grant (C. P. No. 5 of 1925-26), published in the Telugu journal (now extinct) *Śārada*, Vol. III (1925), No. 1. (May) pp. 89 ff. This is also a forgery like the grant under review.

(ii) Grants of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu generally bear the signature of the donors at the end -Pallava Trinētra, Anavēma, Vīra

Nārāyaṇa etc. This plate does not end with any sign-manual. During the post-Kākatīya period the sign-manual was the life-breath of a copper-plate document.

(iii) The term 'basava' instead of 'basuva', the correct form then in use in inscriptions, was used in one of the titles, namely 'nārāyaṇabasava-Śaṅkara'.

(iv) The date of the grant is irregular. The details furnished by this grant do not work out correctly; for, in the year Yuva, corresponding to Śaka 1257, Kārtika Su. di. 12 falls on Sunday, and not on Thursday as stated in the grant.

(v) The *prastāva* recorded in this inscription is unusually long and is not furnished by any of the inscriptions of the Redḍi kings, either of Koṇḍaviḍu or of Rajamahēndravaram. It contains titles like *jala-durgajaladhī-baḍabānala*, *sthaladurga-havana-Hatāyudha*, *Kaṭiṅgarāya-mānamardana*, *mānniyarāyamrgavēṇṭakāra*, *Vedḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhāma*, *Janturnātarāyahallakallōla* which do not find mention in the other records of the Redḍi kings. "*Samgrāma-samuddaṇḍa-caṇḍabhuḷāsivikhaṇḍita* - *śatrukīlāḷa-lavamāna-piśācagana-stuyamāna-yasōmaṇḍana* of the Amarāvati record of Prōlaya Vēma is faultily written as "*Samgrāma-samuddaṇḍa-caṇḍabhuḷāsivikhaṇḍitakīlāla*."

The titles *Kaṭiṅgarāyamānamardana*, *Vedḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhāma*, and *Janturnātarāyahallakallōla* suggesting the conquest of Kaṭiṅga, the defeat of the king of Orissa and the victory over the king of Janturnādu are very significant. If these important historic events suggested by these titles were really true, it is unintelligible why they did not find mention in other inscriptions of the Redḍi kings, either of Vēma I or of his descendants. This is the only Redḍi record which states that Vēma conquered Kaṭiṅga and Orissa. This is not corroborated by any other available evidence.

(vi) The unlikely event of Vēma I leading an expedition to Kaṭiṅga is another factor that strengthens the doubt regarding its genuineness.

Let us consider if there was any possibility for Vēma I to invade Kaṭiṅga. The date of the grant under review is Śaka 1257. It is not known if the Musunūri chief, Prōlaya, leader of the Hindu confederacy and the acknowledged lord of the coastal region, was alive or dead by that time. If the Kaṭiṅga invasion is accepted to be a fact, one of the following two alternatives has to be postulated: (i) Vēma I, Prōlaya Nāyaka's subordinate ally, could not have invaded Kaṭiṅga without inflicting a defeat on his overlord; (ii) if Prōlaya Nāyaka

or his successor Kapaya Nayaka had undertaken the Kaṭiṅga invasion, Vēma must have followed them. Evidence is wanting to prove both the above propositions, that Vēma I defeated his overlord and that the Musunūri chiefs led an expedition to Kaṭiṅga. Even if Prōlaya Nāyaka was dead by that time, his successor Kapaya Nayaka was the paramount lord of the coastal country till Śaka 1268, the date of his Gaṇapavaram record, and his successor was Toyvēḷi Anavōṭa (Vs. Rm., I. v. 33; S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1294). The Musunūri chiefs could not have tolerated Vēma's expedition to Kaṭiṅga and Orissa through their territory. Moreover, it was not the time for either Vēma or any other noble in the coastal tract to undertake an expedition of that sort, in or before Śaka 1257, the date of the grant under review, as their whole energy was concentrated in re-conquering Warāṅgal, which was finally wrested from the Muslims in Śaka 1258-59.

Under these circumstances I am unable to believe in Vēma's expedition to Kaṭiṅga either independently or on behalf of the Musunūri chiefs. The above considerations throw a doubt on the genuineness of the plate under review.

I am, however, ready to concede that the contents of the record are true. It seems to me that the original plates were lost, and this plate was subsequently fabricated to prove their claim over the lands and other proceeds, either in kind or coin, granted. The fabrication must have been done about the end of the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century; for, the exploits suggested by the titles of *Kaṭiṅgarūyamānamardana*, *Jaṇṭurnāṭarūyahallakulōla*, and *Voḍḍiyarāyanirdhūmudhūma* were effected in the reign of Kumāragiri, as will be shown later on.

I, therefore, believe that this Uimakurti plate is a forged one, prepared sometime after the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER VI.

ANAVŌTA.

(Cir. 1353 A.D. to Cir. 1364 A.D.)

When Prōlaya Vāma died, his son Anavōta assumed the reins of government in about 1353 A.D., and ruled the kingdom in his own right independently.

Anavōta of the Musunūri family died at Rājamahēndravaram sometime before Śaka 1275. The region on the eastern bank of the Gōdavarī was devoid of a ruler. Anavōta's cousin Kapaya Nāyaka was unable to turn his attention to the affairs of the coastal region, having been apprehensive then of an attack by the Bahmanī Sultān, 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh. The Mañcikonḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṅḍakonḍa assumed the role of a king in deference to the wishes of his father, and enforced his authority on the entire dominion previously ruled by the Musunūri chief, Anavōta.

Enthused by the inviting nature of the political situation in the coastal region, Narasiṁhadēva IV of Kaṭiṅga thought it to be a favourable opportunity to extend his authority towards the west. Accordingly, he led an expedition to the western country, and, crossing the Gōdavarī, advanced as far as Śrīkākuḷam in Kistna district. His inscription¹ at that place dated in Śaka 1275, that is, 1353 A.D., bears evidence to his victorious campaign. This is the first clash that history records between the Redḍi kings and the Gaṅga monarchs of Kaṭiṅga. The inscription alluded to above records the gift of jewels and other things by Narasiṁhadēva's queen, Gaṅgamahādēvī, made to god Śrī Vallabharāya of Śrīkākuḷam. These presents are said to have been offered personally by the king's generals Kālidāsa Sēnapati, Gōvinda Sēnapati, and Gōpālajiyya on behalf of the queen. Narasiṁhadēva's further progress to the south of the Kṛṣṇā appears to have been arrested probably by the vigilance and valour of the Redḍi nobles who compelled him soon to retreat. Evidence is lacking to show that he crossed the Kṛṣṇā, and that the conquered region remained under his authority for a long time.

Very soon we find Anavōta launching his eastern campaign probably as a counter measure. He might have also realised the

1. S. I. I., Vol., IV, No. 975.

necessity of uniting the whole of the coastal region under one banner, for the better defence of the country from any kind of aggression, and for the maintenance of law and order. Anavōtā Redḍi appears to have been greatly aided in this undertaking by his friend and ally Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. He was related to Cōḍa Bhaktirāja as his sister was given in marriage to the latter's son, Cōḍa Bhīma or Bhīmalīṅga, as stated in the previous chapter. The title *Dvīpa-jētā* (the conqueror of Dvīpa or Dīvi, given to Anavōtā Redḍi in his Dākshāram inscription² dated in Saka 1278 / 1356 A.D., was obviously assumed by him after his conquest of Dvīpa, effected early in the course of his eastern campaign against Kaḷiṅga soon after crossing the Kṛṣṇā.

'Dvīpa', which Anavōtā conquered, has to be identified with the island mentioned in the Gaṇapṛśṣvaram inscription³ of Kākati Gaṇapati-dēva. This Dvīpa, or Peda Divipura as it was also called, is identical with the village of Talagaḍa dīvi⁴ in the Bandar taluk, Kistna district. Dhanada or Kubēra is said to have formerly created this Dvīpa at the junction of the Kṛṣṇavēṇī and the sea. Some centuries later, during the reign of Cōḍa, the Durjaya chief of Velanāḍu who had his capital at Tsandavōlu, his officer Nārāyana developed it into a big city with palaces, towers, lofty ramparts and extensive gardens. After the conquest of the coastal country, the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal made it one of their outposts and further strengthened it. The reduction of such an impregnable *jāladurga* defended, by virtue of its location at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the sea, by a vast sheet of water all around, gave Anavōtā Redḍi the coveted title of *Dvīpa-jētā*. The campaign, begun with such a brilliant victory, was no doubt assured of success throughout. Neither the records of Anavōtā nor of his brother Anavōma furnish details of this eastern campaign; yet, they give us to understand that Anavōtā, after the conquest of Dvīpa, advanced into the heart of Kaḷiṅga, relentlessly carrying fire and sword.

In the course of his eastern campaign Anavōtā must have come into conflict with numerous petty chiefs who were ruling over the intervening region between the Kṛṣṇā and Kaḷiṅga. Of such chiefs Mummaḍi Nāyaka of the Mañcikaṇḍa family, the ruler of Kōṅkukonḍa was the master of Kōṇa, Kuravāṭa, Pānāra and other territories lying on either side of the Gōḍāvarī at the time of Anavōtā's invasion.

2. Ibid, No. 1937.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 82 ff.; vv. 21, and 23.

4. Ibid, p. 84, foot note 3

According to his Kōṅkonda inscription ⁵ he conquered these countries about Saka 1275 and succeeded in establishing his authority over the entire dominion of the Musunūri chief, Toyvēti Anavōta Nāyaka. Anavōta Redḍi must have met with great resistance from Mummadi Nāyaka, who appears to have ultimately yielded and become his vassal.

The date of the eastern campaign of Anavōta is almost definitely known to us from his Dāksharam inscription. ⁶ Anavōta made, in the course of this invasion, either during his march to or his return from Kāṇṇa, a gift of five bells to lord Bhīmēvara of Dāksharam in Śaka 1278, that is, 1356 A. D., on Friday, the fifteenth date of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha.

The Ippugallu grant, ⁷ one of the early records of Anavōta's brother and successor Anavōma, alludes to the former's invasion of the Śabara (Savara) country. The Paccani Tāṇḍipaggu grant ⁸ of the same king explicitly states that Anavōta's sway was recognised over the territory extending as far north as the Mēkhala range an off-shoot of the Vinḍhyas to the north-west of Kāṇṇa. These are simple hyperbolical statements that have yet to be confirmed by unimpeachable evidence. The Kāṇṇa country extending as far as the Mēkhala range never came under the sway of Anavōta Redḍi. If at all there is any truth in those statements, it might be that there were some predatory military raids into the Kāṇṇa country by Anavōta Redḍi with a view to subdue it.

5. Ep. Coll., 44 of 1912; Ep. Rep. 1912, p. 68.

6. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1387.

7. C.P., No. 9 of 1921-22; An. An. (1922).

गत्तानुममावशोकविटपीनीलस्तमानः पुरा
गौरश्चम्पकभूरुहः कुमुदिनश्चूतश्शुकुश्यामलः
एवं वेमयअन्नवोतनुपतेः कीर्त्यासितानां वने
बालेभ्यो बहुधावदन्ति शवगप्रार्ची दिशां शाखिनाम्॥

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 273.

शशास यः श्रीनगपूर्वभागा
द्रापूर्वगत्ताकरमन्ध्रदेशग
आमेखलं मेखलभूधरस्य
जिताहितश्रीयनवोतभूपः॥

In spite of the successful nature of the campaign, the country north of the Kṛṣṇā does not seem to have come permanently under the sway of the Reddi king, Anavōta. He was unable to exercise an effective control over the vanquished chieftains and nobles.

The passage *praty-ahdam pratipakṣa-dēṣa-jayinah* in a ślōka in the Kollūru grant⁹ of Anavēma describes Anavōta rather in hyperbolic terms as conquering the countries every year; thereby it suggests that there were campaigns of Anavōta against his enemies almost every year. Whether this statement is true or not, there is reason to believe that he invaded the eastern country more than once. His Dakshāram record testifies to one of his successful campaigns led against the region lying to the east of the river Gōdāvarī. He was not invariably successful in all his campaigns against that eastern quarter, the number of which is not known. The Telugu Cōḍa chief, Bhaktirāja was, as we know, a contemporary (senior) of Anavōta. According to the Rajahmundry Museum plates¹⁰ of his son, Anadēva Cōḍa he defeated a certain Vir-Ānnavōta in a battle fought at Sūravaram.¹¹ During this period there were three kings bearing the name of Annavōta or Anavōta in the Telugu country, namely, Anavōta, the Padma Velama chief of Rājukoṇḍa in the Teliṅganā country, whose date of accession to the throne is Śaka 1283/1361 A. D., Anavōta alias Toyvēṭi Anavōta, the Musunūri chief of Rājamahēndravaram, and lastly, Anavōta, the Reddi king. There is no possibility for Cōḍa Bhaktirāja to come into conflict with Anavōta Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, as his dominion lay far away in Teliṅganā. The only other chiefs were Anavōta of Rajamahēndravaram and the Reddi king, Anavōta. The king defeated by Bhaktirāja has the prefix vira attached to his name. The inscriptions of this period inform us that the Reddi king had that epithet. The Dakshāram and other Reddi records call him Vir-Ānnavōta. Hence, it seems reasonable to think, on the authority of this evidence, though slender, that Vir-Ānnavōta suffered defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja in one of his campaigns to the east at Sūravaram. This town is now in the Nūjavīḍ taluk, Kistna district. Bhaktirāja, as we already know, was related to Anavōta. The reason for Bhaktirāja to oppose Vir-Ānnavōta in battle is not stated in the Rajahmundry plates of Annadēva Cōḍa, mentioned before. But it may be possible to guess.

In his eastern campaign Vir-Ānnavōta probably tried to subdue the chiefs of the solar line ruling in the country between the Kṛṣṇa and

9. Elliotts' Telugu inscriptions, No. 15-6-26, Vol. I, pp. 206 ff.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI (1941-42), pp. 14 ff; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.

11. “येनैव सूस्वरपट्टणसंनिधाने वीरान्नवोतनृपतिर्विजितो विनोदत्”.

the Gōḍavarī. The villages granted by them as *agrahāras* to brāhmins indicate the location of their dominion. Most of the villages granted by them are found in the eastern half of the modern West Godavari district. The capital of these chiefs of the solar line was Sūravaram. There can be no doubt as to the identity of Sūravaram, the place at which Bhaktirāja defeated Vir = Ānavōta, with the capital of these solar chiefs. As the Ravulaparti grant¹² of Uṇḍirāja II of this line is dated Śaka 1304, he, or probably his father, Tammarāja must have been a contemporary of Anavōta Redḍi. Bhaktirāja's son Annadēva Cōḍa married Irugāmbikā, sister of Pina Uṇḍirāja and daughter of Śrī Cakravartī of the solar race. It seems likely that Pina Uṇḍirāja was one of the chiefs of the solar line of Sūravaram, some of whom had the names of Uṇḍiśa and Uṇḍirāja. It is however difficult to establish his identity; for, the father of Uṇḍirāja¹³ of the Rāvulaparti grant was Tammarāja, and not Śrī Cakravartī. We do not know if he had the alias Śrī Cakravartī. Anyhow it appears likely that Bhaktirāja was related to these chiefs. His capital Kāmapuri seems to be identical with the present Kāmavaram or Kāmavarapukōṭa (fort of Kāmavaram, modern form of Kāmapurī) in the Chintalapūḍi taluk of West Godavari district. If this identification is accepted to be correct, then it may be presumed that Cōḍa Bhaktirāja's dominion comprised the agency tract in the western half of the modern West Godavari district. The solar chiefs of Sūravaram probably did not submit themselves to the authority of Anavōta for a long time, and hence there was trouble. Apprehending danger to his principality also Bhaktirāja, their neighbour, allying himself with those chiefs, opposed the Redḍi king Anavōta at Sūravaram, and in the battle that ensued, defeated the latter and drove him back. Probably this was how Bhaktirāja came to defeat Vir = Ānavōta at Sūravaram.

Anavōta Redḍi thus lost much, though not all, of his territory between the Kṛṣṇa and the Gautami.

The inroads of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah of Gulbarga, the Rēceḡla chiefs, and the Viayanagara kings further weakened the strength of the Redḍi kingdom.

12. C. P. No. 16 of 1917-18.

13. Uṇḍirāja, the donor of the Ravulaparti grant, married a certain Rudramadevi of the Manavyasa gotra, the gotra of the Cālukyas of Veṅṅi. It may be remembered in this connection that the Cālukya king, Virabhadra, son of Indus'ekkhara Cakravartī, married Rudramadevi, daughter of Kakati Gaṇapati-deva of Waraṅḡal. Rudramadevi, wife of Uṇḍirāja of Sūravaram, was probably a descendant of Rudramadevi and Virabhadra of the Cālukya line. During this period Niravadyaprolu, the present Nidulavolu in West Godavari district, was a strong fortress of the later Cālukyas. It is likely that the Cālukya chiefs of Niravadyaprolu co-operated with the chiefs of Sūravaram and Cōḍa Bhaktirāja in checking the advance of Anavōta Redḍi and in inflicting a defeat on him.

During the early half of his independent reign the Bahmani Sultan invaded Telingānā again. During this invasion the Muslim armies ravaged the whole of the Andhra country in the present Hyderabad State extending as far south as the Kṛṣṇā. Anavōta's Amarāvati inscription ¹⁴, dated Saka 1283/ 1361 A. D., refers to this invasion of the yavanas or Mussalmans from the west, and states that, on merely hearing the news of the approach of the yavanas, many kings, struck with fear, left their forts garrisoned with infantry and horse, and entered the forests with effort. ¹⁵ At this juncture Mallaya Vēma, the minister of Anavōta Redḍi, rising equal to the occasion, opposed the Muslim cavalry from the west, and inflicting a crushing defeat on them in battle, drove them back and saved the Redḍi kingdom. During this invasion the Muslims desecrated the old temple at Amaravati, as they had previously done at Pillalamagḡi ¹⁶ in the Nalgonda district in Telingānā. The Amarāvati record referred to above was set up to commemorate the re-consecration of god Amarēśvara of Dhānyavāṭi by Anavōta's minister Vēma, sometime after the victory was won.

After the defeat of the Muslims and restoration of peace in the country, Anavōta betook himself to improve the internal and external trade, and to rehabilitate the ports in his kingdom, specially Mōṭupalli, the great emporium of marine trade in the Telugu country at this time. The sea-borne trade of the kingdom suffered heavily owing to the inequity of administrative laws governing commerce, and their rigorous application by officers of the state; consequently, the volume of trade diminished greatly. Though the port of Mōṭupalli came under Vēma's sway early in his reign, the country and the government did not derive much benefit from its trade. Anavōta inquired into the causes that had crippled the sea-borne trade and repealed the unjust laws. In Saka 1280/1358 A.D., he issued a new charter to merchants engaged in over-seas trade, setting forth therein the terms for carrying on trade at Mōṭupalli, and fixing duties on articles of import and export. This gave a fresh impetus to the sea-borne trade of the country. By his order Sōmaya, the governor at Mōṭupalli, got the charter inscribed on one of the pillars of the local Virabhadra temple. It stands there even to-day

14. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226.

15. "आयातायवना इतिक्षितिभुज[: *] शृज्वैव वात्तमिहो

दुर्गायश्वभटाकुलानिमयास्त्यक्तवा वनान्याविशन्

श्रामन्मस्त्यवेमशौरिनवोताधीशवाहुर्जयी

पाश्चात्स्थान् जगनाब्जगण्डबिरुदो निश्चित्य संगजते॥ "

16. I. T. D. H., No. 40, p. 113 ff.

as a monument to the king's regard for justice and the welfare of his people."

The *Velugōṭṭāri Vaniśāvaḷi* alludes to a war between Anavōta and the Rēceḡa chiefs. According to that work Māda Nāyaka and his brother's son, Kaṭhāri Nagā Nāyaka, attacked Anavōta Redḍi and defeated him in battle at Dannalakōṭa or Dharanikōṭa. This is the first clash in the struggle between the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu and the Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa which continued with unabated fury till the middle of the fifteenth century.

Curiously enough the inscriptions of the Rēceḡa chiefs and those of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, so far known to us, are silent about the feud between the two houses. The Telugu and Sanskrit works also produced under their patronage, do not allude to any of the victories which either of them gained over the other. Yet, the *Cūṭu* verses in the *Vaniśāvaḷi* may be accepted, with some caution, as evidence.

The fight between the Padma Velamas and the Redḍis seems to have begun in Śaka 1283 during the siege of Jallipalli, laid by Anavōta Nāyaka and his brother Māda Nāyaka, to avenge the assassination of their father, Siṅgama Nāyaka. We are told that, in the garrison defending that fort, there were Redḍi nobles who aided the Kṣatriyas of the lunar race, who were probably related to the Āraviṭi chief, Sōma-dēvarāja of the Caḷukya family. The Padma Velama heroes, in their revengeful spite, tried to extirpate their enemies altogether. After massacring in cold blood the garrison defending the fort, they pursued their enemies, who had escaped alive. During this chase Anavōta and Māda crossed the Kṛṣṇā and conquered the region lying to the south of that river in Kurnool and Guṭṭur districts. All the forts of the Kṣatriyas in the taluks bordering on the Kṛṣṇā were reduced to submission, and the defenders, who happened to fall into their hands, were brutally murdered. The Redḍi dominion on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā from Sṛisailam in Kurnool district in the West

17. Ep. Coll., No. 601 of 1010; Ep. Rep. P. 61

This charter was inscribed on stone in three languages, namely, Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil. The coastal trade between the Telugu country and the Tamil land must have been very considerable during this period, and the number of traders from the Tamil country visiting Moṭupalli must have been very large. Evidently, Moṭupalli, ever since its rehabilitation by the Kakatiya emperor Gaṇapati-deva of Waraṅgal in the thirteenth century, usurped the place of Ghaṇṭasala (Divi taluk, Kistna district) in trade, which had the alias of Coḷa-Paṇḍyapura in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, owing to the extensive coastal trade carried on by merchants from the Coḷa and Paṇḍya countries visiting that port.

lay prostrate at the feet of the advancing invaders,¹⁸ and was annexed to the Rēceṅṅa kingdom. This is indirectly corroborated by literary as well as epigraphical evidence. The statement, made in the *Rasārṇava-sūdhākaram*, a Sanskrit work on Rhetoric, written by Siṅgama Nāyaka II of the Rēceṅṅa family, that his father Anavōtā Nāyaka I constructed a flight of steps to the sacred mountain of Srisāilam¹⁹ and made it accessible to pilgrims, suggests indirectly that that holy place was included in their dominion.

Māda, brother of Anavōtā, marched further east into the kingdom of the Redḍis, accompanied by his cousin Kaṭhari Nāgā Nāyaka. Anavōtā Redḍi was ready with his forces to give fight to the enemy.* The *Vaiṣṇarāḍi* states that Māda, after crossing the Kṛṣṇā, attacked the Redḍi king Anavōtā at Dannalakōṭa, defeated him in battle, and put him to flight in the same manner as Arjuna drove away Duryōdhana while attempting to lift Virāṭa's cattle.²⁰ Anavōtā abandoned his arms and war material, and took to his heels. He also appears to have fallen into the hands of the enemy; for, it is stated that Nāgā Nāyaka released the Redḍi king Anavōtā, having imprinted, on his back, the marks of his own lañchana²¹ as a sign of defeat. Consequent on this victory, the Rēceṅṅa chiefs assumed the characteristic Redḍi titles, such as Jagadobhagaṁḍa, Saṅgrama-Dhanañjaya, Kāyavēśyabhujaṅga²² etc, and made them their own.

18. Anna Redḍi, one of the brothers of Prolaya Vema and the uncle of Anavōtā Redḍi, seems to have been slain in the fight with these Rēceṅṅa princes in the course of this campaign. None of the *Caṭu* verses in the *Vaiṣṇarāḍi* alludes to this event except the Ainavolu inscription of Anavōtā Nāyaka. The portion containing the verse referring to this event, in the estampage in the epigraphical collection in the Andhra University, is damaged. It appears however from this verse that Anavōtā slew Anna-nṛpa or Anna Redḍi and ruled the region of the Kṛṣṇa and the Gōdavari. The reading of the verse in question is however doubtful, and has to be verified from a fresh estampage before accepting the statement about Anna Redḍi as a fact.

19. “यश्चासौपानपथेन चक्रे
श्रीपर्वतं सर्वजनप्रगम्यम्”।

* Vide, Introd. - *Rasārṇavasūdhākaram*.

His brother Māda Nāyaka also is credited with the construction of steps to Srisāilam (Vide, VV. Cr., p. 52).

20. VI. Vin., Verse 81.

21. Ibid, verse 81.

22. Ibid, verse 80,

The Telugu poet, Vennelakanṭi Sūranna, in the introduction to his poem *Viṣṇu Purāṇam*, alludes to an incident which was probably connected with Annavōtā Redḍi's war with the Rēceṇḍa chiefs. Anna-vōtā Redḍi, according to this work, met in battle near Amarāvati, a *rūhulu* (cavalier), Kēsabhūpa by name, inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and having spared his life, chased him away". The identity of this Kēsabhūpa is yet unknown. The above incident, if it had taken place during the struggle with the Rēceṇḍa chiefs, as seems likely, since it was fought near Amarāvati (Dannalakōṭa or Dharanikōṭa), shows that Anavōtā also was successful in some engagement, though the war finally terminated in his defeat.

The victories of the Rēceṇḍa chiefs, Māda Nāyaka and his cousin Nāgā Nāyaka over Anavōtā Redḍi, mentioned in the *Cātu* verses, appear to have been won by them in one and the same battle. In spite of success in battle Māda was not able to occupy any portion of the coastal territory of the Redḍi kingdom. Dharanikōṭa was evidently the objective of his attack; but the town did not even temporarily fall into his hands. It may be worth mentioning here that the course followed by the Rēceṇḍa chiefs at Dharanikōṭa was quite contrary to the practice they usually adopted towards their vanquished enemies. The release of Anavōtā Redḍi was indeed a step unprecedented in the annals of the Rēceṇḍa family. These considerations come in the way of our accepting the *Cātu* verses in the *Vaniśāraḷi* at their face value. It seems, however, true that the Redḍis lost a considerable slice of their territory in the west in the Srīśailam province.

Anavōtā Redḍi was not allowed to reign in peace even after the war with the Padma Velamas. The rapid expansion of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the south and the south-west threatened the security of Koṇḍavīḍu. While Anavōtā was involved in struggle with his enemies in the east and the west, the kings of Vijayanagar were consolidating their power in the coastal tract. The fort of Udayagiri had already become their stronghold in the east. It served as an excellent military base to carry on further their work of aggrandizement. Anavōtā's entanglements with the Bahmanī Sultans and the Rēceṇḍa kings left his kingdom comparatively weaker than before, and provided

23. ఈ నిజలంబు మెచ్చ నమరేశ్వరదేవుడు చూడఁ గృష్ణుఁడే
 ఊపది పాత్ర గా ననిక నిల్పిన రాహుకుఁ డేనధూనిభుఁడే—
 గానకుఁ దోగి వెన్నుపది కాచిన కేమయ యన్నవోతి ధూ-
 నానిక సర్వబంధము లొసంగిన శిష్యులకంటెవారిలోకే.—

Vijayanagar an excellent opportunity to extend its power in the east. The Vijayanagar monarch Bukkaraya I did not let go this opportunity. He led an expedition into the eastern country²⁴ to the south of the Kṛṣṇā. The Vijayanagar records, found in the taluks in the eastern half of Kurnool district and in the northern-most divisions of Podili and Darsi of Nellore district, attest to this fact. As indicated by them Bukka I undertook this expedition about Saka 1285-86, that is, 1363-64 A. D., in the very last years of Anavōta's reign. The kaifiyat of Duvvapāḍu (Dūpāḍu) in the Mārkapuram taluk of Kurnool district states that the Narapati kings of Ānegondi, by which term the kings of Vijayanagar are meant, became powerful, and conquered that region (around Duvvapāḍu) in Saka 1286, corresponding to Krōdhi.²⁵ After its conquest, the Dūpāḍu province was entrusted to the charge of the chiefs of the Ravela family.

The Vijayanagar kings, in the course of their eastern campaign, came into conflict with the Rēceḷa chiefs who were then in possession of the Sṛisailam country and defeated them. Consequently, the Rēceḷa chiefs lost their possessions to the south of the Kṛṣṇā in Kurnool district.

Bukka I did not stop with the conquest of the Sṛisailam area. His advance towards the east made the position of the Reddis critical and Anavōta was not unmindful of it. He apprehended danger not only to his kingdom but also to the town of Addaṅki, the chief seat of his Government. He, therefore, was forced to change his capital from Addaṅki to Koṇḍaviḍu, a more impregnable place than the former, in the Narasaraopet taluk of Guṇṭūr district. Even in the reign of Vēma I, when Addaṅki was the chief seat of Government, Kuṇḍinapura or Koṇḍaviḍu was the secondary capital of the Reddi kings. Now Anavōta strengthened it further and made it his primary capital. The transfer of capital from Addaṅki to Koṇḍaviḍu is referred to in the Manya-māpuram record²⁶ of Anavēma, brother of Anavōta dated in Śaka 1286. Since then, Koṇḍaviḍu remained the capital of the Reddis until its fall.

Anavōta lost heavily in his fight with the Ravas of Vijayanagar. The limits of his kingdom in the west and south receded considerably

24. Mack, Mss. 15-3--56; Koṇḍūru kaifiyat.

From the kaifiyat of Koṇḍūru we learn that Bukkarāya, after his return from the eastern campaign, granted the village of Koṇḍūru, on the banks of the Papaghni in the Mulikinaḍu to his guru Candrabhūṣapācārya in Śaka 1292, corresponding to the cyclic year Sadharana.

25. Mack, Mack. 15 6--19. Duvvapāḍu kaifiyat.

26. Elliot's Collection, Vol. I pp. 270 ff.

and the fortune of the Redḍi kings was at a low ebb. Anavōta's last years were thus clouded by defeat and disaster. They were quite in contrast with the early years of his reign, some of which were probably punctuated with victories in the north of the Kṛṣṇā. Just at a time when the armies of Vijayanazar were penetrating into the heart of the Redḍi kingdom, Anavōta appears to have passed away. His reign came to a close in the early months of 1364 A.D., i. e. in Śaka 1286. His latest known record, the Kollūru grant, bears the date of Śaka 1286.

Anavōta was a great soldier and fought many battles during his reign as well as in his father's. By his prowess and bravery he earned the proud name of Vir-Ānnavōta. He associated himself with his father in the administration of his kingdom even while he was young, and practically bore the whole burden of the state in the last years of his father's rule. He strove hard to establish order in the country and to revive the *dharma* of the land. He is described in the records of his brother Anavēma as one who, on succeeding to the throne, made the kingdom free from enemies, and ruled the earth virtuously. He is said to have granted many *agrahāras* to brāhmins, made several *dānas* or gifts described by Hēmādri, and instituted many *śatras* or feeding houses in places of pilgrimage. He took great interest in the welfare of the people. Anavōta gave an impetus to trade by repealing the unjust laws bearing on it, and thereby not only earned the gratitude of merchants but also improved the wealth of the country.

The limits of the kingdom of Koṇḍavṛtṇa at the time of Anavōta's death cannot be well-defined. Some verses in the records of his successor Anavēma state that he ruled the Andhra country extending from the east of Śrīśailam to the sea and to the Mēkhala mountains²⁷ in the north. Kāliṅga, though conquered by Anavōta, was not, as stated before, under his firm grip. Another record²⁸ also of Anavēma states that Anavōta protected the country extending from the banks of the Kṛṣṇā to the banks of the Gōdāvarī after conquering it from his enemies. However, from the evidence available to us, it may not be possible to accept even this statement. It does not therefore seem proper to say that Anavōta's dominion extended far beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the east at the time of his death.

27. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 273.

28. C. P. No., 9 of 1921-22.

APPENDIX.

THE CŌḌA CHIEFS OF ĒḤUVA.

The ancient territorial division of ĒḤuva comprised portions of the present Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur districts. ĒḤuva seems to be the contracted form of the term *ĒḤu-rāyī*, which seems to mean a watershed region between two drainage areas. ĒḤuva was one of the important centres of the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs who spread to the north and the east, and established new principalities in several places both in Telingāna of the Hyderabad State and the coastal districts. There were extensive colonies of powerful Cōḍa chiefs who held sway from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries A. D.

The records which the Cōḍa chiefs of ĒḤuva have left behind are very scanty. They do not give us a full account of the ĒḤuva family. The few extant records furnish only the names of a few chiefs, and register the gifts they made to temples or brāhmanas. They do not help us to reconstruct their history, or to determine what exactly their status was.

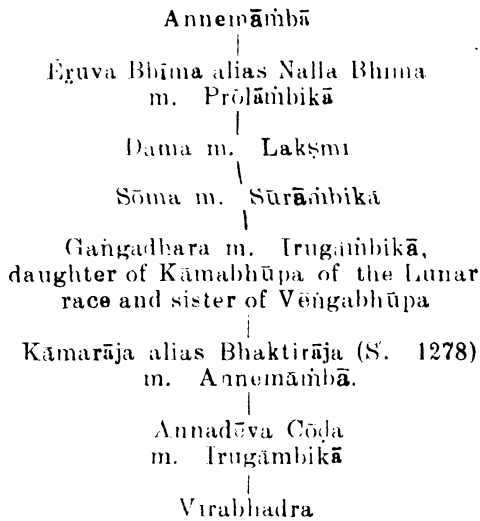
We are chiefly concerned here with the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs of the ĒḤuva family, contemporaneous with the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. Their history is known only from two copper-plate grants, so far discovered, namely, the Madras Museum plates of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja and the Rajahmundry Museum plates of his son, Annadēva Cōḍa, and a few lithic records of the latter chief.

The Madras Museum plates¹ of Bhaktirāja record the grant of the village of Kāṇḍavakolanu at the holy place of Śrīśaila in Saka 1278 to Viśvōsvara brahmacārin when the king had been there "in the course of his wanderings through the country, undertaken with a desire of conquering the four quarters." The object of the Rajahmundry Museum plates² is to register the grant of the village of Uttamagaṇḍa-Cōḍānnadēvavaram situated at the confluence of the rivers, Gaṅgā and Pinnasāni in Viśaṅgaṇḍu to some brāhmanas. Of the above two grants, the latter furnishes much historical information about the donor as well as his father. The former does not mention even a single historical fact regarding either the donor or his predecessors. In fact, these are our only sources to know something about these two ĒḤuva chiefs, Bhaktirāja and his son, Annadēva Cōḍa, who were contemporaneous

1. J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 128-113; and pp. 333-336.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 11 ff; J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.

with the Reddis of Kōṇḍaviḍu. Both the grants combined furnish the following genealogy of the donors.



According to the genealogy given above, Ēḡuva Bhīma or Nalla Bhīma is the first known chief of this branch. Since he was removed from Bhaktirāja by five generations he may be assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century. From what is known of him he appears to have been a powerful chief. An inscription³ at Tāllaproduṭṭuru in Cuddapah district gives an account of his conquests. It states that he conquered Viṣaḡināḍu, Cakragottam, Manniya, Vaḍḍe Tekkali, Manthena, Vēṅgi, Kaḷiṅgam and other countries. There are some *Āṭu* verses extolling Ēḡuva Bhīma's military exploits, of which the conquest of Viṣaḡināḍu is one. He could not have made such extensive conquests by himself, a petty chieftain. He must have followed his suzerain lord who might have subjugated these countries. At the time of Ēḡuva Bhīma the Andhra country was under the rule of Gaṇapatidēva, the Kakatiya monarch of Waraṅgal. Gaṇapatidēva, as we know, invaded the eastern country as far as Kaḷiṅga. Rāja Nayaka's inscriptions both at Dākṣaram⁴ in East Godavari district and at Upparapalli⁵ in the Waraṅgal district bear evidence to the fact of Gaṇapati's conquest of Kaḷiṅga. Ēḡuva Bhīma, probably his subordinate, followed Gaṇapatidēva and distinguished himself in his eastern campaign.

3. *Bharati*, Vol. XV, i pp. 147 ff.

4. S.I.L., Vol. No. 1117,

5. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. III, pp. 16 ff.

We know nothing about his successors until we come to Kāmarāja, son of Gaṅgadhara. His great devotion to Siva entitled Kāmarāja to the more popular name Bhaktirāja. He married Annemāmbā and had by her a son named Annadēva Cōḍa. From the Telugu work, *Śivalitācilāsam*, we come to know that Bhaktirāja had another son named Cōḍa Bhīma or Bhīmalinga,⁶ who married a daughter of king Anavēma of Koṇḍaviḍu. Annadēva Cōḍa and Cōḍa Bhīma were probably step-brothers. The former married princess Irugāmbikā, sister of Pinnuṇḍirāja and daughter of Śrī Cakravartī of the Solar race belonging to the Haritasa-gotra.⁷

Bhaktirāja was a powerful chieftain. His exploits given below are recounted in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of his son Annadēva.

(i) Even while he was young, he defeated Boggara and other powerful *govana* (Muslim) chieftains near Gulapūṇḍipura.

(ii) He overthrew the Gajapati monarch near Pañcadhārāla in the east and installed Koppulapati on the throne.

(iii) He defeated Śiṅga in a battle fought near Bharapipāṇipura.

(iv) He won a victory over the demoniac forces of Dabaru Khan in the neighbourhood of Pedakoṇḍapura.

(v) He overcame Vri = Anavōta near the town of Sūravaram.

It is likely that these events are not mentioned in chronological order. The first of the exploits of Bhaktirāja given above probably refers to the time of the Musunūri chief Prolaya Nayaka, the leader of the independence movement in the coastal Andhra country. It is probable that Bhaktirāja, even while he was young, took an active part in freeing the country from the Muslim yoke. The *govana* chief Boggara was probably one of the subordinates of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Nothing definite is known about Bhaktirāja's victory over the Gajapati,⁸ and the restoration of Koppulapati to the throne.

6. Vide, Chapter, VII, Appendix.

7. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 11 ff.

8. The Gajapati king referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa is in my opinion Vira Narasimha III. His reign came to a close in 1353 A. D. between the months of November and January corresponding to Kartika and Pūṣya respectively. The last record of Vira Narasimha III and that of his son and successor, Vira Bhanudēva III, were both dated Śaka 1275 or 1353 A. D., the details of the former record being Kārtika Ś'u. di. 11, Tuesday and that of the latter, Pāuṣya Paurṇamī, Thursday. In Ś. 1275 Ś'u. di. 11 in the month of Kartika does not fall on Tuesday, but on Friday. As the name of the week day is clear in the inscription the *tithi* must have been wrongly read or wrongly inscribed. It must be Ś'u. di. 9 instead of Ś'u. 11. Then the English date equivalent of the former is 1353 A. D., November, 5, and that of the latter is 1354 A. D., January 9, Thursday.

To identify the chief Śiṅga, the adversary of Bhaktirāja is a problem; for, there are two chiefs of this name known till now who were contemporaneous with Bhaktirāja. Of these, one was the Rēceṅḡa chief, Śiṅgama Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, son of Dacā Nāyaka, and the other Śiṅgaya Nāyaka, brother of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṅukoṇḍa. It is difficult to determine the opponent of Bhaktirāja who was defeated at Bharanipaṭipura, since this village is unidentifiable. The identity of Dabaru Khān also is unknown. Pedakoṇḍāpura, the place where Bhaktirāja defeated his foe, seems to be identical with the village of the same name, now uninhabited, in the Bhadrācalam taluk of East Godavari district.

Bhaktirāja's victory over Anavōta at Sūravaram has been already alluded to in the text of this Chapter.

Bhaktirāja's date of death is not known. The *Mackenzie manuscripts* and the *Local records* preserve a very faulty copy of Annadēva Cōḍa's Rājamahēndravaram stone inscription" which furnishes Śaka 1259 as the date of his coronation. The original stone, on which this inscription was incised, is now lost. The cyclic year corresponding to the Śaka year is given as Prabhava which is evidently a mistake; for, it corresponds to Śaka 1288 and not to Śaka 1259 as given in the copy. As the first two figures and the last one of the Śaka year in the copy are 1, 2 and 9 it is obvious that the Śaka year was 1289 (current) which appears to be the correct date of Annadēva's coronation. On the basis of this record Annadēva Cōḍa's father Bhaktirāja may be said to have been alive till Śaka 1289 (1366 A.D.).

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CHAPTER VII.

A N A V Ē M A

(Cir. 1364 A.D. to Cir. 1386 A.D.)

Anavōta had a son named Kumāragiri. As he was probably too young to hold the sceptre of the kingdom, Anavōta's brother Anavēma succeeded to the throne. The records¹ of Anavēma state that he was the self-chosen lord of the wealthy damsel of the kingdom, *Rājya-Śrīramanīśvayanivaratī*, and that he bore its burden after the death of his brother. The term *Rājyaśrīramanīśvayanivarapatī* suggests that Anavēma came to the throne, not by his own right and just claim but, by the choice of the nobles of his kingdom. He was eulogised in his Śrīśaīlaṃ record² as *Rājyaśrīramanīśvayanivaratībhāgasaubhāgya*, one who had the good fortune to be chosen king by the sweet goddess of the state. These passages make at least one thing clear, that he was chosen king in succession to his brother, Anavōta. It might be that the ministers, commanders, and nobles of the kingdom realised the bad plight to which the Reḍḍi kingdom was reduced at the time of Anavōta's death by the extension of the Vijayanagar power in the south-west and the Recerla kingdom in the north-west, and did not probably view with favour the accession of the young prince Kumāragiri at that critical juncture. Their sole aim and object must have been the protection of the kingdom at any cost, for, they had nurtured it from its inception. Anavēma was Anavōta's brother. He stood by his brother in his weal and woe, and took an active part in many of the battles which his brother had fought. He would be a very happy choice; for, he might retrieve the honour and glory of the Reḍḍi kingdom. It is likely that these considerations stood foremost in their minds, when they elected Anavēma as their king in succession to Anavōta.

Anavēma could have placed the young prince on the throne and ruled the kingdom as his regent. But he does not seem to have approved of this idea. He must have felt that those were times when the kingdom required a strong and independent ruler at the helm who

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 469 B. Pāṇḍi Tapdīpagaṇa-grānti; C.P. No. 9 of 1922-23.

मोयं भ्रातृगन्तं निजमहीभारं वहनं पैतृकम्

राज्यश्रीमर्णाश्वयंवरतिः श्रीयन्नेवमप्रमुः ॥

2. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

ruled it as an absolute monarch in his own right, rather than as the prince's regent. His view prevailed and the ministers and nobles lent their full support to him. As a consequence, Anavēma ascended the throne and became king of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

It is likely there was a party favouring Prince Kumāragiri. They were evidently too weak to press their claims and fight out his cause. The circumstances of the Redḍi kingdom were none too propitious and probably the tender age of the young prince was not an encouraging factor. Though meek in early years of Anavēma's reign, the party of the prince gathered strength as years rolled by. Anavōta's brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Redḍi, and his nephew and son-in-law, Vēma Redḍi, had to agree to Anavēma's succession under the existing circumstances and to extend their co-operation to him, though unwillingly. Anavēma's career of conquest and restoration of the prestige and glory of the Redḍis must have won him strong and powerful supporters and weakened the hostile section at home, even if it did not actually bring them over to his side.

When Anavēma came to the throne, most of the territory which was conquered by his predecessors, Vēma I and Anavōta, through years of heroic fighting and able diplomacy, was lost to the Redḍis and passed into other hands. Vijayanagar became more powerful than before with her recent conquests, and was the mistress of the country extending from the eastern to the western seas and as far as Madura in the south. In the north the fertile valley of the Pennār and the Sṛisāilam country to the south of the Kṛṣṇā were again hers.

This was the situation when Anavēma took the reins of the kingdom into his hands. His records and *Cāṭu* verses bear evidence to the fact that he proved himself worthy of the choice made by the nobles in electing him as their king, and that his reign was one of increasing success and prosperity.

Like those of his brother Anavōta, Anavēma's inscriptions,³ so far discovered, are few in number, about a dozen and a quarter in all. Of these, his copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, recording gifts of villages to brāhmanas and his charities to temples, do not furnish any historical facts relating to his reign. They merely contain eulogies of Anavēma, and his predecessors Vēma and Anavōta, and allude to

3. Of these, eight are copper-plate records, namely, i. Drjjavaram, ii. Ippugallu, iii. Paṇṇi Tāṇḍiparṇu, iv. Vanapalli, v. Naḍupūru, vi. Manyamapuram, vii. Kolluru, and viii. Poḍacerakuru. Copies of the last three records are preserved in the *Local records* and the Elliot's collection

their religious works in general. A notable exception among these is his Śrīsaīlam record, an important document. This stone inscription does not, however, deviate from the conventional method of describing each reign as do the copper-plate records. In addition, it furnishes a long list of titles or *birudas* of Anavēma, some of which are no doubt hereditary ones; but, there are some new ones also, which roughly indicate the events of his reign. Under this category come the titles *Rājamahēndra* - *Niravadyanagar* = *ādi* - *bahuvidha* - *sthaladurga* - *varga* *vidalaga* - *Balarāma* (a Balarāma in tearing asunder the many kinds of *sthaladurgas* like Rājamahēndra, Niravadya and other cities), and *Sāgara* *Gantamī* *salila* *saṅgama* *sakala* *jaladurga* *sādhana* - *Raghurāma* (a Raghurāma in subduing all the *jaladurgas* situated at the confluence of the sea and the waters of the Gautanī). These point out to Anavēma's successful expedition to the country north of the Kṛṣṇā, and to his victories won in many battles and forts captured in the Gōḍāvarī region. The Reddi kings, from the very beginning of their rule, were particularly desirous of bringing the whole of the coastal strip, extending from the Eastern ghats to the sea and as far as Simhachalam in the east under their domination. This tract, mainly watered by the rivers Gōḍāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, is a fertile plain that constitutes itself into a geographical unit. The fight for the throne after the death of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja between his sons Cōḍa Bhīma and Annadēva seems to have afforded Anavēma an early opportunity to realise this old ambition.

As we know, Anavēma was related to Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. His sister was given in marriage to the latter's son, Cōḍa Bhīma. Cōḍa Bhaktirāja had another son, named Annadēva Cōḍa who was a powerful and ambitious prince. Both Cōḍa Bhīma and Annadēva Cōḍa aspired for the throne after the death of their father. In the internecine war which followed Bhaktirāja's death, Annadēva secured a measure of success. The extent of territory, to which Annadēva succeeded, is known from his Rajahmundry record.⁴ It refers to the many districts of the kingdom over which Annadēva held sway. Prominent among these were the Bhīmavṛōli Sima (the district of Bhīmavṛōlu, i.e., Bhimavaram, West Godavari district), and Vēṅgināḍu (the territory surrounding the ancient town of Vēṅgi). It is reasonable to suppose that during the last years of Anavōtā Reddi's reign these countries were under the rule of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. After his death, Annadēva Cōḍa, probably ousting his brother Cōḍa Bhīma, usurped the throne for himself and ruled his paternal kingdom independently. The authority of the Reddi kings ceased beyond the river Kṛṣṇā in the east. It does not seem improbable that Cōḍa Bhīma repaired to Koṇḍavīḍu to get

4. Mack, Mds., No. 15-1-1, p. 231, and No. 15-5-36, p. 175.

Anavēma's help to recover his paternal kingdom. Anavēma took this opportunity to re-conquer the coastal region beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the east which had slipped away from the control of the Redḍi kings. He set out with his army to reduce Vēngī and other districts in the Gōdāvari region, and particularly to chastise Annaḷva Cōḷa. By espousing the cause of Cōḷa Bhīma, Anavēma was able to secure the support and loyalty of some of the former's relatives, the local Redḍi nobles of the family of Doḍḍa Redḍi, which proved invaluable in reducing the forts of Rājamahēndravaram, Kōṅkōṇḍa and others in their neighbourhood.

Anavēma's campaigns :

The eastern campaign of Anavēma was more than a success. The Śrīśailam record throws much light on this campaign. It does not describe it in detail. Nevertheless, the long praśasti of Anavēma in this inscription contains, as stated already, some new titles indicative of his conquests presumably, in this campaign. A study of this record enables us to know that Anavēma, after crossing the river Kṛṣṇā, pushed on victoriously as far north as Kaḷiṅga.

Of all the titles of Anavēma in this record, the first that claims our attention is *Dīvidurgacibhāḷu*, the breaker of the fort of Dīvi, or Dvīpa. We do not know if Anavēma inherited this title from his brother Anavōta, or if he re-conquered Dīvi if it had slipped away from the Redḍi control after his brother's death, and was justified in laying claim to that title anew. As the whole of the eastern region conquered by Anavōta, slipped away from the possession of the Redḍis, it seems reasonable to suppose that Anavēma re-conquered Dīvi also from the local chieftains who defied the Redḍi authority.

Anavēma, thereafter, subdued Vēngiṇṇaḍu, or the district of Vēngi. Its eastern half, as noted in the previous chapter, was under the rule of a dynasty of princes who claimed descent from the Ikṣvākus of the solar race. Their capital was Sūravarapaṭṭaṇa, in the Nūjavīd taluk, Kistna district. Tammarāja and his son Unḍirāja or Unḍiṣa, whose

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5. Doḍḍa Redḍi, one of the five sons of Perumaṇḍi Redḍi of the Dūvuri family, had three sons Annavrōla, Koṭa and Allaḍa. Allaḍa Redḍi married the daughter of Kōmaṭi Vēma's son-in-law, Cōḷa Bhīma.

grant" is dated in Śaka 1304, were the contemporaries of Anavēma. After conquering these princes of the solar dynasty, Anavēma proceeded to the northern Vēṅgī which formed part of the dominion of Annadēva Cōḍa. The preamble in the Śrīśaḥam record of Anavēma does not allude to his conquest of Vēṅgī. Yet, the reference therein to the capture of Niravadyaprōlu itself points out to his subjugation of that country, in which that fort lay.

Niravadyaprōlu, now known as Niḍadavōlu in West Godavari district, was a famous strong fort of the Eastern Cālukya times. After the shifting of the capital from the Andhra to the Draviḍa country by Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I, each of the later Cālukya princes became the governor of a local fort and held sway over its dependencies. Of such Cālukyan forts Niravadyaprōlu was one. Its rulers made their political position strong by contracting marriage alliances with the neighbouring feudatory families, like the Haihaya princes of Kōnamanḍala'. These Cālukya princes were reduced to vassalage by Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatiya family during his eastern campaign. Yet, in accordance with the general policy followed in respect of the conquered princes, Gaṇapatidēva gave his daughter Rudramadēvi in marriage to prince Virabhadra" of the Cālukya family of Niravadyaprōlu, and secured

6. C. P., No. 16 of 1917-18.

This grant furnishes the following genealogy of these chiefs of the solar line belonging to the Haritasa gotra.

Devavaraja
|
Uṇḍiraja (I) m. Bimbidēvi
|
Bammaraja m. Viramadēvi
|
Uṇḍiraja (II) m. Rudramadēvi (of the Mānavyasa gotra)
(donor)

Uṇḍiraja II granted the village of Ravulaparti consisting of eighty shares to brahmins in Śaka 1304, corresponding to the cyclic year Dvīṇḍubhi, on Thursday, the tenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Magha. The village was, on this occasion, surnamed Uṇḍirapuram, probably after the king. The English equivalent of the date is 28th January, 1382 A.D. The other villages, which Uṇḍiraja is stated to have granted as *agrahāras* to brahmins, are Gopavaram, Trevikaralli, Ceyukanma, Kas'apadu, Cinnapalli, Vipparru, Kaṭlaparru, Bhandarupalli, Karikarlapalli, Uṅgutura, Kondrupolu, Keḍakaṭlu, Niḍumranūru, Pallivāḍa, Parumballi, Guḍaparru, Taṇḍiparru and the *kheṭa* Taṇḍipalli. Most of these villages are found in the West Godavari district. The record closes with the signature of Peḍa Uṇḍiraja and Veṅgu. The former seems to be the popular name of the donor. There is no reference to any of the Redḍi kings in this record.

7. S. I. L., Vol. V, Nos. 124 and 125.

8. A. S. P. P., Vol. XXII, (1938), No. 1; Ep. Coll., No. 848 of 1921.

their friendship and co-operation in his further political endeavours and in the administration of the country. Niravadyaprōlu remained a Kākatiya stronghold until the subjugation of the Telugu country by the Muslims. Anavōtā Redḍi also must have subjugated the fort of Niravadyaprōlu in the course of his Kaḷiṅga campaign, though this fact is not noticed in any of his records, or those of his descendants. After northern Vēṅgī came under the control of Annadēva Cōḍa, Niravadyaprōlu became one of his chief strongholds.

Annadēva Cōḍa must have fought here desperately with Anavēma, as the loss of this fort meant practically the loss of his kingdom. Anavēma, however, succeeded in capturing the fort ultimately. With the fall of Niravadyaprōlu the principality of Annadēva Cōḍa fell into the hands of the invader. The paucity of Annadēva Cōḍa's records, virtually until Śaka 1326, leads us to conclude that he was dispossessed of his kingdom and driven away. It is likely that Anavēma declared Cōḍa Bhīma chief of that principality, and installed him in that office.

The capture of the strong fort of Niravadyaprōlu facilitated the conquest not only of the dominion of Annadēva Cōḍa but also of the fertile deltaic tract, comprising districts like Pānara and Kōna which lay between, or in the vicinity of, the Vasistha and the Gautami, the two main branches of the Gōḍavari. This region consisting of some strong *jalandurgas*, situated at the confluence of the waters of the Gautami with the sea, was included in the dominion of the Mañcikaṇḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka and his brothers who must have opposed in vain the invading Redḍi armies.

Anavēma succeeded in occupying Pānara, Kōna and other countries in the lower Gōḍavari region. His Naḍupūru grant⁹ dated in 1374 A.D., his Palivela¹⁰ and Dāksharam¹¹ inscriptions dated in 1377 and 1381 A.D. respectively, and his Vānapalli plates¹² dated in 1381 A.D.,—all attest to the fact of his complete conquest of this deltaic area.

The route followed by Anavēma Redḍi in this triumphal march may probably be traced with the help of the records mentioned above. After capturing the fort of Niravadyaprōlu and the upper region lying along the southern bank of the Gōḍavari, Anavēma appears to have

9. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.

10. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 115.

11. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 1379.

12. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.

gone to the eastern low country where it was easy, as is even to-day, to cross the Vaṣiṣṭha and the Gautamī and to get at Rājamahēndravaram. Subduing the Pāṇāra country he crossed the Vaṣiṣṭha, and overran the Kōṇamaṇḍala. This tract at the end of the course of the Gōḍāvari, which was, by nature, the region of the *jaladurgas*, or forts whose strength lay in the deep expanse of water around, submitted to the Redḍi rule again. Anavēma secured, in this campaign, the co-operation of some of the Redḍi nobles like Kāṭaya Redḍi II and Māraya Redḍi II, sons of Māraya I and grandsons of Kāṭaya I, and Doḍḍā Redḍi and his brothers of the Duvuri family, some of whom were his close relatives. Of these Kāṭaya Redḍi II had the significant title of *jaladurgamalla*¹³ because of his special skill in reducing the *jaladurgas*.

Anavēma, after crossing the Gōḍāvari, laid siege to Rājamahēndravaram, the strongest fort on the eastern bank of that river. It was the chief stronghold of Mummaḍi Nāyaka, though Kōṅkōṇḍa was his formal capital. After a severe struggle between the contending armies, the fort of Rājamahēndravaram capitulated, and the Mañcikōṇḍa chiefs tendered their submission to the Redḍi monarch. The reduction of the *jaladurgas* in the deltaic region and the capture of the *sthaladurgas*, like Rājamahēndranagara and Niravadyanagara, is indicated by his titles in the Srisaīlam record, alluded to before.

The fall of Rājamahēndranagara paved the way for the reduction of the country further east. The victorious Redḍi armies overran the eastern country up to Sūbhāchalam in Southern Kāṭiṅga. This part of the country was rough and wild, and the impenetrable forests and inaccessible mountains afforded excellent protection for the *manne* chiefs or Virasāmantas who ruled the primitive folk of that region. These *manne* chiefs were a fierce and uncontrollable lot, and a constant terror to the frontiers of the more settled kingdoms round about. Their pillaging expeditions were many into the peaceful dominions of their neighbours. But they could not be got at, in their mountain lairs and so escaped all chastisement. It was held a great feat of valour in those days for a king to have reduced any one of these wild chieftains. It was their country, the whole of it, that Anavēma overran in his eastern campaign after the capture of Rājamahēndranagara.

Piṭhāpuram was once the capital of a line of Virasāmantas called Koppulas, whose territory, known as *Andhrakhaṇḍamaṇḍala*, extended from the banks of the Gautamī to Kāṭiṅga in the north. Later on, these princes were driven to the north by the Mañcikōṇḍa chiefs of Kōṅkōṇḍa, and they settled finally in the region around Tuni.

13 A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. 11 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV (Appendix to the Totṭaramūḍi plates)

Contiguous with the dominion of the Koppula chiefs lay another kingdom, the territory of the descendants of the Eastern Cālukya prince, Bēta Vijayāditya, who was expelled from Vēngī by his cousin Tālaparāja during the tenth century A. D. Later on, these Cālukya princes set up a small kingdom, of which Elamañci (Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam district) was the capital. Their inscriptions recording their benefactions are mostly found in the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañcadhārāla and its neighbouring villages. Of these Cālukya princes,¹⁴ Upēndra IV, son of Cennēśvara whose inscription¹⁵ is dated in Śaka 1294, and probably his paternal uncle, Upēndra V, son of Upēndra III, were the contemporaries of Anavēma.

Like the Cālukyas of Elamañci there were other local chiefs, the Matsya princes¹⁶ of Oḍḍādi who flourished in the southern Kāṭṅga region during this period. Oḍḍādi in the Vīravalli taluk of Vizagapatam district was their capital. From a study of their records so far discovered, we find that Vīra Arjunadēva of this line, son of Jayanta, was a contemporary of Anavēma, and that his dates range from S. 1279 to S. 1303.

It seems certain that the contemporary chiefs of the above dynasties also shared the same fate as the chiefs of Kōṅkonda, and became Anavēma's tributaries. Even though Anavēma's records do not refer either to these princes, or to his conquest of their territories, their subjugation is a fact, since his Śrīsaṁam record describes him as *Simhācalādi-Vindhya-pāda-pratiṣṭhāpita-kīrti-stambha*, one who planted pillars of fame at Simhāchalam and other places at the foot of the Vindhya mountains. This fact is further confirmed by Anavēma's inscription¹⁷ at Simhāchalam, which registers the grant of the village of Gōṭṭivāḍa, obtained from the Matsya prince Vīra Arjundadēva of Oḍḍādi, to god Nṛsiṁha of Simhāchalam in the Śaka year 1297 or 1375 A. D. The donor was Anavēma's brahman general and minister Cennama Nāyaka, son of Nāraṇḍāsa (Nārāyaṇadāsa). King Anavēma also made a gift of some coins, called *gaṇḍa māḷas*, to God Simhādrinātha for providing some services in the temple. This record enables us to know that the eastern or the Kāṭṅga campaign of Anavēma came to an end by Śaka 1297 or 1375 A. D.¹⁸ Anavēma's Kāṭṅga campaign

14. See, Appendix to Ch. VIII for a brief account of these chiefs.

15. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 921.

16. Vide, Appendix to Ch. VIII.

17. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 785.

18. King Anavēma seems to have constructed a building also to Simhādrinātha in the precincts of the Simhāchalam temple and named it Anavēmanagaram after himself. This building is referred to in a record (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 806), dated in Śaka 1303, at Simhāchalam.

was a thorough success. He brought the country as far as *Simhāchalam* under subjection, and made the ruling chiefs subordinate to the kingdom of *Koṇḍaviḍu*.

After his return from this campaign *Anavēma* was obliged to turn his attention to the west. The *Vijayanagar* power was gradually encroaching upon the *Koṇḍaviḍu* kingdom. The limit of this penetration is borne out by two *Vijayanagar* inscriptions, one, the *Mahānandi* record¹⁹, dated in *Saka* 1332, of the *Velugōti* chief *Tipparāja*, a subordinate of *Vijayanagar*, and the other, an inscription at *Chāṅgalaviḍu* in the *Ēḡuva* country dated in *Saka* 1294, corresponding to the cyclic year, *Paridhavi*. The former record confers, on *Tippa's* grandfather *Gaṅgalraju* *Cennarāju*, the title of "the hero of the battle of *Kottacerlakōṭa*" (the village of *Koccerlakōṭa* in the *Darsi* division of *Nellore* district). The latter inscription²⁰ registers the grant of the village of *Viñjanampadu* (*Narasaraopet* taluk, *Guntur* district) in the *Vinukonḍu-sīma* to god *Pāpavināsanadeva* by one of the *Vijayanagar* generals. These two records, of which one refers to the scene of battle in the *Darsi* division, and the other, to the gift of a village in the *Narasaraopet* taluk, prove beyond doubt that the *Vijayanagar* monarch *Bukka I* extended his territory almost right into the heart of the *Koṇḍaviḍu* kingdom.

Besides the *Vijayanagar* kings, the princes of *Rājukonḍa* and *Dēvarakonḍa* also were forging ahead. They captured *Warāṅgal* and became the undisputed lords of *Teliṅgaṇā* between the *Kṛṣṇā* and the *Gōdāvarī* above the Ghats.

Anavēma did not forget the humiliation his brother *Anavōta* had suffered during the *Rēcerla* raid against *Dharapikōṭa*. Since the coastal region as far as *Simhāchalam* in southern *Kaliṅga* in the east was secure under loyal and strong officers of state, *Anavēma* now launched an expedition to the west to recover his lost possessions.

The *Velugōṭirājarāmsāraṇi* states that *Mada Nayaka*, son of *Sīṅgama Nāvaka I*, and brother of *Anavōtā Nayaka* defeated *Anavēma* when the latter attacked him.²¹ Contrary to the general practice of

19. Ep. Coll., No. 173 of 1913.

20. Muck. Mss., No. 15-3-11.

21. "ಶಿವಯಮೋಗಧರ್ಮಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ (1 ಕೊಡೆ) ಎಂಬ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ

ಶಿವಯಮೋಗಧರ್ಮಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ (1 ಕೊಡೆ) ಎಂಬ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ

In VI. Vm. this is the only reference to king *Anavēma*, son of *Prolaya Vema*. It should however be remembered that king *Poda Komati Vema* also is referred to in this work as *Anavēma*.

describing this exploit in more than one verse, this so called victory was casually noticed in a lone foot of a verse, which gives rise to the doubt that Māda may not, after all, be the real victor. This suspicion is strengthened by Anavēma's inscription²² at Wazirabad Vāḍapalli (in Nalgonda district of the Hyderabad State) in the dominion of the Rēceṅṅa chiefs. This inscription, dated in Śaka 1299 corresponding to the cyclic year Piṅṅaḷa, records the building of a tower to the temple of god Agastyēśvara Mahādēva and the construction of a *candrasāla*, and the granting of some gifts, for services in the temple, to that god by Kāḍiyani Pōti Nāyaka for the merit of his lord Anamāca Redḍi, a brother of Anavēma Redḍi. This record proves that Anavēma scored a decisive victory over the Rēceṅṅa chiefs, and annexed to the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, at least a portion of their dominion lying to the north of the Kṛṣṇa. This fact seems to be further supported in a way by another inscription²³ of Annama Nāyaka, son of Cilukūri Ana Bhīmā Nāyaka of the Dēsaṭṭa gōtra at Boorugugadda (in the same Nalgonda district). As the gōtra of the chief Annama Nāyaka is Dēsaṭṭa he seems to have been a member of the Dēsaṭṭa community. Like the Śrīsaṭṭam and Vāḍapalli inscriptions this record also is dated in Piṅṅaḷa. Though this inscription does not refer to king Anavēma, yet it is likely that Annama Nāyaka was one of his subordinate nobles. If this surmise is correct, the Boorugugadda inscription marks the western limit of Anavēma's conquests in the Rēceṅṅa territory. On the authority of the two inscriptions cited above, it may therefore safely be assumed, in spite of the version in the *Velugōṭṭivāriyamāvaḷi*, that Anavēma was the victor and the Rēceṅṅa chiefs were the vanquished. Anavēma also succeeded in recovering the country as far as Śrīsaṭṭam from the Vijayanagara rulers during this campaign. His Śrīsaṭṭam record²⁴ dated in Śaka 1299 bears testimony to this fact. He succeeded not only in recovering almost all the original Redḍi possessions that were lost before, but in extending also the authority of the Redḍi kings as far as Simhāchalam in Southern Kāḷiṅga. He made new conquests, and maintained the whole territory intact,

22. A. R. H. S., 1934 - 35 (1344 P), Appendix.

23. I. T. D. H., No. 19 pp. 71-72.

In the facsimile impression the name of the gōtra is clear. The reading Desasa given in the text (l. 2) is wrong. The grant, registered in this inscription, was made on Thursday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭham, in the year Piṅṅaḷa. The Śaka year is lost. In *Telaṅṅama Sazanamulu* the Śaka year also is given as 1300 (Vide, p. 167).

24. The date of this record is Piṅṅaḷa, Magha ś'u. di. 7. Wednesday (6th January 1378 A.D.)

almost until the end of his reign. His Manyamāpuram grant²⁵, dated in Śaka 1304, corresponding to the cyclic year Dumdubhi, states that Anavēma ruled justly the country extending from Śrīśailam (in Kurnool district) to Simhāchalam (in Vizagapatam district).

Anavēma's Titles:

Anavēma's titles *paricīṭānēkagatirīṣṣavāraṇamāraṇḍopāya*, he who is acquainted with the different kinds of gait of elephants and the means of killing them, and *Prajāparicīṭacaturvidhōpaya*, he who is versed in the four expedients (namely, negotiation, bribery, sowing dissension, and open assault in overcoming enemies) unknown to people, furnish the clue to the success he had in his campaigns, and to the fact that he was master of a large elephant force, the chief of the four components of the army. The titles, *ksurikākālī-Vēṭāḷa*, he who resembles in strife a Bētāḷa with his dagger, *ksurikāsakāya*, he who has the dagger for his help, *karanāḷa-Vaināṭēya*, a veritable Garuḍa with the sword, *Kaliyuga-Bēṭāḷa*, a veritable Bētāḷa of the Kali age, suggest his high qualities of daring courage and valour. By the series of victories he had won, he felt justified in assuming the titles (recorded in his Śrīśailam inscription) *vikramapañjaranighṭaripurājasimha*, he who held down the lions of his enemy kings in the cage of his valour, and *Vijayakuñjarālānanijabhujastambhasambhṛtayaśōmaṇḍana*, he who was adorned with fame gained by chaining the elephant of Victory to the pillar-post of his shoulder. After these conquests Anavēma made, probably in grateful devotion, a gift of bells, surmounted by elephants (*gaja-ghaṇṭā*), to the five holy places of Pāñcārāmas, namely, Amarārāma (Amarāvati) Dākshāram, Kṣīrārāma (Pālakol), Kunnārāma (Bhimvaram near Sāmakot), and Bhimarāma²⁶ (Guḍipūḍi near Bhimavaram).

King Anavēma was the greatest of the Reddi rulers of Koṇḍaviḍu. He came to the throne by the choice of the ministers and nobles of the state at a time when its fortune was at a low ebb. He assumed the title *mahaniyaṇḍhradēvapatīṭābhīṣākas varṇamahābhūṭya*, he who had the great good fortune of being crowned king of the glorious Andhra country. He repaired the loss sustained by the kingdom prior to his coronation, and enhanced its glory by his conquests. In his time, the power of Koṇḍaviḍu reached its zenith. It extended from Śrīśailam to the sea, and from Kandukur to Simhāchalam.

25. No. 15-6-36. Vol. 1, pp. 270 ff.

The original plates of this grant are now lost. A copy of this inscription is preserved in the Elliot's collection.

26. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

Anavēma was a just and righteous ruler. He maintained and protected the *agrahāras* granted previously to brāhmanas besides giving some new ones. His Īppugallu, Drjjavaram, Naḍupūru, Vānapalli, Kollūru, Manyamāpuram and Pedacherakūru grants bear evidence to this fact. He was famed for his liberality and munificence. He devoted his wealth chiefly for the encouragement of learned men and gloried in their eloquence and scholarship.²⁶ He took delight in the company of great poets and pleased them with gifts of many thousands of gold coins²⁷ (*bahasahasra suvarṇadāna śatō ṛṣi-mohākariśora*). He performed many kinds of *dānas* like *brahmāṇḍadāna*, *kalpatarudāna*, *kanakadharādāna* and *gōsahasradāna*²⁸. He set up *śatras*, feeding houses, in many holy places and provided for four kinds of food. He instituted the festival of Vasantamahōtsava or Madanamahōtsava, and by taking an active part in it he came to be called Vasantarāya, 'the king of the spring.' It was in Anavēma that the dreams of his father and brother to bring all the coastal region under one sceptre were finally realised. He was a Śaivite by religion and devoutly worshipped God Śiva. There are many *Cāṭu* verses extant that were composed in his honour, and many traditional stories which speak of his liberality. The Telugu poet, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrana, author of *Viṣṇu Purāṇam* extols Anavēma as one who gave his support to brāhmanas, his *birudas* to the nobles of the Paṇṭa clan, and his *naya* or political wisdom to his people²⁹. The results of his just rule are epitomised in a *Cāṭu* verse in Sanskrit current in the Telugu country which states that people got good food, fine clothes, musk, gold and chowries while he was the king of the land.³⁰

26. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 62, v, 20.

27. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

28. Ibid.

29. “తన బృదుకు ధూమిసురులకు
దన విరుదులు పంటగంజ ధరణీశులకున్
దన నయము ధూమి పృజలకు
ననశమున యిచ్చెడి గీర్తి నధికం దగుచున్”—Vn. Pr., (Intro.).

30. “..... भूमीगे चिरमन्नवेमनुपतौ भूयालमन्तेजना
मृदन्नं मृदुलाम्बरं मृगमदं चामीकरं चामरम्”—Sr. Sn., p. 55.

CHAPTER VIII.

KUMĀRAGIRI.

(Cir. 1386 A. D. to Cir. 1402 A. D.)

Kumārāgiri succeeded to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu after the death of his uncle, Anavēma, some time about S. 1308 / 1386 A.D. The Anaparti grant¹, his earliest extant record, dated in S. 1312 / 1390 A.D., says that he had, by that year, friendly relations with the kings of the north, east, south and west. The next record of his reign, the Gōpavaram grant² contains a verse which states "that Kaṭaya Vēma, exalting king Kumārāgiri to the throne even as Śrī Kṛṣṇa exalted Dharmarāja, caused him to shine", that is, made him rule. This statement suggests that Kumārāgiri's succession to the throne was not a smooth and peaceful one and that he had to fight for it.

The records of the Redḍi kings, neither of Koṇḍaviḍu nor of Rājamahēndravaram, furnish us any clue to identify the opponents of Kumārāgiri. As already known, Prōlaya Vēma had three sons, Anavōta, Anamāca, and Anavēma. Kumārāgiri was the son of Anavōta. Anamāca's records³ have not yet come to light. He is referred

1. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 91 ff. The date of the grant is 22 April, 1390 A.D.
2. Ibid., pp. 211 f. The S'loka containing the date reads as follows:

शाकेश्वे(वे)न्दुगुणक्षितौ युवशरयकंयनेचोत्तरे
कृत्वा गोपवर्गं तमेवशुकसद्योगिप्रतिष्ठापिते
ग्रामं गजमहे द्रवामवगरीयान्तरे गोपिका
नाथापार्थितकाद्येन्द्रनयः श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिः

The date of record is 27 December, 1395 A.D. The comparison between Kṛṣṇa and Kaṭaya Vēma and Yudhiṣṭhira and Kumārāgiri seems to be significant, and not meaningless as some scholars are inclined to think. The writer of the grant, who must have composed the *Sasana kavya* under the direction of Kaṭaya Vēma, himself a great Sanskrit scholar, would not have aimlessly used these comparisons in vain, merely figuratively.

3. There is an inscription of Maca Redḍi at Unḍavilli. It is not clear, if the record belongs to this Maca.

to in the Vāḍapalli inscription⁴ of Anavōma dated in Śaka 1299. He probably died in the last years of Anavōma's rule. Anavōma appears to have had no male issue. Therefore, the rival claimants to the throne who opposed Kumāragiri's succession might have been his cousins, Vēma and Māca, sons of Peda Kōmaṭi, and grandsons of Māca I, brother of Prōlaya Vēma.

Kumāragiri's position and difficulties :

When Prōlaya Vēma founded the Redḍi kingdom at Addaaki, it was really a small principality. It was left to his son Anavōta to elevate it to the dignity of a kingdom. In his efforts as well as those of his father in founding the kingdom, the whole family worked in a spirit of kinship and close co-operation. A like spirit permeated their administration as well; for, Vēma's elder brother, Māca, was posted as governor at Tsandavōlu, and his younger brother Malla at Kandukūru. Thus, the reins of government were in the hands of the three cousins, though Anavōta, who had his seat of government at Koṇḍaviḍu and was the more powerful among them, was looked up to for guidance and help by the other two. This difference in estate and power was transformed into one of kingship and fief, when Anavōma in the next generation secured great power and prestige for Koṇḍaviḍu by his statesmanship and conquering zeal. Tsandavōlu and Kandukūru, though relegated to the position of petty principalities, had still some kind of a claim to Koṇḍaviḍu and what protection and glory they could secure through its more powerful arms. It was in these circumstances, when the claims to the throne were vague and undetermined that Anavōma died childless. Peda Kōmaṭi's son Vēma must have thought that he had as good a right for the throne as Kumāragiri, son of Anavōta; and any way, he made a bid for power, and perhaps made use of arms as well in his behalf.

Kumāragiri made his brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, his chief adviser in all matters. Owing to their near kinship with the ruling branch, Kāṭaya's family was gaining great importance. The power and prestige enjoyed by the members of that family was not wrought in a day or two. It grew gradually over the past two generations as a consequence of matrimonial alliances they had with the ruling family. Kāṭaya, father of Vēma under reference, married Kumāragiri's aunt, Doḍḍāmbikā, daughter of Prōlaya Vēma. Their son was Vēma, better known as Kāṭaya Vēma. He married Anavōta's daughter and

4. A. R. H. S., 1934-35 (1344 F), Appendix.

Kumāragiri's sister.⁶ It is but natural for Peda Kōmaṭi's sons, Vēma and Māca, members of the royal line, to resent Kāṭaya Vēma's familiarity with the young king Kumāragiri, and the influence which he wielded in the State. To the chagrin of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Kumāragiri made his brother-in-law his chief political adviser.

In seeking the advice of Kāṭaya Vēma on all important political matters, and treating him as his virtual minister, Kumāragiri really deviated from the traditional policy of the Reddi kings, who invariably appointed brahmins as their prime-ministers. During the reign of Prōlaya Vēma, Rāmā Peggada and Mallinātha were his ministers.⁶ In conducting the affairs of the state Anavōta was also assisted by the same Mallinātha, son of Rāmāraja, and Sōmaya Peggada.⁷ In the reign of Anavēma also there were brahmins acting as ministers and prime ministers. Immaḍindra, son of Mallayamantri was the political adviser of Anavēma. Another minister and commander of

5. The name of the sister of king Kumāragiri is not definitely known either from inscriptions or literature. According to the late Sri K. V. Lakshmanarao, she was Mallambika (A. V. S., Vol. II, p. 25). His authority is Kāṭaya Vēma's Daksharam inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 328). This record, however, does not explicitly state that she was the daughter of Anavota I. While editing the Kaluvacheru grant (A.S.P.P., Vol. III, pp. 103 ff) the late Sri J. Ramayya Pantulu also writes that, of Doddambika, and Mallambika, the two wives of Kāṭaya Vēma, the latter was the sister of Kumāragiri. Even the Totaramudi plates of Kāṭaya Vēma do not make the relationship between Mallambika and Kumāragiri or Anavota I clear (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.). Hence there is no definite proof to say that Mallasani or Mallambika was the daughter of king Anavota I, and the sister of Kumāragiri.

Following Lakshmanarao and Ramayya Pantulu the late Sri C. Virabhadrarao also wrote that Mallambika was the sister of Kumāragiri (An. Cr., III, p. 171, and p. 256). Mallasamma was the daughter of a certain Kanniboraya (?) (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 103), and the sister of Mukkapiraya. We do not know who this Kanniboraya was. There seems to be some mistake in the reading of the name as such a name is unusual and strange. However, it is certain that Mallasani was not the daughter of Anavota, and the sister of Kumāragiri.

6. N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 78, p. 1087.
7. Ep. Coll., No. 602 of 1909.
8. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 59 f.

“नीतौ मन्त्रीश्वरो विद्यागोष्ठाषु विबुधाग्रणीः
मित्रं हितोपदेशेषु भूभुजाभिर्मण्डाश्वरः ॥”

10. Katya Vema had a brahman minister, named, Peddi, son of Appaya (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226)

This is suggested by the Aminābād record¹² which states that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma gained the throne of the kingdom in due course (*krama-pariprāpta-sāmṛājya-simbhāsanādhyāsiṇa*). Hostilities ceased with the conclusion of this understanding, and Kumāragiri ascended the throne. It is not known when the civil war came to an end, and when Kumāragiri was anointed to the kingdom. This must have been before Saka 1312, the date of the Anaparti record alluded to before. The first inscription to refer to Kāṭaya Vēma as the *pradhāni* of Kumāragiri comes from Sindhāchalam.¹³ It is dated in the Saka year 1308 (expired). A still earlier record of Kāṭaya Vēma dated in the month of Āśāḍha of the same year is found at Amarāvati¹⁴ in Guṇṭūr district. It registers a gift by Appana Peddi, the chief executive officer of Kāṭaya Vēma for the latter's merit. The gift, registered in this record, was, no doubt, made to god Amarēsvara in grateful thanks for the successful termination of the civil war resulting in the enthronement of Kumāragiri. The termination of the civil war as well as the coronation of Kumāragiri must, therefore, have taken place just in the beginning of the Saka year 1308 (1386 A. D.).

During the period between Saka 1308 (1386 A. D.) and Śaka 1312 (1390 A. D.) Kumāragiri fought successful wars with the kings of the west, north and east, that is, probably with Vijayanagar, Rājakoṇḍa, and Kaḷiṅga respectively.

Vijayanagar Aggression :

When there was civil war in the kingdom, Harihara II, king of Vijayanagar, marched as far as Tripurāntakam and captured that stronghold. This fact is borne out by two of his inscriptions at Tripurāntakam dated Saka 1307¹⁵ and Saka 1308¹⁶, corresponding to the cyclic years Krōḍhana and Aksaya respectively. Of these the first inscription registers a gift of land for the merit of Vīra Dēvarāya, son of Harihara II, and the other, another grant of land by the *mahāpradhāni* Bhavadūra Oḍaya, son or minister of Bukka I. The Vijayanagar armies advanced even still further as far as Vinukōṇḍa in Guntur

12. A. S. P. P., Vol. IX, pp. 319-325.

13. S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 781. The gift recorded in this inscription was made on Sunday on the 7th tithi of the bright half of the month of Kārtika. The Saka date is expired. The details work out correctly for Saka 1309. The English date equivalent is Sunday, 20 October, 1387 A. D.

14. Ibid., No. 226. The gift registered in this inscription was made on Wednesday, the second tithi of the lunar half of Adhika Āṣāḍha. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, 30th May, 1386 A. D.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 270 of 1905.

16. Ibid., No. 257 of 1905.

district as attested by the Telugu drama *Kriṣṇābhīrāmam* written by Vallabhāmatya. The author's father, Tippana, the superintendent of the *ratnabhūṇḍāra* (the royal treasury consisting of precious gems) of Harihara II is stated to have been *Śrutaparivata-durga-mahāpradhāna-rāḍ-gandhagajambū*, the mast elephant of the chief minister of *Śrutaparvatadurga* or the mountain-fort of Vinukonda. These acquisitions were made by the Vijayanagar king, Harihara II about the Saka year 1306-07 when a campaign was launched against the Redḍi kingdom as well as the kingdom of the Rēceḡla kings. In the course of this campaign Harihara II was able to recover again from the Redḍi kings the Srisaïlam area¹⁷, which remained, thereafter, under the rule of Vijayanagar.

King Kumāragiri, soon after the conclusion of the civil war, sent his generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēna with a large army against Harihara II to recover the Tripurāntakam and Srisaïlam districts. Kāṭaya Vēma succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the Vijayanagar forces. Harihara II's armies, which were sent against Waraṅgal, already suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the combined forces of the Hindu Rēceḡla kings and the Muslim Bahmanī Sultāns at Kottakonda¹⁸ in the present Mahaboobnagar district of the Hyderabad State. He, therefore, realised the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the neighbouring Redḍi kings in order to strengthen himself against the growing power of the Bahmanī Sultāns and of the Rēceḡla kings. Hence, he thought it prudent to come to terms with Kumāragiri.

17. This country was first conquered by Anavota I and his brother, Mada I, some time after Saka 1283 (See, VV. Vm, p. 17), then by Bukka I, and afterwards by Anavama. I quote all the verses that bear testimony to the Rēceḡla rule over this region.

“एकोयं भाग्यलक्ष्मीं प्रथयति जगति ज्यायसीमन्ध्रदेशः

देवः श्रीशैलनाथस्त्रिभुवनतिलको यत्रचाक्षोर्वन्तः

वाह्मिन्यौयत्र हरिहृतनृगोतमीकृष्णवेशयो

यंचामावन्नवोत्पभुग्वतिसमं माधवेनानुजेन ”

V. 19. --Ainavolu inscription.

“प्रत्यर्थिगायिगोवाञ्छसोयं समरसान्यकिः

श्रीशैलविन्ध्यमध्योर्वीगण्डलं परिपालयन्”

— V. 26. --Umamahes'varam inscription.

“विन्ध्यश्रीशैलमध्यक्षमामण्डलं पालयन्मृतैः

वंशप्रवर्धकै रथान् मुक्ते भोगपुरन्दरः ”

-- V. 40 -- *Rasarnavarasudhakaram*.

18. Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Ck. 15; V. O., p. 121.

Kaṭaya Vēma also was anxious to come to an agreement with the Vijayanagar king, as it would be to the advantage of Koṇḍavīḍu to have the Vijayanagar power on its side against both its external and internal enemies. Accordingly, a treaty appears to have been concluded between Kaṭaya Vēma on behalf of Kumāragiri and Harihara II, by which Tripurāntakam was ceded to Kumāragiri. The provenance of the Vijayanagar records at Srīsaīlam subsequent to Śaka 1307 makes it clear that Kaṭaya Vēma consented to give away a major portion of the Srīsaīlam country to Harihara II. Tripurāntakam and the stronghold of Vinukonda once again came into the possession of king Kumāragiri. The marriage alliance, alluded to in the Vēnavaram plates¹⁹ of Allaya Vēma Reddi, refers to this period. Harihara II cemented this political alliance by giving his daughter Hariharāmbā in marriage to Kaṭaya Vēma himself.²⁰

Relations between the Rēcerla Chiefs and the Reddis:

The Rēcerla princes also were busy in extending their territory. The *Velugōṭivūri Vamśāvali* states that Kumāragiri was defeated in battle by Singama Nāyaka's son, Māda Nāyaka.²¹ Contrary to the usual method, followed in describing the victories of the Rēcerla kings elaborately in one or more verses, this event is noticed very briefly in one or two verses in that work, and dispensed with very lightly. If at all this was true, it must have taken place in the course of the Kaṭiṅga campaign of Anavōta I at the far end of his reign. It took place subsequent to Ś. 1302, the date of his inscription²² at Sindhachalam. Vēdagiri I or Peda Vēdagiri, son of Māda Nāyaka I and Singa's son Māda Nāyaka II appear to have taken part in this campaign.

19. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, v. 22 p. 242.

20. I accept the Śloka relating to this alliance as emended by Pandit V. Prabhakara Śastri Garu.

21. "కొమరగిరికి నొర విన్నయకూన

తనరె చెట్టిన బొమ్మల చలంపైతి. "v. 108, p. 39.

"తనరె బొమ్మలచలంపై) దానధూ నాలుండు

కొమరగిరికి బొమ్మ నొర పెట్టె." v. 121, p. 43.

It may be noted here that, other than Dāca, father of Anavōta I and Mādava I, there was no other king bearing the same name in the Rēcerla line. Dāca was not a contemporary of Kumāragiri. The very mention of Dāca makes this event doubtful.

22. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 1081.

The reading *gayinirūḍḍana* is wrong. The correct reading should be *gayagōṛa-ḷḍaina*.

According to the *Velugōṭivāri Vamkāraḷi* Vēdagiri reduced the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi" in the Tuni division of East Godavari district. If the defeat of Kumāragiri by Sūṅaya Māda is a fact, it must have been achieved in the region to the north of the Gōḍāvari in the course of this raid. From the way in which this event is reported it certainly was not a resounding victory for the Rēceḷas. It must have been a mere skirmish at some outpost with neither party worsted. It is interesting to note that Kāṭaya Vēma, the most redoubtable soldier of Koṇḍaviḍu is not mentioned even once in the *Velugōṭivāri Vamkāraḷi* as having been defeated by the Rēceḷa kings.

Sometime after his accession to the throne Kumāragiri deputed Kāṭaya Vēma along with prince Annavōta II to conquer the eastern region as gathered from the Anaparti grant.

Annadēva Cōḍa:

Now, a solitary inscription" of Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Cōḍā Bhaktirāja at Tripurāntakam which registers the grant of the village of Kañcanapalli to god Tripurāntakadēva, has to be taken into consideration. It does not mention any Redḍi king of the period. It is not known in what capacity, whether as a friend or as a foe of the Redḍis, he was there at that time. None of his records, prior to Saka 1326 with the exception of this solitary inscription, has been discovered. Hence this record is really a riddle. It is likely that, since his dis-possession of kingdom by Anavēma, he had been wandering from State to State in search of a supporter, who would espouse his cause and help him in recovering his territory. Probably, he vainly tried to take advantage of the civil war and joined one of the parties in the hope of gaining some help to fulfil his desires. It might be, during these peregrinations, that Annadēva Cōḍa chanced to be at Tripurāntakam. This is, however, a conjecture. It is even possible that his presence at Tripurāntakam might have some connection with the incursion of the Rēceḷa kings in the north.

Kumāragiri's eastern campaign:

Anyhow, by Śaka 1312 (1390 A. D.), the date of the Anaparti grant, king Kumāragiri was ruling the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom peacefully, either having already come to a settlement with his enemies, or after conquering them. His copper-plate grants do not furnish any details of the

23. VV. Vm., p. 37. Pedda Velagiri Nēḍu had the title *Beṇḍapiḍidurṇavibhāḷa*: See per contra, VV. Vm. Introd., p. 20.

24. Ep. Coll. No. 254 of 1905.

Wars he waged with the neighbouring powers. Only the Anaparti grant furnishes the information that Kaṭaya Vēma, his minister and generalissimo, conquered the Gajapati king and other chieftains between the Vindhya and the Śimhādri mountains during his invasion of the eastern country, undertaken at the bidding of his sovereign. As stated already, this expedition to the eastern country was launched subsequent to the military raid of Anavōta Nāyaka II of the Rāceṇṇa family subsequent to Śaka 1302, the date of his Śimhachalam record, and prior to Śaka 1312, the date of the Anaparti grant. Kaṭaya Vēma's Sarpavaram inscription²⁵, dated in Śaka 1310, might probably serve to indicate the date of the Kāliṅga invasion, which was probably undertaken in the autumn of that year.

Kaṭaya Vēma's conquests in the eastern quarter are not detailed either in the Anaparti or the Gōpavaram grants of Kumāragiri. The commentaries on Kaṭidāsa's dramas, written by Kaṭaya Vēma, however, mention some of his conquests in this region, evidently during this campaign. From the introductory verses²⁶ in his commentary on the *Abhiññāna Śākuntalam* he is known to have conquered (1) Mollēṭi durgam or the fort of Mollēru; (2) Kimmūru-durgam or the fort of Kimmūru (3) Beṇḍapūḍi; (4) Vajrakūṭam; (5) Rāmāgiri and (6) Virakūṭam. An account of these places given below will show that they are all in Kāliṅga.

Identification of places conquered:

(i) *Mollēṭi-durgam*: The fort Mollēru is in the Yellavaram division of Godavari district. An undated inscription²⁷ at that place records the construction of Vēmasamudram (tank) by a certain Vuppula Hanmaya for the merit of Kāṭama Reḍḍi Vēma Reḍḍi, evidently after the conquest of this place by the latter.

25. S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 7, The English date equivalent is Friday, 7th August, 1388. A.D.

26. These verses are given as appendix to the paper on the Totlaramaḍi plates published by the late s'rī J. Ramayya Pantulu Ep. Ind., vol. IV, and by Pandit Pondyala Subrahmanya Sastri Garu in A. S. P. P. Vol. X.

धार्ताघोष्ठीषुगम्रतृटितगिरिते यत्तमोच्छेदितुर्ग
 दुर्गं किम्भूरुमंजंदलितरिषुबले दुर्गमंवेष्टपृष्टिम्
 दुर्गमं वज्रकूटं जितवतिरभमा गमगिर्यारव्यदुर्गं
 विरव्यातं वीरघोष्टं गलितमनुहृदां वीरसन्नाहधार्ष्ट्यम् ॥

Pandit Prabhakara Sastri Garu has also given the above verses in his *Sṛṅgāra Srinatham*. In some of the copies of the Commentary, instead of Mollēṭi-durgam we find the reading of Maklēdi-durgam which seems to be wrong (Vide, A. S. P. P. Vol. X, p. 52).

27. Ep. Coll., No. 388 of 1924.

(ii) *Kimmūru durgam*: According to the *Local records*,²⁸ there was in times of yore a Kirāta chief, Kimmīra, who built a town named Kimmūru after his own name in the neighbourhood of the mountains, some fourteen krōs distant from the holy place of Dākshāram, and the country around this town comprising fifty four villages, like Tamire (the ancient name of Peddāpuram), Kattāmūru, Kaṭrāvulapalli, Guḍivāḍa, Ulimēsvaram, Kaṇḍrakōṭa, Jaggaṃpēṭa and Maṅḡipāka was called Kimmūru *Sima*. Since all the villages, said to have been situated in this *Sima*, are now found in the Peddāpuram taluk of the East Godavari district, the old Kimmūru *Sima* may be roughly said to correspond to the present Peddāpuram taluk, in East Godavari district. Kaṇḍrakōṭa, now a village situated on the bank of the river Elēgu, six miles north of the present town of Peddāpuram, is traditionally known to be the ancient town of Kimmūru, where ruins of an old fort are still to be seen. The *Local records* furnish the interesting information that, after the time of Vēmā Redḍi (probably Kaṭaya Vēma), a noble named Redḍi Peda Venkappa held sway over Kimmūru, Prōḷunaḍu, Kottapalli, Garugumilli, Kovvāḍa and Kūṭāla (Gūṭāla) *Simas*, and that he gave Kimmūru *Sima* as a military fief to one Isukapalli Peddāpatra²⁹, on condition of payment of the revenue derived from that *Sima* to him, after defraying the expenses incurred for maintaining his army. It seems likely that Redḍi Peda Venkappa was appointed to rule over that region by Kāṭaya Vēma, after his conquest of the eastern country.

(iii) *Beṇḍapūḍi*: This is now a small village in the Tuni division of Eāst Godavari district. It was once a great stronghold and the capital of a province. The *Local records* ascribe the building of the fort to the Kākatīya monarchs of Waraṅgal. Local people point out to the ruins of what must, at one time, have been a very large fort. Old coins are said to be found here occasionally.³⁰ Many dilapidated temples are found among the ruins. After the conquest of this fort, Ariyēṭi Annayamantri, brother of Ariyēṭi Liṅṅanamantri, appears to have been appointed as its governor. Since then his family came to be known as the Beṇḍapūḍi family.

(iv) *Vajrakūṭam*: This appears to be identical with present Vajragaḍa or Vajraghar (Diamond fort), "lying six miles from Narsapatam off the road to Anakapalli" in the Golgonda taluk of Vizagapatam district. According to the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer,³¹ "the

28. Kf, Km.

29. Ibid. pp. 3-4.

30. IG., Gd., 234.

31. Pp. 255-56.

ruins of a very large fortress, built at the base of two hills and now cultivated, are still to be seen in it, and local tradition gives the names of seven forts with which it was once defended..... Small gold coins of two kinds, neither of which have yet been satisfactorily identified, are found round about the fort after heavy rain, and a small square stone with old Telugu inscriptions on all four sides is to be seen near the middle of its eastern wall."

(v) *Kāmagiri*: This is Rāmagiri, one of the *thānas* " in the upper division of the Jeypore estate. It is said that there was an old fort here, on the site of which "a victim was sacrificed here - (Meriah sacrifice.)" " 32

(vi) *Virakūṭam*: This is identical with the present Viraghaṭṭam in the Palakonda taluk of Vizagapatam district. It "contains the remains of a considerable mud fort in which are now located" according to Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, "the dispensary and the police lines." 33

During the period under review Virakūṭam was ruled by a dynasty of Pallava chiefs belonging to the Bhāradvāja gōtra and to the Kāḍuvēṭṭi vaniṣa. The kings of this dynasty appear to have come into prominence from the beginning of the twelfth century during the rule of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I (1070 A.D., 1120 A.D.). A brief account of this Pallava dynasty is given in an appendix to this chapter. Puruṣōttama II and his son, Saubhāgyadevarāja were the contemporaries of Anavōtā Redḍi and his son, Kumaraḡiri. Saubhāgyadēva ruled from Śaka 1322 to Śaka 1346. His records bearing Śaka dates 1322, 1342, and 1346 have come to light at Simhachalam. His predecessor Puruṣōttama must have been the Pallava king of Virakūṭam who was defeated by Kāṭaya Vēma in his eastern campaign, and is represented by only two records dated in Śaka 1278 and 1279 at Simhachalam.

The exploits of Kāṭaya Vēma, described in the commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, are not the only conquests effected during this eastern campaign. A *Cūṭu* verse³⁴ in Telugu, given in the

32. *Ibid.*, Vj. p. 271.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

35. *Ot. Mm.*, II, p. 66.

కాటయ వేమం దేవరాయ నారాధ్యులై పుష్కరం
కాటయ వేమం దేవరాయ నారాధ్యులై పుష్కరం
కాటయ వేమం దేవరాయ నారాధ్యులై పుష్కరం
కాటయ వేమం దేవరాయ నారాధ్యులై పుష్కరం

Cāṇḍādyamañimanāñjari states that Kāṭama Redḍi Vēma crossing the river Gautamī, reduced Kaṭmaṅṇikōṭa, the fort of Kāṭamaṅṇu, and brought from that place Kṣātriya princes and maidens as captives to Koṇḍaviḍu. This must have been effected in the beginning of the campaign, soon after crossing the Gautamī. The location of this Kāṭamaṅṇikōṭa³⁶ is, however, not known.

Besides this, another of his important and noteworthy victory is revealed by his title, recorded in the Gōpavaram grant of Kumāragiri, dated in Śaka 1317 (1395 A.D.). This grant gives Kāṭaya Vēma the significant title of *Kaṭakacūṇakāra*,³⁷ the plunderer of Cuttack, the capital of the Gajapati monarchs of Kāṭiṅga and Orissa. This title suggests that his conquests did not stop with Simhāchalam and its surroundings but extended as far as Cuttack in Puri district of Orissa.

In the light of the above facts there is reason to believe that the Redḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram also accompanied Kāṭaya Vēma in this eastern campaign, and were instrumental in extending the authority of Kumāragiri over the whole of the Kāṭiṅga country. The conquest of the eastern country as far as Cuttack or Puruṣōttam is also claimed by Allāḍa Redḍi's sons, Vēma and his brother, Doddā Redḍi, the Redḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram. The Vēmavaram plates³⁸ of Allāya Vēma, dated in Śaka 1356, state that he overran Kāṭiṅga, conquered the kings of the Sapta-Māḍiyas and set up pillars of victory at Simhāchalam and Puruṣōttam. Two contemporaneous Telugu works, named *Bhūmāra Purāṇam* and *Kāśikhaṇḍam* written by Srinātha, while mentioning in detail the countries subjugated by Allāya Vēma Redḍi, state further that he defeated the Gajapati,³⁹ the king of the Odḍe land ("Odḍe-dhātrinaṭha") or Orissa, and the Sultan of Panḍya⁴⁰. The latter

36. This may be identical with any one of the two villages Kaṭrenikona (Amalapuram taluk) and Kaṭrenipadu (Rajole taluk) in East Godavari district.

37. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 213, l. 42.

यः कटकचूकः प्रग्न्यातः पाण्ड्यगजगजमिहः'

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242, v. 17.

जित्वा यः पट्टमममाडियन्पान् क्रान्त्वा कलिङ्गक्षितिम्

मिहाद्रौ पुषोत्तमे पट्टजयन्ममान् सज्जमन्यधान्

39. Ks., Kh., I, 69.

40. "పండువాడ రాజుని పాదముల కిడిచి

భీరిములు విడిచి బానిసలు ముందు

నాడెడిరాజును దువడిచి బుద్ధుని

బిందానరాజుని కలలమునుచు".— Bh. Pr., I, v. 37.

Telugu work states that Doddā Reddī planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Chilaka lake. According to *Sivalilāvilāsam* it was Allāḍa Reddī, father of Vēmā Reddī, who defeated Gauḍādhīpati (king of the Gauḍa country), that is, the Gajapati monarch, and thereby earned the title *Gajapatidaḥavibhaṭa*." The references given above clearly prove that Allāḍa Reddī and his sons, the princes of Rājamahēndravaram, led a successful expedition as far as Puruṣōttam (Cuttack). It has to be decided now if this expedition was the same as that undertaken by Kāṭaya Vēma, or a different one altogether. To get a satisfactory answer to this question, it is necessary to know in detail the conquests of Allāḍa Reddī and his sons. The Telugu works *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, *Kāṭikhaṇḍam* and *Śivalilāvilāsam* are the only sources that furnish a full and detailed list of their conquests. Of these three, the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* was dedicated to Ariyēti Annamantri, youngest brother of Līnganamantri, and *Kāṭikhaṇḍam* to Virabhadra Reddī, brother of Vēmā Reddī and son of Allāḍa Reddī. Similarly, the work *Śivalilāvilāsam*, dedicated to Allāḍa Reddī's son, Doddā Reddī, was also of the same period.

According to the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* Ariyēti Līngana, the minister of Allāḍa Reddī conquered the lords of Jhāḍṣavāna, Sapta-Māḍe, Barahadonti, and Jantagunadu, exacted tribute from Uday = Ārjuna of the Mastya family of Oddādi, offered protection to the Puḷinda kings of the Nāga family of Rāmbha in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest, and maintaining friendly terms with the Yavana, Karnaṭa, and the Kāṭaka kings caused his master Allāḍa Reddī to rule the Telugu land." Līnganamantri effected these conquests on behalf of

Vide, Appendix to Chapter, VII, Pt. II, v. 12.

“సర్వదేశముల నుద్ధరించుచు

నంతునాదిఁ గ్రహింపఁబడి

యొక్కటి మల్లెనాటి దయామయము

జలనాథులచేరి జలముంది

దండకారణ్యమధ్య నుండిరాజరం

భాహిరంతలకు నధిపతిమొనరి

భానుమన్మల పరభద్రవాన్మ చేతలంద

నర్వంశంధింబు నట్లెట్టి

యమక నాటక భూమిలతోడ

జేరిన నాటి నీ యేరించె నాచుభూమి

దండకారణ్యమి నట్లెట్టి భరణినాథు

ధీర యరియేటి లింగన ప్రభువగుండు”.

his master Allāḍa Redḍi; hence, they are virtually the conquests of Allāḍa Redḍi himself. The subjugation of Jhaḍē, Jantaḡunāḍu, Sapta-Māḍe, Bārahadonti, and Oḍḍādi are also ascribed to Allaya Vēma in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and the *Śivalilāvilāsam*.⁴³ The latter work informs us that Allaya Vēma brought into subjection, the countries of Sapta-Māḍe and Oḍḍādi, and defeated the Pallava king and the kings of Nandāpura and Rāmpa.

In addition to the above conquests, the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and the *Śivalilāvilāsam* mention some more places in the Kāṭiṅga country reduced to submission by Allaya Vēma and his brother, Allaya Virabhadra. They are not helpful to our discussion. A list of all the conquests of Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons, as indicated in the contemporary Telugu literature and the Vēmavaram plates cited before, is given below in a tabular form for the easy grasp of the problem. The table also includes the conquests that have not been referred to in the discussion above.

T A B L E
(on the next page)

43. Vide, Appendix to chapter. VII, Pt. II.

Conquests of Allaḍa		Conquests of Allaya Vēma.			Conquests of Allaya Vīra	Conquests of
According to <i>Bhīmavar Puṛāṇam</i> , or <i>Bhīmākhandaṇam</i> .	According to <i>Sivalilā-piṭāsam</i> .	According to <i>Sivalitāṛiṣam</i> .	According to <i>Kāi-chaṇḍam</i> .	According to <i>Bhīmā-to a Cīṭu</i> .	According to <i>Kāi-chaṇḍam</i> .	According to <i>Kāi-chaṇḍam</i> .
Offered protection to Naga chiefs of Raṁbha		Raṁpa Immaḍi-rāja				
Protected the Pulunda chiefs of Daṇḍaka			Cīṭikāḍa, Kaṇṇuka-mūḷu (Sōmpēṭa), Kaluva-palli, Oḍḍādi			Lōtugrāḍa
Conquered : Arjuna of the Matsya family of Oḍḍādi Jhaṭṭesavana Pallava Chief	Oḍḍādi	Mastasyas Nandapurēśa Pallava Puru-ṣōttama (Māka-varam.)	Jhaḍe Māka-varam	Pallava-dhipa	Simhādri	Oḍḍādi Kasimkōṭa
Jantaṛunāḍu		Saṅgavarāja (Sruṅḡavarapu-kōṭa) Sapta-Māḍiyas	Jantaṛu-nāḍu Sapta-Māḍiyams	Poṭṭu-nūru	Kalinga Sapta-Māḍe	Sruṅḡa-varapukōṭa Killeda, Kalinga, Cīkaṭi
Sapta-Māḍe			Barahadonti Kaṭaka, Paṇḍu-triśa, Paṇḍu-ḍuvā	Kalāveṇḍi puram	Puru-ṣōttam	Barahadonti Venkaṭāyi
Barahadonti	Gauḍāthi-pati					Kappakōṭa

Jhādēśavana: Jhādēśavana is identical with Jhādē of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, said to have been subdued by Allāḍa's son Vēma. It means a great forest. Even at the present day the rulers of the Jeypore estate are known as *Jhādēkhaṇḍ-pādushāhs*, the lords of *Jhādēkhaṇḍ*. It has been a title of the kings of Nandāpura. Kommāji Sōmanātha, the protege of Dhanamjaya Dhātrāja, king of Pārvatipuram, states, in his work *Vicitra Rāmāyana*, that his patron obtained royal honours from Vikramadēva Gajapati (of the nineteenth century), the Jhādēkhaṇḍ-pādushah of Nandāpura⁴⁵. Jhādēśavana or Jhādēkhaṇḍ is identical with the ancient *Mahākāntāra* ruled by Vyāghrarāja who is referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.⁴⁶ This Jhādē comprise the modern taluks of Pārvatipuram and Bobbili, and at least a great portion, if not the whole, of the Jeypore state. It is said that Nandāpuram in the Pottangi tuluk was the ancient capital of Jeypore⁴⁷, and the name of the dynasty which ruled over it was Silāvaṁśa. Nandāpurēśa, who is said to have been defeated by Allāḍa Vēma in the *Śīvalilāvilāsam*, was therefore the king of Jhādē (*Jhādēśavana*) and belonged to the Silāvaṁśa. The existence of this dynasty is known only from six or seven-records which register gifts of its members in two holy places, one at Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district and the other at Srikrāmam in the Ganjām district. It was the king of Jhādēśavana or Nandāpura who was defeated by Allāḍa Redḍi and his son, Vēmā Redḍi.

The conquest of this country by Allāḍa is attested to by another piece of evidence also. A native of the Bobbili country, by name Basuvaya, makes a gift of ten silver Allāḍa *ṭaṅkas*⁴⁸ (*Allāḍa venḍi taṅkālu*) to god Narasimhanātha of Simhāchalam for a perpetual lamp, in Śaka 1347, corresponding to the cyclic year, Viśvavasu, that is, in 1425 A. D. From this it is evident that the *Allāḍa ṭaṅkas*, minted in the name of Allāḍa Redḍi, were current in Kālīnga, presumably after his conquest of that country. This conquest must

45 “పృథ్వీ సామ్రాజ్య విజృంభిత మైన
చారునందాపురాధీనమందు
శ్రీశంకరాస్వయ శ్రీరవారో శశి
స్వామిండు సాయుధ సకలరాజ
మరుట మాణిక్యరుజ్జుండితచరణా దే
శ్రీ విక్రమాస్వయ దేవరజ
తీర్థుడే”

46. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7. 1. 19.

47. It is said that the present Jeypore State is but a portion of the domain of the kings of Silāvaṁśa of Nandāpura.

48. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 798.

have been effected prior to that date and only in the reign of Kumāragiri and not after, as will be shown later on.

Sapta-Māḍiyas: Both Allāḍa Redḍi and his son, Vēma Redḍi are credited to have conquered the kings of the Manne *Sapta-Māḍiyas* (*jītibāyitha poṭu Sapta-Māḍiya-nrpān*) and Bārahadonti. What were these Manne *Sapta-Māḍiyas* and Bārahadonti and where were they situated? *Sapta - Māḍiyas* or *Sapta - Māḍēs* mean seven *Māḍiyas*, *Ēḍu Māḍiyomulu* or *Ēḍu Māḍemulu* in vernacular. The term *Māḍiya*, same as *Māḷiya* or *Māliya* is derived from *mala*, a mountain. The agency tracts or highlands in the Ganjam district, formed by the irregular chain of the Eastern ghats, are called *Māḷiyas*. They are the habitat of the forest tribes namely, the Khonds (Kōḍulu), and the Savaras. From very ancient times the whole of this tract appears to have been divided into seven divisions. The Canarese poet, Paṁpa of the tenth century A. D., in his work, *Vikramārjunaviḷayam* or *Bhārata*, describing the family of his patron lord, Arikēsarin II of the *Calukya* family, states that Arikēsarin's father, Narasiṁha II conquered the kings of *Ēḍu Māḷavam* which are wrongly identified by some with *Ēḍu Māḍemulu* or *Sapta - Māḍiyas*.⁴⁹ A *Cāṭu* verse⁵⁰ in Telugu given in the *Cāṭupadyamaṇimāñjari* recounts the victories of Vēma Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi. According to this

49. Pm. Bh. 1335. The *Sapta Kāḷiṅgas* which find mention in inscriptions and literature seem to be no other than these *Sapta-Māḷiyas*, the agency tracts of the *Kāḷiṅga* country.

50. Cf. *Mm.*, II, p. 72.

దండయాత్రాఘోష తమ్మలధ్వనులచే
 గంతులు వేయించె నప్పకొండ
 కలికకాండల సేనలనుచేరి
 కలహం గడిగించె బాలకొండ
 (!) బాల్మీకాధర్మ వాయుధ్వనులచేరి
 మట్టితూర్పున దండ యాటినూ
 ధూర్జి సామగ్నిం బుడుములు వెట్టిరి
 విద్యుదలనెం గల్గి (కాళి) వెండిపురుషు
 లుగల మదికక్క కేళినిరాయ
 యులపండువ మండునాయవహరణ
 బలియగులియ మాకున బండికారి
 విజయ గుర్రురాను! అల్లడ విధునిశమ ”

Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu, who has done yeomen service to the Telugu literature, has to be congratulated for rescuing this very valuable verse from oblivions. This verse, which seems to have been composed by S'rīnatha, narrates Allaya Vēma's conquests, some of which do not find mention anywhere else.

verse Vēma reduced Kappakoṇḍa, Pālakōṇḍa, Poṭṭunūru and Kalāveṇḍipuram, destroyed the *garanas* of Maṇḍuvā, and took the ruler of Baliyadhūliya-Māluva captive. The *Cātu* verse appears to be faulty. Baliyadhūliya-Māluva seems to be a mistake for Baliyagūliya-Māliya, one of the seven Māliyas or Māḍiyas. Even to-day it forms one of the seven Māliyas into which the highlands of the Ganjam district are divided, and bears the name Baḷigūḍa Māliya, a corruption of the old Baliyagūliya Māliya. With the help of this identification it becomes easy to emend Kalāveṇḍipuram. It also appears to have been wrongly written as Kalāveṇḍipuram. Kalāveṇḍipuram is the ancient name of the modern Kālahaṇḍi or Kālahaṇḍipura, the capital of the Kālahaṇḍi estate on the western border of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. It is not, therefore, difficult to identify Kalāveṇḍipura, wrongly written for Kalāveṇḍipura, with Kālahaṇḍipura, the modern Kālahaṇḍi. Paṇḍuva is the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal and Maṇḍuva (Mandu) that of the Sultān of Malva. With these emendations this *Cātu* verse affords another proof to confirm Allaya Vēma's conquest of the Sapta-Māḍiyas.

Bārahadonti : Bāraha is twelve, and the term, 'the kings of Bārahadonti', seems to refer to the rulers of the twelve serial states or kingdoms. The term *donṭi* signifying a serial suggests that the twelve states lie adjacent to one another. As Vēma carried his arms as far as Kālahaṇḍi, the twelve states suggested by the term Bārahadonti appear to refer to the feudatory and tributary states of Orissa and the Central Provinces, bordering on the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. The correctness of this identification is established by the fact that Kālahaṇḍi (Kālāveṇḍipura) conquered by Vēma happens to be one of these states.⁵¹ The Redḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram offered protection to the kings of Bārahadonti and Manne-dharaṇipālas, that is, the kings of the Sapta-Māḍiyas ("Balavaṇḍi-Bārahadonti-Manne-dharaṇipālāvarōdhāṅganā-vilāsaṇ-maṅgaḷasūtra - rakṣaṇakalāvikhyāla-kāruṅga") after subduing them.

Jantaṅgu Naḍu : The next achievement attributed to both Allaya Redḍi and his son, Vēma Redḍi is the conquest of Jantaṅgunāḍu. This *nāḍu* or territorial division finds mention in inscriptions of the period under review. An identification of the villages said to have been situated in this *naḍu* leads us to the conclusion that this district comprised roughly the tract of country now known as the Sruṅgavarpu-kōṭa taluk of the Vizagapatam district. It was ruled by a line of kings of

51. In a record (S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1239) of Kulottuṅga Coḍa I. at Taḷasharam the rulers of the tributary and feudatory states are mentioned as *Kosala-khaṇḍa-pālas* (कोसलखण्डपालः), rulers of states belonging to the Southern Kosala country.

Gārtśyamada-gōtra and of the Surabhivāṃśa. Their inscriptions, about a dozen in all, are found at Sindhachalam. The earliest and the latest dates furnished by their records are Saka 1207 and Saka 1383. These records do not help us in re-constructing a complete genealogy of these kings. A much damaged verse with a great *lacunae* in the Telugu work, *Śivalilavilasam* states that, just as Raghurāma treated Vibhiṣaṇa with favour, Allaya Vēma established king Saṃgava (Saṃgavabhūpa) in Sruṅgārapukōṭa (Sruṅgavarapukōṭa) as a token of his protection.⁵² The analogy between Saṃgavabhūpa or king Saṃgava and Vibhiṣaṇa, when stretched to its natural conclusion, suggests that Saṃgava had some quarrel with his brother (or some other relatives) who, gaining an upper hand, expelled him from the country, whereupon he took refuge with Allaya Vēma at the time of his invasion. Vēma killed his foe and established king Saṃgava in Sruṅgavarapukōṭa. The association of names of king Saṃgava and Sruṅgārapukōṭa clearly suggests that the former was a king of the Surabhi dynasty. As the history of Jantagunaḍu is not known, the event referred to by the above verse in the *Śivalilavilasam* cannot be explained more satisfactorily. It is, however, interesting to note here that there was a Saṃgamarāja, (not Saṃgavarāja) in the Surabhi dynasty about this period. His inscriptions at Sindhachalam are dated in Saka 1320 and Saka 1321 (1398 A.D., and 1399 A.D.). His predecessor on the throne of Sruṅgārapukōṭa appears to be one Pratapa Vira Gaṅgarāja whose inscription at Sindhachalam is dated in Saka 1290 (1368 A.D.). How Saṃgamarāja was related to his predecessor is not known. If Saṅgama and Saṅgava are identical, as it seems likely, then the date of the Kalinga expedition of Allāḍa and his son Vēma may be placed some time before Saka 1320.

Oḍḍadi: Oḍḍādi, the territory over which the Matsya kings held sway, roughly corresponds to the modern Viravalli taluk of the Vizagapatam district. The villages which are known to have been situated in the Oḍḍadi area, according to the records of the Matsya kings, are all more or less found in that taluk. Allāḍa's minister, Liṅgana is said to have collected tribute from the Matsya king, Udayarjuna of Oḍḍadi. Allāḍa Redḍi is described in the *Śivalilavilasam* as having driven away the king of Oḍḍadi, and caused a big tank to be dug in his house-site. This work does not mention the name of the vanquished Matsya king.

A short account of the Matsya line is appended to this chapter. The records of the Matsya chiefs enable us to formulate a fairly long genealogy which shows at a glance many kings bearing the name of Arjunadēva. Among them there are Arjunas, Virārjunas, and Pratāpārjunas but not Udayarjunas. During the period beginning from the

52. Vide, Appendix to chapter, VII, Pt. II, v. 51.

middle of the fourteenth century till the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century A. D., that is, between Śaka 1272 and Śaka 1347, Oḍḍādi was ruled by Virārjuna and his son, Prataparjuna. The records of the former yield him the dates Śaka 1279 - Śaka 1303 and those of the latter, the dates Śaka 1321 - Śaka 1343. One of these two kings, most probably the latter, must have been defeated by Allāḍa and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa. No king of the name of Arjunadēva is known after Śaka 1343 from inscriptions.

Raṁbhā : The *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* states that Liṅganamantri offered protection, evidently after defeating in battle, to the Nāgavāṁśa Puṇḍra kings of Raṁbhā (Sanskritised form of Raṁpa) in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest. But according to the *Śivalilavilāsam*, it was Allāḍa Vēma who conquered Immaḍirāja, the king of Raṁpa. As Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa conquered Raṁpa (Raṁbhā) in the same campaign, the king defeated by Liṅganamantri also seems to have been the same Immaḍirāja. Raṁpa is the present village of the same name in the Chōḷavaram division of the East Godavari district. The rulers of Raṁpa were in all probability the descendants of the Nāgavāṁśa kings of Bastar or Cakrakōṭṭyam of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

Virkūṭam : It was Allāḍa, according to the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* and his son Vēma, according to the *Śivalilavilāsam*, that conquered the Pallava king, obviously of Virkūṭam. The latter work mentions his name as Puruṣōttama. The latest and the earliest dates furnished by the records of the last Pallava king, Saubhagyaḍēvarāja, son of Puruṣōttama II are Śaka 1342 and Śaka 1322 respectively.³ Therefore, the Pallava king Puruṣōttama, the adversary of Allāḍa and his son Vēma was, as shown already, Puruṣōttama II, a contemporary of Kumaragiri and his prime minister, Kaṭaya Vēma.

The identity of the Pallava king, Puruṣōttama of Virkūṭam, the reference to the Surabhi king, Saṅgama of Jantagunaḍu and the allusion to Allāḍa *ṭaṅkas* in inscriptions in Kaṭiṅga, clearly establish the fact that the expeditions into the Eastern Country, led by Allāḍa and his sons and Kaṭaya Vēma, are identical.

The Gajapati king who was defeated by Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons and Kaṭaya Vēma was no doubt, Narasiṁhaḍēva IV, (Śaka 1299 - 1300 to Śaka 1331 - 32), son of Bhaṇudēva III of the Gaṅga dynasty. He

was the *Gauḍadhipati*, and the *Oḍḍedhatrinātha*, the ruler of Orissa and Kāṭiṅga.

In the course of this invasion, Kaṭaya Vēma, Allāḍa and his sons conquered the Caḷukya kings of Elamañci (Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district) also. Reference is made to them neither in the commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam*, nor in the three Telugu works cited before. A *ślōka*⁵⁴, however, in the Vēmavaram plates of Allāḍa's son Vēma Redḍi describing his conquests figuratively alludes to them. Here is the English translation of the Samskrit verse.

"By the flames of the intense heat (or majesty) of Allāḍa's (son) king Vēma whole *rocks* are broken to powder, the *hogs* bellow, the *tender sprouts* wither, the *fish-tribe* hide in the water, the *snakes* enter their holes, the *cobras* lurk in covert, the *cattle* go with grass in their mouths, the *lord of elephants* enters the river"⁵⁵. This verse describes the devastating effect of Vēma's *pratapa* (valour) of forest fire, on the ruling princes of Kāṭiṅga. In this verse the terms denoting rocks, hogs, tender sprouts, the fish-tribe, snakes, cobras, cattle, and elephants are symbolically used to represent either the emblems or the names of different dynasties ruling in the eastern region conquered by Vēma, namely, Śilavaṁśa, Caḷukyavaṁśa (Elamañci), Pallavavaṁśa, Matsyavaṁśa, Nagavaṁśa (Rāmbhā), Siṇḍavaṁśa (Bastar), Surabhivāṁśa, and Gajapativāṁśa.

The Caḷukya chief who was a contemporary of Kaṭaya Vēma, was Cōḍa Gaṅgadēva, son of Paṇḍirāja and Mallamba. A brief account of this family is given at the end of this chapter.

54. "अल्लाडक्षितिपाल वेमवृषते स्फूर्तिप्रतपानलैः

वर्णः पूर्णाग्निं गन्ति कटयः सापलवाः पल्लवाः

लोमं लोमकुलं जले श्रिनविला भोगश्च नागागुहा

गावो गान्ति विषानना निविरते सन्धौ गजानांपतिः"

Ep. Ind., vol. II, 36-39, p. 242.

55. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 252-53, translation, v. 18.

In fact, Dr. Lionel D. Barnett, the editor of these plates perceived the significance of these terms, but he went wrong in some cases in identifying the dynasties indicated by them. This is what he writes:

"Under the figure of a forest fire is described the effect of Vēma's *pratapa* (heat or majesty) upon neighbouring peoples. The *hogs* are perhaps the dynasty of Vijayanagar who maintained the Caḷukyas device of a boar; the *tender sprouts* are the Pallavas; the *fish tribe* are the Pandyas, whose device was a pair of fishes, or perhaps the Matsya dynasty. The *lord of elephants* (*gajamah-patih*) is of course the Gajapati of Orissa. The other "topical allusions" are obscure to me. On the custom of taking grass into the mouth as a token of submission. See R. Pischel."—foot note, no. 1 p. 252.

Allaya Vēma may be said to have defeated the Sultan of Bengal also during this campaign as is borne out by the term Paṇḍūa. The town of Paṇḍūa lies very near to the north of the English Bazaar in the Maldah district in Bengal. It was the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal for nearly half a century from A. H. 743 (1342 A.D.) to A.H. 795 (1392 A.D.). Again, this affords another piece of evidence to prove that Allaya Vēma's expedition into the eastern country was undertaken before Śaka 1314 (1392 A.D.).

The Anaparti grant explicitly states that Kaṭaya Vēma along with the Crown Prince, Anavōta II went to Rājamahēndravaram just before leading this expedition. It is clear, from the evidence cited before, and from the foregoing discussion that Allāda Redḍi and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa, and Allāda's minister, Liṅganamantri, all accompanied Kaṭaya Vēma in this expedition from Rājamahēndravaram.

This eastern campaign of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu was a very extensive one. The Redḍi armies marched as far as Cuttack in the east, as far as the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal in the north and as far as the confines of the Central Provinces in the west. Kaṭaya Vēma was a *Kaṭaka-cūrakāra*, plunderer of Cuttack. Allaya Vēma set up pillars of victory at Siṃhachalam and Puruṣōttam⁵⁶, and his brother Allaya Doḍḍa set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Chilka lake.⁵⁸

After returning victorious from this campaign, Kaṭaya Vēma presented himself to Kumārāgiri with the heir-apparent, Anavōta II, and placed before him all the valuable presents in jewellery, horses, and elephants offered by the Gajapati, and other kings of the eastern region as tribute. King Kumārāgiri adequately rewarded his generalissimo, Kaṭaya Vēma. It was after the successful termination of the eastern campaign that Kaṭaya Vēma made Anavōta II, son of Kumārāgiri, grant the village of Anaparti as *devabhōga* to god Gōpinātha at Rājamahēndravaram. King Kumārāgiri also visited the holy place of Dāksharām, and having seated the young prince Virāṇnavōta (II) on his lap he performed *tulāpuruṣa-mahādāna* at that place.

56. Riyāz-us - Salātin, p. 98.

57. "मिहाद्रौ पुरुषोत्तमे पटुजयस्तंभान् सजुंभन्यधान्"

— Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 242, v, 17, ll, 35-36.

58. డౌరా ! యశ్వరుణ్డి నొడ్డ వసుధాధ్యక్షుండు ధాటిచమా-
భేరిభాంకృతి ఘోర ఘోషమున నిర్భేదింప నొడ్డాది శృం
గారంకోటయు లోతుగడ్డయును నుద్ధాటించె నశ్వరథం
కీరాంభోధిరటంబున న్నిలిచె దిక్సీమాజయస్థంభముల్ ॥

— Ka. Kh, I: 52.

As a result of this conquest, the territory as far as Simhāchalam to the north of the Gōdāvarī was permanently annexed to the Reddi dominion, and was thereafter constituted into a separate province, called the Eastern Kingdom or the Rajamahēndra Rājya, a province of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. King Kumāragiri appointed his son, Anavōta II as his viceroy over the new province of Rajamahēndravaram⁵⁹. Ariyēṭi Annamantri, the brother of Liṅganamantri was appointed governor of the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi⁶⁰, the frontier military outpost of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. This kingdom was divided into a number of *sīmas* attached to important forts and were placed under the charge of nobles on feudal military tenure⁶¹. Prince Anvōta II made Rājamahēndravaram his capital and ruled that province with the loyal support of Allāḍa Redḍi, his sons and ministers. Kaṭaya Vēma strengthened his alliance with Allāḍa by giving his daughter, Anitalli in marriage to his younger son, prince Virabhadra⁶².

Peace was established in the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom by Śaka 1312 (1390 A.D.), the date of the Anaparti grant, and friendly relations were maintained between the kingdom and its neighbouring powers. Kumāragiri had a trusted friend and an able statesman as well as a veteran soldier in his prime-minister Kaṭaya Vēma who guided the destinies of the kingdom.

While Kaṭaya Vēma was at the helm of affairs, king Kumāragiri freed from cares and anxieties, spent much of his time in cultural activities. Like his predecessor Anavōma, he also spent large sum

59. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 194-95;

60. The surname of Annaya was originally Ariyēṭi or Ārēṭi. The very fact that he was called Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya shows that he was later on made the governor of the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi, presumably after the conquest of that fort by Kaṭaya Vēma. Anna's surname Ārēṭi was later on changed to Beṇḍapūḍi by virtue of his constant residence at that fort.

61. “కమాచెడ్డి తిరునాళము యీసంతతివారివాడు రెడ్డిపెడ కలకపు అనే ఆయన కొవ్వాడ, నురుసుమిల్లి, గూటాల, కొత్తపల్లి, కియ్యూగు, గోలువాడు అధికారము చేస్తూవుండి వారివద్ద సరిహద్దుడైన యిసుకపల్లి పెద్దాపాత్రుడు అనే పాత్ర సామంతుడికి కియ్యూగు నీమ అధికారము చెప్పి ఆ నీమగల్గవచ్చే పైకము పెద్దా పాత్రుడువకానవుండే కిబ్బందివారికి కడకులక్రిందను నియమించి విశేషించినపయకము నగరికి యిచ్చేవానివడున్నా యీప్రకారము మొకరడ చేసివుండిరి...” — Kf. Km. pp. 8-4.

62. Ka. Kh., I. v. 43.

of money in celebrating the Vasantōtsava or the festival of the spring, which enlivened the social life of the day. The enthusiasm and fervour, with which he celebrated that festival, rightly earned him the title of *Vasantarāja*, which was improved to *Karpūra-Vasantarāja* by the generous quantities of camphor he scattered among people during this festival. He was a great lover of music and dance and studied all the old works on dance written by Bharatacaryas and dance-experts and produced a comprehensive work on that art called *Vasantarājya*⁶³ after his own name.

Premature Death of Anavōta II:

While things were going on like this peacefully and prosperously for the kingdom, an event of great consequence happened about Saka 1317 (1395 A.D.). It affected the course of the political history of Koṇḍaviḍu. Anavōta II, the only son of Kumāragiri and his viceroy at Rājamahēndravaram died a premature death. His death must have taken place after Saka 1312 and before Saka 1317, the dates of the Anaparti and the Gōpavaram grants respectively. This death left Kumāragiri without a heir to the throne, and necessitated the appointment of a new viceroy to the Eastern Kingdom. It required a strong ruler at Rājamahēndravaram to keep in check the predatory raids of the neighbouring chieftains and of the Gajapati monarchs of Kāṭiṅga over the country extending up to Siṃhāchalam, and to defend the eastern frontier of the Redḍi kingdom. For such a high and responsible task Kumāragiri could think of no other officer than his own brother-in-law, Kaṭaya Vēma. Instead of appointing him as the viceroy of the eastern territory he conferred upon him the Rājamahēndravara Rajya in appreciation of his great and numerous services to the state. King Kumāragiri had every reason to be grateful to his able brother-in-law. By the prowess of his arms and by his statesmanship Vēma defeated the kings of Vijayanagar and recovered a great portion of the Redḍi kingdom in the south; he carried the Redḍi arms successfully up to Cuttack and annexed the eastern country as far as Siṃhāchalam. And above all, Kumāragiri owed the kingdom itself to him. It was only with Kaṭaya Vēma's powerful support that he was able to gain the throne. He must have entertained the idea of adequately rewarding him for his services for a long time. Though stricken with grief he took this opportunity to show his love and admiration for his illustrious brother-in-law. And so, he conferred on him the whole of the Eastern Kingdom⁶⁴. This act of Kumāragiri should not be

63. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. 1; Sr. Sr. p. 57.

64. J. A. II. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 210, v. 22; See also his Gopavaram grant, pp. 211 ff.

interpreted as splitting the Reddi kingdom into two parts, the province to the east of the Gōdāvari from that which lay to its west, and the bestowal of the former on Kaṭaya Vēma with exclusive regal rights. Kumāragiri does not seem to have meant it that way. The Rajamahēndravara Rajya conferred on Vēma was in the nature of a military fief or jāgīr (*Virajivita*). It was not a new policy adopted by Kumāragiri. This custom had been in vogue from ancient times in the Telugu country. The only difference lay in the extent of the territory assigned. The early kings granted only one or two villages as *jivita*, whereas Kumāragiri bestowed, as was appropriate, a whole province upon the great general.

Kumāragiri's Last Years of Rule :

This step caused considerable political discontent in the country and we cannot call Kumāragiri's action exactly wise. Kaṭaya Vēma always had many bitter opponents in the court. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his supporters had always looked askance at his achievements; and their jealousy and resentment at this signal recognition, by their king, of this daring rival of theirs must have been well-nigh impossible to bear. Kaṭaya Vēma's departure to Rajamahēndravaram gave them an opportunity for their sinister activities in Koṇḍaviḍu. Unfortunately for the king, there seems to have been a devastating famine at about this time, spreading death and disease all over the country; and the disaffected element at the court seized the occasion to weaken Kumāragiri's authority. There is reason to believe that the famine at this time extended all over the Deccan country. Ferishta says that a famine occurred during the reign of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī, that is, Muhammad Shāh II, a contemporary of Kumāragiri, "when he employed ten thousand bullocks at his private expense constantly going to and from Malwa and Gujarat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate⁶⁵," of course, in his own dominions. Robert Sewell informs us that there was a big famine, known as the Durgādāvi famine which began in Śaka 1318 (1396 A.D.) and lasted for twelve years⁶⁶. It is said that the severity of this famine was so great that it was not forgotten for a long time after. These famines, referred to above, must have affected the coastal Telugu country also. The paucity of inscriptions registering any gifts in the last years of Kumāragiri's reign may be due partially to the famine conditions, and to the growing unrest and political discontent prevailing then in the country.

During this period Sultan Firūz Shah, who came to the throne of the Bahmanīs in November 1397 A. D., led his first invasion against

65. Bigg's Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 349.

66. H.I.S.I., p. 203.

Vijayanagar in 1398 A.D. The Muslim armies not only ravaged the Vijayanagar dominion as far as Udayagiri but also threatened the existence of the Reddi kingdom. The steps taken by Kumāragiri to meet the foe and repel the invasion are not known. But, as will be proved later on, one Gajarāvu Tippa Nayaka, a distinguished noble of the kingdom, appears to have defeated the muslims on the plain outside the town of Kambamumetta and driven them back.

There is reason to believe that the Gajapati monarch of Kāṭiṅga also contributed to the internal disorder and weakness of Koṇḍaviḍu by his attack on the eastern frontier. An inscription⁶⁷ dated in Saka 1321 (1399 A. D.) from Sarpavaram (in the Cocanada taluk of the East Godavari district) belonging to one Goggayadēva, an officer of Kumāragiri, states that he defeated the armies of the Gajapati in front of *Viharaṇagiri*. *Viharaṇagiri* or *Kṛṣṇadri*, according to the *Veṅkaṭacala Māhatmyam* in the *Vārāha Purāṇam*, applies to Simhachalam, "because of the assumption, on this hill, of the Nṛsiṃha form of Hari for slaying Hiranyakaśipu and protecting Prahlada."⁶⁸

The kings of Vijayanagar also did not let go this opportunity. Shortly after the withdrawal of the Muslim armies from the Vijayanagar territory, the governor of Udayagiri Dēvarāya I, son of Harihara II, taking advantage of the weak rule of Kumāragiri and the internal dissensions in his kingdom, advanced with his armies accompanied by his son Rāmacandrarāya, and occupied a considerable portion of the territory in the south. The Enamadala record⁶⁹ of Harihara II in the Narasārapēṭ taluk, and the Mūrkoṇḍapaḍu⁷⁰ and the Parucūru⁷¹ grants of Dēvarāya I and his son, Rāmacandrarāya, all dated in Saka 1322, (1400 A.D.) bear testimony to the limits of the Vijayanagar aggression.

67. S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1, v. 8.

विहरणगिः पुरस्तादत्रयः प्रांशुगजपतः मैन्म
प्रणमति गोमयदेवस्तोयं धर्मकशामनान् भूपान्"

68. Tirumalai *Sri Venkateswara*, Vol. I, p 23.

69. Ep. Coll., No. 117 of 1915.

70. Mack. Mss., No 15-6-21.

"शाकैरूपालयाञ्चे नरपतितिलको देवगयः प्रमाथे
सोदाद्रावृश्मिन्लान्वयवरविटुपे यज्वन्नेग्राममध्यं
पौपे राकाग्न्यपर्वग्यद्विशिषतिः कौण्डिन्यमद्रोद्विगो...."

The verse is faulty. Pramathi corresponds to Saka 1321 and not to 1322.

71. N. D. I., Vol. I, CP, No. 1.

While the kings of Vijayanagar were penetrating in the south, prince Kōmaṭi Redḍi, son of Maca I and grandson of Pina Kōmaṭi Redḍi of the Kandukūru branch advanced along the coast and occupied, at the end of Kumāragiri's reign, the country extending as far as the Tenali taluk in the Guntur district as evidenced by his Pedapūḍi grant⁷² dated in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.).

It is likely that, in these circumstances, king Kumāragiri had to carry on the administration by resorting to force, and by suppressing the discontent and lawlessness. It is no wonder if, in these circumstances, the *Local records* state that Kumāragiri's rule was an oppressive one. There is reason to believe that, in these last years of his rule, some of the nobles sided Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and fought against Kumāragiri.

There are three or four stone records of a chief, named Velugōṭi Rayapa Nāyaningāru in the taluks of Guntur, Bapatla, Palnadu and Repalli. These do not refer to any reigning king of Koṇḍaviḍu. Each of the records in the Guntur⁷³ and Bapatla⁷⁴ taluks state only the length of the measuring rod of the fields as determined by Puruṣōttamayya, the *rāyasam* of Rāyapa Nāyaningāru. Of the other two, one⁷⁵ mentions the chief, Velugōṭi Rayapa Nāyaningāru and his *rāyasam* Puruṣōttamayya, and the other⁷⁶ registers the gift of land by Siṅga Paṇḍita, agent of Malaka Gajarāvu Tippa Nāyaningāru for the merit of his master, and of Rayapa Nāyaningāru in the cyclic year, Prabhava on the 6th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āsvayuja. The former record also furnishes the date; the portion containing the date, however, is damaged. Only the numerical one in the Śaka year, the cyclic year Bahudhanya and the month of Āṣāḍha stand out in the date portion. Now, the question arises as to the identity of this Velugōṭi Rayapa Nayaka. It is commonly known that the Velugōṭi chiefs are a branch of the Rēceṅṅa family. It is now to be ascertained if he had any connection with the Rēceṅṅa kings.

72. Mack. Mss., No. 15-f 42.

“शाकावदे ऋतुनेत्रलोकशशिवे(के) संवत्सरे तामणे

माखारव्यामुद्रुपरागसमये श्रीकौमटिक्कमायतिः

दद्याल्लक्षणदीक्षितायविवुधामण्यैर्गुरोर्वासरे

येल्लेपेदिकुल्लोद्धवाय विदुषे श्रीपेदपूडि मुदा॥”

The English date equivalent is Thursday, 15th Jan. 1405 A. D.

73. Ep. Coll., No. 145 of 1917.

74. Ibid., No. 825 of 1922.

75. Ibid., No. 542 of 1928-29.

76. Ibid., No. 28 of 1929-30.

It is evident from inscriptions cited above that Rāyapa Nayaka was a noble administering the country. Even though the two dateless records are excluded from consideration as of little use to our discussion, the other two records prove that he was governing at least some portion of the Guntur district. His contemporaneity with king Kumāragiri is proved from a reference to his officer, Malaka Gajarāvu Tippa Nāyaka, who is evidently Gajarāvu Tippa of the Telugu *Cūṭu* verse given in the *Cūṭupadyamaṇimañjari*.⁷⁷ This *Cūṭu* verse, which recounts his victories, states that he conquered the Mussalmans on the plain outside the town of Kambamumeṭṭa in the presence of a certain Ambarāya, put to flight the enemy warriors near the town of Kōnūru, defeated the armies of Kāṣaya Vēma in the vicinity of Guṇḍugolannu, and inflicted a crushing defeat on Caṇḍapāmatya near the big hill fort in Koṇḍaviḍu. This Tippa Nāyaka, even according to the *birudavaḷi* of the Koppunūḷa family 'in the Telugu work *the Birudavaḷis of the Seventy two Nayaks in the service of Kakatiya Prataparudra of Waraṅgal*', was a contemporary of Kāṣaya Vēma. Therefore the cyclic years, Prabhava and Bahudhānya mentioned in the records of Rayapa Nayaka fall in this period, and correspond to Saka 1309 (1387 A. D.) and Saka 1320 (1398 A. D.) respectively. It is thus evident that Rāyapa Nayaka was a contemporary of Kumāragiri. His inscriptions, therefore, suggest any one of the following two conclusions; (1) that, in case the Velugōṭi chief, Rayapa Nayaka, had any connection with the Rāceṅḷa chiefs, he must have conquered some portion of the Redḍi kingdom and was ruling independently; or (2) that he had no connection with the Rāceṅḷa king and he was only a subordinate of Kumāragiri. From a

77. Cf. Mm., II, p. 65

యవనుల నల్వండే యుద్ధంబులునుచు
 నెట్టైన కంజముపెట్ట జైలు
 పరిపంథి యోధులం బహుండేవాడేమై
 నుద్ధండవృత్తి కోనూరిపెద్ద
 కాటయవేను భూకాంతు నైవ్యంజ్ఞుల
 నెట్టండే యల గుండుగోలనీక్రమ
 చమపసామాత్యుని సాచిగాఁ నెట్టండే
 కొండవీ డాపెద్దకొంఁగడిని
 ప్రబలరణశంకల మధేరిబాక్యకుండు
 రాయచోటలంగి ధరావిభుండు
 రానూరురామ లలభద్ర రామనిభుడు
 ప్రబలండైన నజరావు తిప్పభుండు॥

reference to the dates in his inscriptions which are found scattered over a wide area in the heart of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, he cannot be said to have been ruling it independently. He must have been a vassal of Kumāragiri. He does not seem to have any connection with the Rēceṇḍa chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa.

Now, the occasion or occasions on which Rāyapa Nāyaka's subordinate Gajarāvu Tippa Nāyaka defeated the Muslim army, Caṇḍapāmātya and the forces of Kaṭaya Vēma have to be ascertained. It is probable that he defeated the Muslim armies of Sultān Firūz Shāh, when they were advancing into the Redḍi kingdom during the invasion of Vijayanagar, as stated in an earlier context. His other exploits appear to refer to the early years of Kumāragiri's successor, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. So they will be adverted to in his reign. Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaka and his subordinate Gajarāvu Tippa Nāyaka sided Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and fought on behalf of the latter against Kaṭaya Vēma, as is evident from the *Cāṭu* verse cited before.

The latest inscription⁷⁸ of Kumāragiri is his Kottūru record dated in Śaka 1322, corresponding to the cyclic year, Vṛṣa. This inscription (in the Bejawāḍa taluk, Kistna district) registers a grant of land to god Vasantarāya Lakṣmī Nṛsiṃha by Kumāragiri Redḍi.

It is likely that seeing the sad plight of the country Vēma, son of Peda Kōmaṭi Redḍi and grandson of Macu Redḍi I, seized the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu about Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.) with the aid of his nobles.

Kumāragiri appears to have gone to Rājamahēndravaram and spent his last days there. He seems to have fallen ill there; for, a grant⁷⁹ made by Kaṭaya Vēma for his recovery from illness in Śaka 1324 corresponding to the cyclic year Citrabhānu, on the occasion of the Makara sankranti in the month of Puṣya, has come to light. Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime after this date.

78. Ep. Coll., No. 395 of 1926. The Śaka year is wrongly given as 1312; This seems to be a mistake for 1322. The Śaka year corresponding to Vṛṣa was 1323. Probably, the Śaka year 1322 had expired and 1323 was current.

79. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, edited by Pandit Pendyala Subrahmanya Sastri Garu in his article on "Kaṭaya Vēma".

APPENDIX.

SOME DYNASTIES OF KALINGA

The Kingdom of Kalinga was under the rule of the Gajapatis of the Eastern Ganga dynasty who had, as stated before, established their power there as early as the fifth century A. D. Since that time they were the undisputed sovereigns of the Kalinga kingdom until their fall in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. They became gradually the masters of the Utkala or Ōḍhra country also. The forests of Kalinga were reputed for their best variety of elephants, which formed one of the chief divisions of the armies of those days.

The wild and mountainous nature of a greater portion of the country of Kalinga afforded ample opportunity for the origin and rise of many petty local dynasties of valiant chiefs, who wielded much power and influence locally during the middle ages under review. The extent of the dominion of each one of these families was small and the rulers were petty chieftains; yet they were very hardy and brave, and their strength chiefly lay in the situation of their strongholds, inaccessible and impregnable, which generally come under the category either of the *giri-durgas*, or of *vana-durgas*. The conquest of even a single one of these manne chiefs, as they were generally called, who were experts in archery and mountain warfare, was hailed as a great achievement. The victor assumed the high-sounding titles and the insignia of these vanquished chiefs. These manne chiefs generally used to give incessant trouble on the frontier regions to their neighbouring kings, when there was any civil war in their dominions, or when they proved to be weak rulers.

Having recognised the difficult nature of the country, Bhānudēva I, one of the Ganga sovereigns, introduced certain administrative reforms and re-organised the administrative machinery. "For the welfare of the kingdom he appointed sixteen ministers (of State or *Pātra Sāmantas* as they were generally called), well-versed in politics and capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy of various kinds and of unfailing resolution." He used to govern his kingdom with their advice. His wise example was closely followed by his descendants, to whom this reform proved to be of immense help in carrying out the administration of the country smoothly, in ordinary as well as in critical times.

Each one of the local chiefs of Kalinga appear to have been ruling their dominion independently as is evident from their inscriptions.

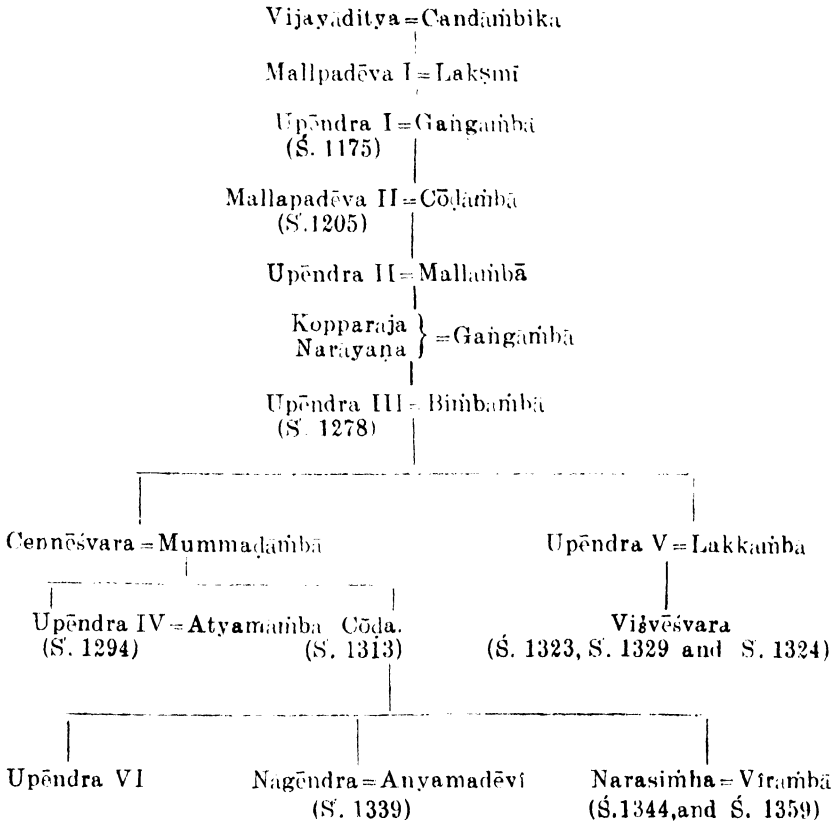
They do not acknowledge or make mention of their sovereign rulers in their records. We are not informed anywhere about the nature of the political relations that subsisted between these chiefs and the Gāṅga sovereigns. Yet, it is probable that the *Ītra sāmantas* or the sixteen ministers of State were appointed or selected out of these local chiefs. Tradition records that they rendered military service to their Gāṅga overlords in times of need, and that they were practically independent in the internal administration of their own dominion. For the service they rendered, the Gāṅga sovereign in his turn probably was bound in duty to protect them from foreign aggression, and to treat them with royal honours according to their status, on all state and important festive occasions.

Of such local dynasties of Kaṭiṅga those that are noted below appear to have played an important part in the history of the period under review.

The Caḷukyas of Elamañci :

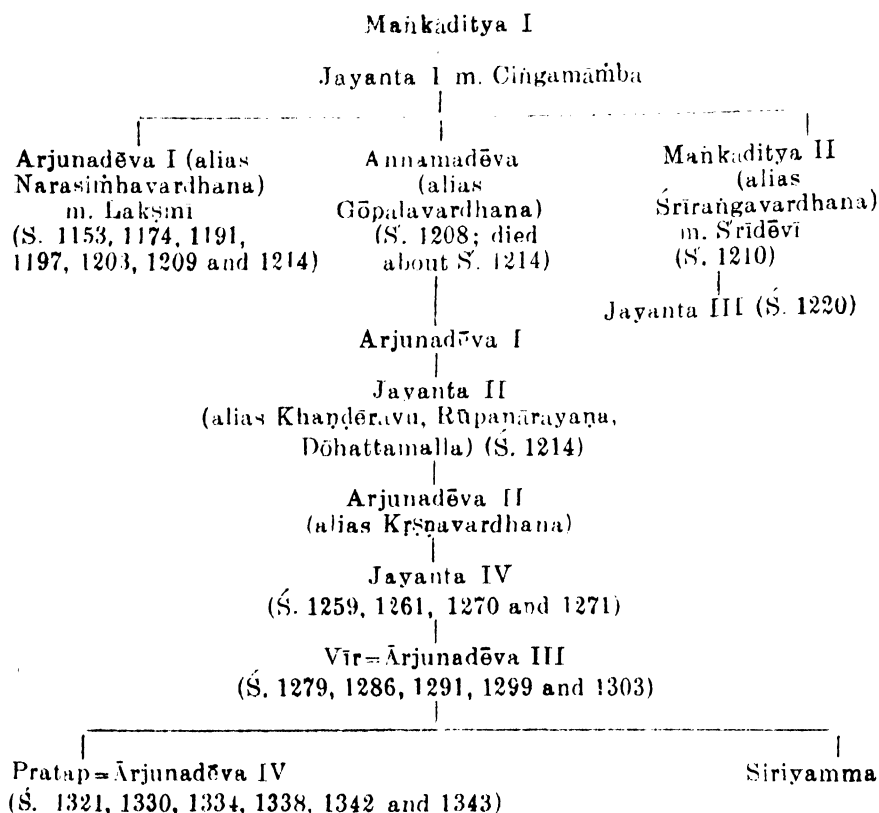
These were a branch of the later Caḷukyas of Vēṅgī who ruled the country around Pithāpuram for some time. Later on, when their dominion was occupied by the Western Powers, they migrated to the east into Kaṭiṅga. There they held at first important positions in the State under the Gāṅga monarchs, and ultimately became their feudatories during the period under review. Their dominion lay in the region around Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district. They had matrimonial alliances with their Gāṅga sovereigns, which enhanced their prestige and status among the other *sāmantas* of the land.

Upēndra III of the Cāḷukya dynasty, son of Kopparāja Nārāyaṇa and Gaṅgāmbā, was a contemporary of Prōlaya Vōma and his son, Anavōtā Redḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu. The genealogy of the Caḷukya chiefs of Elamañci (Yellamauchili) is given on the next page :



These belong to another dynasty of local chiefs who had their capital at Oddadi, the present Vaddadi, twelve miles from Anakapalli in the Vizagapatam district. The first chief of some historical importance in this dynasty appears to be Maṅkaditya whose grandson Pratapa Arjunadēva, son of Jayanta I, was the donor of the Dibbiḍa plates. These chiefs rose to power only from the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. The first records available are those of Arjunadēva, son of Jayanta I, whose earliest inscription at Dakṣharam is dated in Ś. 1153 (1231 A.D.).

The records of these chiefs, found at Simhachalam and Daksharam including the Dibbiḍa plates all combined, furnish a fairly long ancestry of these chiefs, as given in the table on the next page. In this genealogical table the early chiefs till the time of Maṅkāditya I are left out, because of their unhistoric character.



A word of explanation regarding the construction of the above genealogical table seems to be necessary.

An inscription of a certain Jayantarāja at Simhachalam, dated in Śaka 1261, states that the donor, a son of Arjunadēva, was the grandson of Jayanta who may be identical with Jayanta II or Jayanta III of the above table. Since his son was Arjunadēva who might have been named after his grand-father, Arjuna I, he is taken to be identical with Jayanta II.

There is another Arjunadēva whose records range from Śaka 1279 to Śaka 1303. The name of his father is not mentioned in any one of his records. He might be the son of Jayanta IV.

There is another powerful Matsya chief, named Pratāp=Ārjunadēva, son of Vīr=Ārjunadēva. The dates of his inscriptions range from Śaka 1321 to Śaka 1343. This Arjunadēva may be identical with

Arjunadēva IV. Probably, to distinguish the son from the father who had an identical name, the father was named *Vīr=Ārjunadēva* in his sons' records.

These considerations led me to frame the genealogy of the Matsya chiefs as shown above.

The Surabhis of Jantagunāḍu:

The tract of country now known as the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa taluk of the Vizagapatam district roughly represents the ancient country of Jantagunāḍu. It was ruled by a line of chiefs of Gartsyamada - gotra, who are said to belong to the Surabhi family. The dates of their inscriptions, about a dozen in all, found at Siṃhāchalam, range from Saka 1207 (1285 A.D.) to Saka 1383 (1461 A.D.), a period of nearly one and three quarters of a century. These records do not help us in re-constructing their line completely. The chiefs of Jantagunāḍu, mentioned below, flourished during the Redḍi period.

Pratapa Gaṅgarāja (Saka 1241 and Saka 1258)

Pratapa Vīra Gaṅgarāja (Saka 1290)

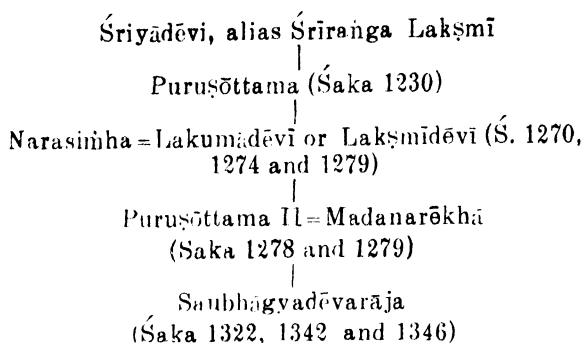
Sanḡamarāja (Saka 1320, and Saka 1321)

Pratāpa Gaṅgarāja (Saka 1342)

Of the above four kings, the first two were probably one and the same.

The Pallavas of Virakūṭam:

These Pallava chiefs of the Bharadvāja - gōtra claim to be the descendants of Kāḍuveṭṭi (Kāḍuveṭṭivaṇṣavātāra). Their banner was 'khaṭvāṅga' (*khaṭvāṅgadhrāja*), and their ensign, the bull (*Vṛṣabha lañchana*). They ruled the tract of country around their capital Virakūṭam, now called Viraghaṭṭam in the Palakonda taluk of the Vizagapatam district. They appear to have come into prominence from the beginning of the twelfth century. Their early inscriptions, found at Dāksharam dated prior to the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., mention only a few chiefs, namely, Sūraparāja, Bayyarāja and his brother Gaṇṭi Bayyapara-
rāja. Their later inscriptions ranging from the fourteenth century are found at Siṃhachalam. For the intervening period of nearly three quarters of a century, no records of this family have so far come to light. From the later records a tentative genealogy of these Pallava chiefs may be formulated as shown on the next page :



The Chiefs of Śilāvaṃśa of Nandāpura :

These are another dynasty of chiefs who ruled the western agency tracts of the Vizagapatam district, with Nandāpura in the Pottanṅi taluk as their capital. It is said that the present estate of Jeypore was but a portion of the kingdom of the chiefs of Śilāvaṃśa. The existence of this dynasty is known only from six or seven records which register gifts of these chiefs in two holy places, Siṃhachalam in the Vizagapatam district and Srikūrmam in the Ganjam district. The names furnished by these records are :

1. Visvanatharāja, son of Gaṅgarāja, Śaka 1275.
2. Bhairavarāja, son of Akkamadēvi, Śaka 1292.
3. Bhachchaladēvi, daughter of Bhayyarāja, Śaka 1318.
4. Gaṅgarāja, son of Bhayyarāja or Bhairava, Śaka 1349.
 (Gaṅgarāja's maternal uncle was Siṅgarāja of the Matsya family, son of Jayanta of Oḍḍadi).
5. Viśvēśvara alias Viśvanātharāja married Siṅgamadēvi, daughter of Jayantarāja of the Matsya family, Śaka 1349.
6. Gaṅgarāja, Śaka 1357.

Besides these there were other petty families in Kaṭiṅga about whom little is known.

CHAPTER IX.

PEDA KŌMAṬI VĒMA.

(Cir. A. D. 1402 to Cir. A. D. 1420)

Vēma, son of Peda Kōmaṭi Redḍi and grandson of Macā Redḍi I succeeded Kumāragiri to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu about Saka 1324 (1402 A.D.). Kumāragiri's records show that he was alive till Saka 1324 (1402 A.D.)¹. Yet, from the paucity of his records in the region to the west of the Gōdavari, it is evident that his authority practically ceased over the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom a few years before his death.

Succession of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma:

Desiring to arrest the internal disorder and the attacks all around on the Redḍi kingdom, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma appears to have seized the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu by force. Some of the nobles, like Velugōṭi Rayapa Nāyaka and Gajaravu Tippa Nayaka, fought on the side of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in this war of succession, and helped him considerably in gaining the throne. According to the Telugu *Cātu* verse² referred to in an earlier context, Gajaravu Tippa Nayaka is stated to have defeated the armies of Kāṭaya Vēma in the neighbourhood of Guṇḍugolānu in the Elōra taluk of the West Godavari district. This defeat of Kāṭaya Vēma shows that he tried his best, on behalf of his sovereign Kumāragiri, to prevent Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma from occupying the throne. It is likely that he was actuated to do so more by the desire of gaining the kingdom for himself, as Kumāragiri had no son to inherit it. In fact, it was more a war waged between Kāṭaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma for succession to the throne rather than between Kumāragiri and the latter. The battles of Guṇḍugolānu and Kōṇḍru referred to in the above mentioned *Cātu* verse, were some of the engagements that had taken place in the course of this war. If the same verse is relied upon, it may be said that, just at this juncture, Harihara II of Vijayanagar, probably with the object of diverting Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's forces and helping his ally and son-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma, made another incursion into the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, which shook its very foundations. Caṇḍapamatya³,

1. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. 1.

2. Ct. Mm., II, p. 65.

3. A record of Nagayamantri son of Caṇḍapamatya, dated in Saka 1345 *Sobhahat*, is found at Tripurantakam in the Markapuram taluk, Kurnool district (Ep. coll., No. 255 of 1905).

the Vijayanagar general, penetrated as far as Koṇḍaviḍu, the capital. Again, Gajaravu Tippa Nayaka, the loyal general of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, defeating Caṇḍapa in the neighbourhood of the fort of the big hill in Koṇḍaviḍu, put him to flight and saved the kingdom. At last, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's efforts were crowned with success, and he duly ascended the throne. He ruled the region lying along the northern bank of the river Kṛṣṇa and the Koṇḍaviḍu country. His Kaluvāmula⁴ and Nandamūru⁵ grants dated in Śaka 1326 and 1333 respectively, bear testimony to the fact that his power extended on the northern side of the Kṛṣṇa also. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma gave his brother Māca Reḍḍi the tract of country lying along the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa. Māca fortified Koṇḍapalli (Kistna district) and made it his capital.⁶

A damaged *Cāṭu* verse⁷ in Telugu in the *Cāṭupadyama-nimāñjari* narrates some events which must have taken place about the beginning of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's reign. What

“...సామాన్యని నాచిగారెట్లండే
...చాపెత్తకొండదిని”

4. Sr. Sr., pp. 12-14, Anubandham.

5. C.P., No. 14 of 1919-20.

6. “तस्यानुजो वेमनृपस्य माचक्षितीश्वरो लब्धमहीविभागः

श्रीक्रोडपल्लीं निजराजधानीं कृत्वा सुखी दीव्यति धर्मधुर्यः”

Sr. Sr., Appendix p. 11, Balyapalli grant of Māca dated in Śaka 1336.

7. అచెగవ నుద్దండ (అచ్చుంపు నుద్దండ!) అన వేమపురమును

గా)నంబు తోరణ కట్టిరని

ధరణికోటను నిల్గి పునఃసృజనమును

లరికట్టకొండ మాజులొడిరెన

మనుకొని ముఖిమానమున (1) ధీక్షింపంగ

సారకుండేరులు సాచిగని

అధ్యక్షంబును సేయు నన్న గారకి (నన్న వేముకు) : చెప్ప

నూనెల⁸ దెవ్వలు నూటరని

కణిగి శివులు (చిత్తులు) సేయునాఘాత్యమునకు

నోర్చియుంటివి నీసాటి యుర్విగలండే

[ఓర్చి కీర్తులు గాంచిత పుర్విలోన

నెన్న రాజులు సాటిరా దెవ్వరైన]

నమనరిపురీర గజకళ్యాభుజం!

అరులలెక్కిము! పదకొను బన్న వేమ”

parts of the verse remain intelligible, pay a tribute to the charity and spirit of tolerance shown by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, in the face of the grave villainy and outrage perpetrated by the sympathisers of Kāṭaya Vēma. The brāhmins of the court were with the deposed king, mindful perhaps of his many benefactions to them. And when these found Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma as their lord and king, their impotent resentment surged into vile deeds of destruction, before they finally took flight from Koṇḍaviḍu. After his abortive attempts to regain power Kumārāgiri appears to have fled to Rājamahēndravaram accompanied by his brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, and spent his last days there.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's early conquests :

By the time Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was firmly established on the throne, the kingdom of Vijayanagar was in the throes of a civil war, consequent on the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). Harihara's sons Dēvarāya I, Virūpākṣa II, and Bukka II contended for the throne. Dēvarāya I probably recalled some of the armies from Udayagiri, the seat of his government while he was *guvarāja*, to fight out his cause. There was disorder and anarchy in the Vijayanagar provinces. The Redḍi kings were not slow to take advantage of the internal disorders in the Vijayanagar kingdom. Taking this opportunity Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's commanders attacked the Vijayanagara armies in their newly occupied territory, and after defeating them in battle and driving them away, recovered their lost possessions. Kōmaṭi Vēma re-conquered also the coastal plain from his cousin Kōmaṭi Redḍi II, son of Māca of the Kandukūr branch, as is borne out by his copper-plate records. He and his brother Māca strove hard to establish peace and order in the kingdom. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's early conquests maintained the reputation of Koṇḍaviḍu as a military power, though on a reduced scale.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's relations with Kāṭaya Vēma, even after the death of Kumārāgiri, were anything but smooth. He wanted to establish his sovereign rights over the Rājamahēndravara Rājya which was more or less a military fief. He, therefore, expected Kāṭaya Vēma to acknowledge him as his overlord, and to render him the services obligatory on a vassal. With the death of Kumārāgiri, Kāṭaya Vēma, who was already opposed to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, never recognised the latter as his sovereign. He defied his authority and asserted his independence. The act of Kumārāgiri in conferring the Rājamahēndravara Rājya on Kāṭaya Vēma thus turned out to be the greatest political blunder of his rule. It divided the Redḍi kingdom into two halves, each fighting against the other, and made it an easy prey to its neighbours who had long been casting hungry looks on it. The first chief to take advantage

of this enmity between the Koṇḍaviḍu and the Rājamahēndravaram kingdoms was Cōḷa Bhaktirāja's son Annadēva Cōḷa, who made a bid to recover his lost principality. He was backed up in the beginning of his fight by the Velama kings of Dēvarakoṇḍa, of whom Peda Vēdagiri, son of Maḍa I, had given asylum to him.⁹ There is reason to believe that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma also co-operated with Annadēva Cōḷa in his struggle.

Kaṭaya Vēma was fully aware of the danger arising out of this alliance. He was hemmed in on one side by Annadēva Cōḷa and on the other, by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Annadēva Cōḷa had already, by Śaka 1330, the date of his inscription¹⁰ at Pōlavaram (West Godavari district), recovered his kingdom. Kaṭaya Vēma, therefore, wanted to renew his friendship and alliance with the Vijayanagara rulers. This view is supported by Kaṭaya Vēma's inscription¹¹ at Ahōbalaṃ in the Cuddapah district, dated in Śaka 1332, which registers the grant of a number of villages to god Nṛsimha. It cannot be argued that Kaṭaya Vēma was at Ahōbalaṃ as an invader; for, the circumstances in which he was then placed preclude any such possibility. Therefore, it must have been a friendly mission of Kaṭaya Vēma which can account for the presence of this solitary record of his in the Vijayanagar territory. By the time of the Ahōbalaṃ record of Kaṭaya Vēma, Dēvarāya I was firmly established on the throne of Vijayanagar. He came out successful in the civil war that convulsed the Vijayanagar kingdom on the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A. D.), and was crowned¹² king in Śaka 1329 (1406 A. D.). The result of Kaṭaya Vēma's mission is not known. Whether Kaṭaya Vēma and Dēvarāya I met each other or not, the former appears to have been assured of the help of the latter, as is borne out by a close study of later events described in the Rajahmundry Museum plates¹³ of Annadēva Cōḷa.

Dēvarāya was true to his word. He marched with his armies into the territory of the Koṇḍaviḍu kings. He penetrated into the heart of the ReḤḤi kingdom, probably at a time when Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was actively co-operating with Annadēva Cōḷa against Kaṭaya

8. “అల వాడవర్జ్యము నుదేశరాయుడు

తంపారం నాంచె విడిచి తాత. . . .”

--VV. Vm., v. 122, p. 44.

9. Ep. Coll., No. 293 of 1920.

10. Ibid., No. 84 of 1915.

11. Mack. Mus., 15-3-25.

12. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 33 ff.

Vēma. This Vijayanagar thrust into the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom was intended probably to help Kaṭaya Vēma indirectly, by creating a diversion and to compel his enemies to withdraw some of their troops from the eastern front. Dēvarāya's inscription¹³ at Inkollu in the Bāpaṭla taluk of Guṇṭūr district, dated in Śaka 1333 Nandana, that is, 1412, A. D., indicates the date of the Vijayanagar aggression. Dēvarāya I tried to extend the authority of his house over the coastal tract of the Redḍi kingdom, and capture Mōṭupalli, their premier sea-port in the Bāpaṭla taluk, Guṇṭūr district. Though he temporarily succeeded in gaining control over a portion of the Redḍi territory, he failed to achieve his object. He did not succeed in holding the conquered tract permanently under his sway. The absence of the Vijayanagar records in the Bāpaṭla taluk is a clear proof of the fact that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was able to expel the enemy from the kingdom and bring it again under his rule.

It is unfortunate that we have no direct evidence relating to the fight between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kaṭaya Vēma. But the position is clear from a close and careful study of events mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions of this period. In spite of the pressure brought to bear on him by the Vijayanagar raids, there is some reason to believe that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma vigorously prosecuted his campaign against Rājamahēndravara Rājya which finally ended with the death of his bitter opponent Kāṭaya Vēma. *Kaṭaya Vēmuni - talagoṇḍa - gaṇḍa*¹⁴ (one who took the head of Kāṭaya Vēma), one of the many *birudas* of the nobles of the Koppunūḷla family, implies their claim to have slain Kaṭaya Vēma, probably in battle; and we know that Gajaravi Tippa Nāyaka¹⁵ of that family, a subordinate of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, took an active part in these wars. Hence, it may not be unreasonable to think that Kāṭaya Vēma lost his life in his wars with Annadēva Cōḍa and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. No records of Kaṭaya Vēma after Śaka 1336 have come down to us.

The history of Rājamahēndravaram subsequent to Kaṭaya Vēma's death is difficult to trace. The terms of alliance between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Annadēva also are not known to us. The latter was able to

13. Ep. Coll., No. 798 of 1922. The Śaka year 1333 is an expired one. Nandana corresponds to Śaka 1334.

14. S/5—2—33 "*Birudavali* of the "Seventy two Nāyaks"; Vide *Koppunūḷlavari-birudu*. See also Mack. Mss., Nos. 15—5—32 and 15—4—3.

15. "మహాపదవీసామంతుడైన కొప్పునూళ్ళనాయంకుడైన నజరావు సంశోధ్యుడైన తిప్పారావు అన్నమనేకు మొదల. గా..." —Ibid.

occupy the Rājamahēndravara Rajya only after the death of Kāṭaya Vēma's son, Komaragiri II. He was not destined, however, to rule it for a long time. He was opposed by Allāḍa Redḍi who espoused the cause of Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, and the sole surviving heir to the kingdom. Allāḍa finally succeeded in driving away his enemies from the kingdom and ruled it on behalf of Anitalli as her regent. In this struggle with Allāḍa, Annadēva seems to have lost his life. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma failed thus in his attempt to regain the Rājamahēndravara-Rajya, even after the death of Kāṭaya Vēma. He did not, however, give up his endeavour.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Allāḍa

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's position was even now precarious and insecure. He was between two powerful foes, the king of Vijayanagar in the west, and Allāḍa in the east. He came to know of the strength of Allāḍa and his zeal in prosecuting the fight for the independence of Rājamahēndravaram. Therefore, in order to strengthen his position he made an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh. It is likely his minister Mamidi Siṅgaya managed wisely in negotiating an alliance. He is described in the *Śrīgūṇa Naiṣaṭham* as *yavan-ādhiśa-sabha-nirāṅkṣa vaco vyūpārā-pūraṅgata*¹⁶, one who fluently carries on conversation in the court of *yavanādhiśa*, that is, the Bahmanī Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh. This Redḍi-Bahamanī alliance is referred to in the *Velugūṭivāri Yamkāraḷi*¹⁷ also. The Padma Velama kings of Dēvarakoṇḍa, the bitter enemies of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu, did not like this alliance. They could not, however, prevent it as they were only subordinates to the Sultān. Having obtained the help of the Bahmanī Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma attacked Rājamahēndravaram.

Allāḍa Redḍi was prepared for this eventuality. He met the combined armies of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Fīrūz Shāh in battle, and defeated and drove them back. The Kommuchikkāla plates clearly state that Allāḍa defeated the *yavans*¹⁸. Aziz-Ullāh Tabātabā and Ferishta do not at all refer to this defeat of the Sultan. "The

16. See N.I., II, v. 141.

17. "యవనమునకు నుచుచుండెడివాని

నాఁడని వర్ణయలు వలనననను." — VV. Vm., p. 39, v. 108.

18. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 228, 11. 30-31.

"यस्यानुजातो यवनान् विजित्य

पोगस्त्यभूपान् परिभूय भूयः

अल्लाडभूपः

Sultān being determined to conquer Teliṅgāna" writes the former "proceeded in that direction till having got near Rājāmandri he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken possession of the whole of that territory he consigned it to agents of government, and then set out for his capital."¹⁹ Ferishta, on the other hand, merely states that, in the year 820 A. H. (1417 A. D.), Fīrūz Shāh "despatched ambassadors to the Rāj of Teliṅgāna, demanding some years' arrears of tribute, who sent the sums due, with several valuable presents in addition."²⁰

Fīrūz Shāh's invasion against the eastern country is confirmed by two of his inscriptions at Vēdādri, in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna district. Of these two inscriptions "dated in the Śaka year 1339 (1417 A. D.), one records the construction of a tank by Sarakhu Maluka Jainadi Voḍeya, the younger brother of Masanada yāli Abibu Nidāmalu Maluka who was at Vaḍapalli Wazīrābad, on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā. The Nidāmalu Maluka, i. e., Nizamul-Mulk is no other than Bīdār, one of the two slaves of Fīrūz Shāh, who gained immense influence over him in the latter part of his reign. It is thus evident that Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī despatched these officers to Teliṅgāna to help Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Their attempt to reduce Rājamahēndravaram proved a failure, even though the Muslim historians would have us believe that it was not so. The Bahmanī armies were defeated by Allāḍa as stated before. Hence, the allies were compelled to retreat without capturing that important stronghold.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma met with reverses in his encounters with Allāḍa. The defeat he sustained at Rāmēsvaram was a crushing one. The Telugu work *Śivalīlāvilāsam*" states that Allāḍa Redḍi defeated Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle at Rāmēsvaram and seized, as booty, all his military equipment and wealth. Rāmēsvaram²¹, the place of the last decisive battle in this struggle for supremacy, cannot be identified precisely, as there are two villages of the same name in the East and West Godavari districts (one in the Rājōle taluk and the other in the Tanuku taluk) respectively.

19. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, p. 10

20. Briggs *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 380

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924.

22. Vide, Part II, Chapter, VII Appendix.

23. Since the village in the Tanuku taluk is called Nattala Rāmēsvaram, it is likely that the other Rāmēsvaram in the Rājōle taluk (East Godavari district) is meant here.

Beginning of the end of the kingdom of Kōṇḍaviḍu:

While the combined armies of Sultān Firūz Shāh and of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma were fighting against their enemies in the Rājama-hēndravaram sector, Dēvarāya I appears to have launched a two-pronged attack to help his ally, Allāḍa Reḍḍi, and probably to benefit himself also. Making Pānugal²⁴ (Nallagōṇḍa district) the base of his military operations, he ordered his armies to march into the territories of Islām. At the same time, Dēvarāya I despatched a considerable force to the Kōṇḍaviḍu country to capture the port of Mōṭupalli. This strategy accomplished its purpose well.

Defeated by prince Allāḍa and much disconcerted at the news of the Vijayanagar invasion of the territories of Islām, Firūz Shāh hastily retreated with his armies from Rājamahēndravaram. His main object was to reduce the fortress of Pānugal, the base of the Vijayanagar operations. He advanced by rapid marches and commenced the siege of that fort.

The garrison inside the fort of Pānugal bravely sallied out and a sanguinary battle was fought between the Bahmanī and the Vijayanagar armies. The fort of Pānugal resisted the siege of the Muslims for full two years. During this period the Muslims were put to

24. This fort was captured in Śaka 1319 (1398 A. D.) by the Vijayanagar general Irugapa dandannatha and prince Bukka II's son under orders from Harihara II at the close of the reign of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn (1397 A. D.), when there were internal dissensions and disorder in the Bahmanī kingdom. Since then it remained under the sway of the Vijayanagar monarchs.

वीरश्रीवरणोचितं हरिहरक्षोणीपतिस्तत्सुतम्

साम्राज्यप्रतिपालनापदुतरप्रज्ञाबलोदञ्चितम्

धीमानिरुग(र्ग)पमन्त्रिवर्यमकरेण्डाधिनाथेश्वरम्

विद्यावीर्यविवेकधैर्यकरुणासत्यक्षमालङ्कृतम् ॥

शाकावेषु निधीन्दुवह्निशशिभिः सम्मिश्रितेष्वीश्वरे

वर्षेमासि सहस्यनामनि तथा पक्षेवलक्षेदिने

शम्भोर्भास्करवारमाजि विजिता श्रीपानुगल्लुःपुरा

तेनानेकतुरग्वीरविजयग्रावावलीवेलिता ॥

इम्मडिवुक्कमहीपतितनयोनन्तत्तमापतिर्जयति ॥

The English date equivalent is Sunday, 30th Dec, 1398 A.D.

Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI. p. 36. f, n, 4.

innumerable difficulties. It may not be unreasonable to think that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma stood faithfully by his ally, Fīrūz Shāh, in his hour of peril and probably sent his brother, Peda Kōmaṭi Macā Redḍi, the governor of Koṇḍapalli, to the aid of the Bahmani Sultan with a considerable army.

While the siege was thus going on, Dēvaraya I started negotiations with the Sultan's subordinate allies, the Rēceḡla kings of Rajukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa. They were the rulers of Teliṅgana, the upland Telugu country beyond the Ghats. The relations between them and their overlord, the Sultan, were not latterly as smooth as before. These Padma Velama kings disliked the alliance of Fīrūz Shāh with their family enemies, the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, because Fīrūz Shāh stationed his military officers at Vaḍapalli Wazīrābād in their south-eastern province, which made their position much more subordinate than before and affected their status.

By this action they were brought under the virtual subjection of the Muslim *amīrs* and *vazīrs* of the Bahmani Sultan. It was to their utter dislike that they had to co-operate in the ranks of the Bahmani Sultan with the Redḍi armies, whom they hated bitterly. They, therefore, waited for an opportunity to throw off their allegiance to Fīrūz Shāh, and to join a powerful Hindu monarch. The negotiations started by the Vijayanagar monarch came in timely. While the battle was going on, the Rēceḡla kings suddenly withdrew their armies from those of the Sultan and immediately joined the Vijayanagar forces. It is needless to say that this step changed the fortunes of the day. The battle ended with a disastrous defeat to the Muslims.²⁵

Dēvaraya's Mōṭupalli record²⁶ clearly proves that this premier port of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom submitted itself to the Vijayanagar

25. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 26 ff.

26. The date of the unpublished record of the Vijayanagar monarch Devaraya I at Mōṭupalli (Loc. Rec., Vol. XLII, pp. 422-23) is given as Śaka 1312, Durmukhi. On the basis of this record it is said that Devaraya I "annexed, before 1330 A.D., the territory along the east coast extending as far as Mōṭupalli" (V.C.E., p. 126). This statement is wrong; for, the date of this record is irregular and the Śaka year, wrong. This charter, similar to those given by Gaṇapatiḍeva of Waraṅgal and Anavota Redḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu, is stated to have been given on Friday, the first tithi of the lunar half of Magha. The cyclic year Durmukhi corresponds to Śaka 1338 and not to Śaka 1312. The latter year corresponds to Pramoda (Pramoduta). The details do not, however, work out correctly even for Durmukhi, for, the first tithi falls on Tuesday and not on Friday. As the cyclic year is definitely stated to be Durmukhi I assign this record to Śaka 1338 on the assumption that the numerals denoting the Śaka year were read wrongly in the eye-copy. This record fits in here exactly, and falls in line with the other available data.

arms. The date of this record is Durmukhi, corresponding to the Saka year 1338. Another record²⁷ at Ponnūr (Bapaṭṭa taluk, Guṇṭūr district) dated in Saka 1339 (1417 A.D.) of Kūnapuli Anavōta Nāyaka has also to be taken into account in this connection. As the members of the Kūnapuli family were the subordinates of the Vijayanagar monarchs, this Ponnūr inscription may be taken to be a Vijayanagar record, though it does not mention Anavōta Nāyaka's overlord, Dēvarāya I. These records attest to the authority of Dēvarāya I over the south-eastern provinces of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. The loss of these provinces was only the beginning of the end of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and the Rēceṅṅa kings:

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma appears to have spent his last years of rule in fighting against the Rēceṅṅa kings of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa. The *Velugōṭirūri Vamśārāṭi* refers to the feud between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his brother Maca on one side, and Kumāra Vēdagiri and Liṅgama Nēḍu, sons of Kumāra Māda Nāyaka on the other. Mācā Redḍi is said to have been killed by Kumāra Vēdagiri who then caused his enemy's effigy to be set on his spittoon.²⁸ Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma did not wait long to avenge the death of his brother. He killed Kumara Vēdagiri in battle, and emulating Vēdagiri's example, caused Kumāra Vēdagiri's effigy to be set on his own spittoon in his turn. Then, we are told that Liṅgama Nēḍu, a boy of twelve years of age, collected a great army and, accompanied by his relatives and followers, marched against Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the engagement that took place Liṅgama Nēḍu is credited to have defeated Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and caused his image to appear on his spitting pot. He also carried away, as trophy, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's badge of lion-crest and also his famous sword, named *Nandikanta Pōtarāju-kaṭari*.²⁹ The same work referred to above, states, in another place, that Liṅgama Nēḍu carried away Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma captive,³⁰ and subsequently, for some

27. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 118.

28. VV. Vm., p. 39 vv. 105 and 106; pr. 107; pp. 43-44, vv. 121 and 122. See also Part II, Chapter, XII.

29. Ibid, p. 39, pr. 107.

30. Ibid, p. 48.

“భువిలోన ననభను ధూపాలంబ జేతనెట్టి
యొనిని వేర్చి-తో నడవనాడు...” - v. 126.

It seems Liṅga's cousin Siṅga III also took part in these campaigns. *Vamśārāṭi* states that Vēma, that is, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma took to flight when Siṅga closely pursued him.

unstated reasons, released him, and that Singaya Anna (that is, Anna son of Singa) killed Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle.³¹ With a slight variation the *Velugōṭṭivāri Vaniśucaritra*, a later work, also informs us that Liṅgama Nēḍu and Singaya Anna slew Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle.³² As evidence is lacking, it is difficult to ascertain the truth of these statements. It might be that, during the Bahmanī-Vijayanagar war, the Rēceṅḷa prince Kumāra Vēdagiri attacked Mācā Reḍḍi and killed him. The other battles between the Rēceṅḷa princes Kumāra Vēdagiri and Liṅgama Nēḍu, and the Reḍḍi king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, referred to in the *Vaniśāvai*, must have obviously followed that event.

Death of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma :

The latest date for Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma is furnished by his Rudravaram grant,³³ dated in the Śaka year 1341, corresponding to the cyclic year Vikāri. This record registers the grant of the village, Rudravaram as an *agṛahara* to the astronomer Rāmacandra, the eldest brother of Gaṅgādhara, and son of Peddi Yajva on the occasion of *Dhanuṣ saṁkramaṇa* in the month of Mārgaśīra. This is the latest record of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma known to us, and the last grant, known to have been drafted by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's *Vidyūdhikarī* Śrinātha.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's rule may be said to have ended in Śaka 1342 (1420 A. D). Kōmaṭi Vēma was a great warrior, a profound scholar and a considerable poet. From the moment he ascended the throne he strove hard to safeguard the interests of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, and to maintain its integrity and independence. Though he was not able to extend his authority far beyond the frontiers of his kingdom which he inherited at the time of his succession, he succeeded till almost to the end of his rule in preserving it intact in spite of the repeated incursions of the Vijayanagar rulers. He also committed the same folly as his predecessor, Kumāragiri in further dividing the kingdom between himself and his brother, Mācā Reḍḍi, and in

విడుగు కరణి రావునిఁగ ప్పట్టిశుండు దాఁ

బొడుపాడు ముని వెనుదగిలిక

వెడవెడ జగ నొబ్బగంప వేముడు పాటెన్" v. 145, p. 57.

31. Ibid, 60, v. 155.

"బట్టు తలఁటాక బల్లరగండలై
యనవేమరెడ్డిని నాజిఁ దునిమె"

32. VV. Vc., pages 57 and 67.

33. C. P., No. 7 of 1919-20.

conferring upon the latter the province lying on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. As in the reign of Kumaragiri, though this division did not affect the integrity of the kingdom during the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, it weakened it further, and made it an easy prey to the three powerful neighbours, the Gajapatis of Kalinga, the Narapatis of Vijayanagar, and the Aśvapatis of Gulbarga, who had ever been casting a covetous eye on it. From his alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān Vēma came to be hated still more bitterly by the Vijayanagar ruler, who regarded this alliance as an unholy act and made it a pretext to occupy the kingdom.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was an able ruler and good scholar. He wrote many works in Sanskrit pertaining to different branches of learning, like *śravya* and *ḍṛṣya prabandhas*, treatises on *Saṅgita* and *Sūhṛita*, and commentaries on old Sanskrit works.³⁴ He was famous for his munificence and liberality to scholars and poets. Many *Cāṭu* verses both in Sanskrit and Telugu were composed in praise of his gifts and charities. One of these verses is noteworthy. It praises the munificence of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma; but remarks that, just as there is a snake near the Kalpaka tree, there was Turagā Rāma³⁵ (probably one of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's ministers) near him, and hence, one could not approach him.

34. An account of his works will be found in the chapter on literature in Part II of this work.

35. Cf. *Mm.*, I, p. 34.

APPENDIX.

Genealogy of the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram.

Kōṭa Reddi of the Dūvūri family.

Perumāṇḍi Reddi m. Annamāmbā

Allāḷa	Peda Kōṭa	Annāvrōla	Doḍḍa m. Annamāmbā	Pina Kōṭa
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Annāvrōla	Kōṭa	Allāḍa m. Vēmāmbā
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Komaragiri	Annāvōṭa S. 1344
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Vēma m. Hariharāmbā ¹	Vīrabhadra m. Anitalli	Dodda	Anna
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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. xiii, p. 242, v. 22.

पौर्त्वी काटयवेमयक्षितिपतेः पुर्वी च काटप्रभोः
 दौहित्री चतुर्गर्णी हरिहरक्षोणीपतेः शासितुः
 तन्नाम्ना विदिताह्वयां हरिहरांवां चारुमग्राहय
 त्पाणौ वेममहीशमल्लनृपति स्साम्राज्यलक्ष्म्या समम् ॥

Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu emends the first line in the above verse as shown below :

“पुर्वी काटयवेमयक्षितिपतेः पौर्त्वी च काटप्रभोः”

CHAPTER X.

RĀCA VĒMĀREṬṬI.

(Cir. 1420 A.D. to Cir. 1424 A.D.)

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was succeeded by his son, Rāca Vēma. His mother was Sūrāmba, daughter of Gannabhūpāla, lord of Dhānyavāṭī-pura or Dhānyakāṭaka. Rāca Vēma's records have not yet come to light. The Amīnābād inscription, which informs us that Rāca Vēma caused the feeder canal, named "Jaganobbagaṇḍa - kāluva" of the Santānavāridhi tank, constructed by his mother Sūrāmba, to be dug in Śaka year 1337 corresponding to the cyclic year Manmatha, has to be assigned to the reign of his father, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The *Koṇḍavī-danḍakavile* and the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu state that he ruled for four years. From the account furnished by them he appears to have been a tyrant. He ruled his subjects cruelly and oppressively. He is said to have imposed new taxes and collected them with an iron hand. He had none of the qualities of a good ruler. He, therefore, was unable to steer the ship of state successfully during the stormy period that followed his father's death. The *kaifiyats* of villages in the Godavari, Kistna, and Guntur districts state that Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kāliṅga overran the coastal tract in Śaka 1342, brought the whole country under his rule, and got some repairs made and fresh forts constructed at Koṇḍaviḍu.¹ This is not, however, confirmed by epigraphical evidence. Neither the records of the Gajapati monarchs, nor of the Vijayanagar rulers have been discovered till now either at Koṇḍaviḍu or in its north-eastern region. If the Gajapati conquest of Koṇḍaviḍu were a fact, as it seems to be, it must have been effected sometime after Śaka 1342, for, the country in the neighbourhood of the Redḍi capital was subjugated by the Vijayanagar monarchs in or before that date, as is borne out by a record² of Śaka 1342 Śārvari belonging to Dīvarāya I at

1. Cf. Kd., pp. 10-11.

“తనవంశము నజపతిసంహారమునకు జనుయ్యకు చేసికొని కలకము మొదలు కొని పుదుమగిరి పర్వతము న్ను గిడుర్వనములు అక్కిమించి కా. ౧౩౪౨ శకము లగాయకు కా ౧౩౪౩ శకమునకు ౧౨ సంవత్సరములు (పర్వతము చేసి దుర్గము కొంపవీరు) మరయుచుచేయించి, పెనమా రెంకోట చిహ్నములతోట లనేవి కట్టించెను.”

2. Ep. Coll., No. 125 of 1917. The Śaka date 1344, as given in the inscription, does not correctly correspond to the cyclic year Śārvari. It tallies with Śaka 1342 Hence, I took it as Śaka 1312 Śārvari in the text above.

Pottūru (Guntur taluk, Guntur district), a village in the vicinity of Konḍavīḍu.

Rāca Vēmā Redḍi had little support from his subjects to resist these invasions of the Vijayanagar and the Gajapati rulers; for, by his oppressive rule he had forfeited the love and devotion of his subjects. The *Konḍavīḍu-dandīkavil*, which assigns to him a period of rule of four years, informs us that he was assassinated by one of his subjects.³ This is not, however, corroborated by any available evidence.

The kingdom of Konḍavīḍu, founded by Prōlaya Vēma, after many vicissitudes and set-backs, reached its meridian of power and glory in the reigns of the illustrious Anavēma and Kumāragiri. Such days of prosperity and affluence were not for it for long. Peda Kōmati Vēma and his internecine wars gave it a downward thrust and his unworthy son Rāca Vēma saw it sink. A glorious but all too brief period of a hundred years was the life of this great Redḍi dynasty.

3. “ఇతడు (రాచ వేమారెడ్డి) తన ప్రాంతముల మార్గముగాని తండ్రిమార్గముగాని చాలలం
 కించక తా నొకక్రొత్త నార్గ మవలంబించి క్రొత్త పన్నులను విధించి ప్రజలను బంధించు
 చుండెను కొంతటి దండకవిధి వా కొనుంగున్నది. రాచవేమన ప్రజలపై పురటి
 పన్ను విధించి ముక్త సమూహంబులను దోచివేసియు, తన భృత్యులకు సవిగము
 ఎల్లయునును అభిజనాయకునిపై పురటిపన్ను వేసి అంత్రా-గముగా కమాల చేసినందున
 నాతడు బాధపడించి కుట్ర నాడు ముత్యవడ్డికొని నారసిని నాతనితో బాధించి
 చంపినందులకు తనదండకవిధి మడుపునున్నది” — An. Gr., III, pp. 243-44.

CHAPTER XI.

RĀJAMAHĒNDRA RĀJYA OR THE EASTERN KINGDOM

Rājamahēndra Rājya or the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram was of later origin, coming into existence only during the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. The Redḍi kings of Addaṅki, later, of Koṇḍaviḍu, ever since the establishment of their power, realised the necessity of bringing the whole of the coastal region under one rule, and of consolidating their power to protect the Hindu *dharma* and culture from the ravaging attacks of the Muslims. However, their attempts were not crowned with success until nearly half a century after the re-establishment of Hindu independence in that region. It was Anavōta I who, after the new Redḍi principality was placed on a strong and secure basis, led an expedition to the eastern quarter to bring the fertile coastal plain to the north of the Kṛṣṇā under his authority. It is probable that many of the Redḍi families from Pākanaḍu in the Nellore district migrated to Rajamahēndravaram on the banks of the Gōdāvarī, and settled there towards the end of Prōlaya Vēma's reign, or in the beginning of the reign of his son, Anavōta. Though the campaign of Anavōta I was a thorough success, the authority of the Redḍis was not permanently established there. The chiefs in that region appear to have thrown off their allegiance to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu and reasserted their independence. After his succession to the throne, Anavēma, brother and successor of Anavōta, once again invaded the eastern country and brought the chiefs ruling in that region under his sway. The authority of Koṇḍaviḍu was so well established over the eastern country extending as far as Rajamahēndravaram that, even the civil war that convulsed the Redḍi kingdom after the death of Anavēma, did not affect its subordinate position. The territory extending up to the confines of Kaṭiṅga remained an integral part of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom till the death of Anavēma.

Rajamahēndravaram and its neighbouring country had become a virtual Redḍi colony and settlements of the Redḍi nobles and their dependants had sprung up in this region even from about the beginning of the reign of Anavōta I. Chief among the Redḍi families that settled at Rajamahēndravaram and its neighbourhood were Kaṭaya Redḍi's family and the Dūvūri family. Kaṭa II, grandson of Kaṭa I and son of Marā Redḍi, was contemporaneous with Anavōta Redḍi I and his

brother, Anavēma. He married Doḍḍāmbikā, sister of Anavōta I, and daughter of Prōlaya Vēma. He and his father Marā Redḍi, therefore, were the chief Redḍi dignitaries in the Gōḍāvari region during the early years of the Redḍi rule. The Dūvūri family was an extensive one. Perumāṇḍi Redḍi of this family had five sons, Allāḍa, Peda Kōṭa, Annavrōla, Doḍḍa and Pina Kōṭā Redḍi. These had marital alliances with the nobles of this region, and wielded enormous influence in the politics of the land. These nobles, who were contemporaneous with Anavōta and Anavēma, were the chief supporters of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu and were probably instrumental in establishing permanently the authority of the Redḍi kings in this region to the east of the Gōḍāvari. Of the five nobles of the Dūvūri family mentioned above, Doḍḍa Redḍi was connected by ties of relationship with the Ēḡuva chief, Bhimadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktirāja. Bhimadēva Cōḍa gave his daughter Vēmāmbā in marriage to Allāḍa Redḍi, the youngest of the three sons of Doḍḍa Redḍi. Allāḍa and his elder brothers, Anavrōla and Kōṭa, and his paternal uncles, all the members of the Dūvūri family, in fact whole-heartedly co-operated with the Redḍi kings in extending their authority over the fertile lower Gōḍāvari valley. Because of the powerful support of the Redḍi nobles, Rājamahēndravaram, even during the civil war following the death of Anavēma, not only remained a Redḍi stronghold, but also took up the cause of Kumāragiri, and fought against his opponents under the leadership of Kaṭaya Redḍi's son Vēmā Reddi.

After his succession to the throne, Kumāragiri realised the necessity of defending the eastern frontier of his kingdom and keeping under check the petty rulers of the eastern region who did not fail to take advantage of the civil war to assert their independence. For effecting a permanent arrangement he sent his son prince Anavōta II and his prime minister and generalissimo, Kaṭaya Vēma to conquer the eastern country, as stated already. The eastern campaign, in which Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons Vēma and Doḍḍa had taken an active part, was a thoroughly successful one, and the Redḍis succeeded in carrying their arms victoriously as far as Puruṣōttam, i.e. Cuttack in the Pūri district of Orissa. They planted pillars of victory at Simhachalam and on the banks of the Chilka lake. Subsequent to this conquest, the country beyond the Gōḍāvari extending as far as Simhachalam was annexed to Rājamahēndravaram and constituted into a separate province called the Eastern Kingdom or Rājamahēndra Rājya about Saka 1312 (1390 A.D.) with Rājamahēndravaram as its capital. Prince Anavōta II, son of Komaragiri was appointed viceroy of this new kingdom.

King Kāṭaya Vēma :

Subsequent to the death of Anavōta II after a short reign, Kumāragiri conferred the Rājamahēndra Rājya on Kāṭaya Vēma, in appreciation of his prowess ("Yasmat-vikrama-tōḥitaḥ"), and probably of his invaluable services rendered unto him. The gift, therefore, of Rājamahēndra Rājya was in the nature of a military fief or jāgīr. Kāṭaya Vēma was in possession of this dominion prior to Śaka 1317 (1395 A.D.), the date of his Gōpavaram grant¹ which alludes to this fact. From this it is evident that, by that date, Anavōta II was dead, and Kāṭaya Vēma was the governor of Rājamahēndra Rājya. It is probable that Allāḍa Reḍḍi, his right-hand man, was his representative carrying on the administration of the kingdom during his absence from Rājamahēndravaram.

During the last years of king Kumāragiri, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma usurped the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. Kāṭaya Vēma, on behalf of Kumāragiri, appears to have fought in vain against this usurpation, and eventually fled to Rājamahēndravaram where Kumāragiri spent his last days in illness.

The death of Kumāragiri aggravated the hostilities between Kāṭaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Kāṭaya Vēma, as the vassal of Koṇḍaviḍu, did not pay his homage to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the successor of Kumāragiri. On the other hand, he asserted his independence, and defied Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's authority. Vēma tried to put him down and annex the Rājamahēndra Rājya to the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. His attempts to subdue Kāṭaya Vēma and the latter's stubborn resistance involved the country again in a prolonged civil war, the course of which cannot be exactly ascertained with the data now available.

While Kāṭaya Vēma was fighting against Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the Ēṅava chief Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktiraja, made an attempt to recover his lost kingdom. The statement in the *Veluṅṭṭavāri Vamāraṇi* that Vēlagiri I, son of Mada Nayaka of the Reṅḍa family, gave protection to Annadēva Cōḍa, suggests that he went to Dīvarakoṇḍa

1. J.A.H.R.S. Vol XI, pp. 211 ff.

There is an unpublished copper plate grant of Kāṭaya Vēma, dated in Śaka 1313 (A.D. 1391). (M.S. No. 12, 13, pp. 252-53). The grant bears the signature of Kāṭaya Vēma. The reference in this grant was made on Thursday, the tenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Paṅsya. The date is incorrect. According to the *Indian Epitome* the week day is Tuesday and not Thursday. The Śaka year 1313 had expired with Śaka 1314, current. As the grant bears Vēma's signature, it raises a doubt if he was already appointed governor of the Eastern Kingdom and if Anavōta, son of Kumāragiri, was already dead.

after his banishment from his kingdom and sought refuge with Pedā Vēdagiri I. While he was at Dēvarakōṇḍa he often appears to have resorted to the court of the Bahmanī Sultāns and to have co-operated with them in their campaigns, thereby gaining their favour. He helped Firūz Shāh,² the king of the Turuṅkas, in overcoming the Kaināṇya army at Sāgar in 1398 A.D. Having thus made an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān and the Rēceṅḍa king of Dēvarakōṇḍa, Annadēva Cōḍa made a bid to recover his kingdom after the death of Kumāragiri.

Annadēva Cōḍa and Kāṭaya Vēma :

Annadēva Cōḍa returned from Dēvarakōṇḍa at the head of a large army of the Rēceṅḍa kings, probably by way of Kāliṅga, at a time when Kāṭaya Vēma was involved in struggle with Pedā Kōmaṭi Vēma. There is reason to believe that he was opposed by the Eastern Cāḷukya subordinates of the Redḍi kings. A *śloka* in the Pañcadhārata inscription³ of the Cāḷukya king, Viśvāvara of Ellanāñci, and a verse in the *Kāṭyābharṇa-kāreṇḍāmāṇḍi*, a Telugu work on rhetoric written by his court-poet Vinnakōṭa Peddana, state that king Viśvāvara defeated the Andhra army near Sarvasi Hhi (in the Vizagapatam district) in Śaka 1324, that is, 1402 A.D. As the whole country as far as Sindhachalam was conquered and annexed to the Redḍi kingdom, the Cāḷukya king Viśvāvara was, no doubt, a subordinate of the Redḍi kings. He opposed the Andhra army, probably of the Rēceṅḍa kings, on behalf of his overlords.

This defeat at the hands of Cāḷukya Viśvāvara did not deter Annadēva Cōḍa from making one more attempt to regain his kingdom. And this time his endeavour was crowned with success. He not only recovered his kingdom but snatched away a good slice of the Rājamahēdra Rājya as well, as is borne out by his inscriptions⁴ at Dākshāram dated in Śaka 1326/1404 A.D. This record gives Annadēva Cōḍa the titles *Rājā śhīrāṇḍaparamēśvara* and *Pārasamhāsanaśhikara*, which clearly show that he was 'the lord of the Eastern throne,' that is, the Eastern Kingdom. In spite of his success Annadēva Cōḍa was not able to retain his hold on Rājamahēdra Rājya for any length of time.

Kāṭaya Vēma's records bearing dates subsequent to Śaka 1326 have been discovered in the Rajahmundry and Cocanada taluqs of the East

2. Ep., Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 29.

3. Ibid., Vol. XIX p., 170, verse. 21, Vol. XXV, pp. 325-26; S.I.L., Vol. VI, No. 665.

4. S.I.L., Vol. IV, Nos. 1347 and 1318.

Godavari District. His inscriptions at Madhirapūḍi⁵ in the Rajahmundry taluk, Sarpavaram⁶ in the Cocanada taluk, and Toggūḍu⁷ in the Rajahmundry taluk, are found dated in Śaka 1327, and his Acyutapuram⁸ inscription is dated in Śaka 1328. From these inscriptions it is evident that Kaṭaya Vēma was again in possession of the Rajamahendra Rājya after Śaka 1326. It is, therefore, certain that Annadēva Cōḍa was defeated and driven back to his own kingdom which, according to his Rajahmundry Museum plates, lay between Gōmukhagiri or Mōtīghar, popularly called Mōtē, a small island above Bhadrāchalam in the Gōḍāvari in the Hyderabad State, and Paṭṭesagiri or Paṭṭesam, another small island in the same river, just below Pōlavaram, Godavari district. Annadēva Cōḍa's inscription⁹ at Pōlavaram is dated in Śaka 1330/1408 A.D.

Annadēva Cōḍa did not like Kaṭaya Vēma, a powerful enemy, to be by his side. He wanted to crush him at any cost and annex his kingdom. He, therefore, appears to have entered into an alliance with king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḷaviḍu who was equally intent on crushing the power of Kaṭaya Vēma.

Kaṭaya Vēma was aware of the danger arising from such an alliance. He, therefore, wanted to have a powerful ally on his side. The Rācōḷa kings and the Bahmanī Sultāns were his enemies. The only powerful ruler he could think of was Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar.

5. Mack, Mss., No. 15 4-4; Loc. Rec., Vol II, p. 212. The date is Śaka 1327 (wrong for 1326) Tarana, Thursday 10th tithi of the dark half of the month of Pūṣya, on the occasion of Makara saṁkrāmaṇa. The English date equivalent is 27 December, 1404 A.D. The week day was Saturday and not Thursday.
6. Ibid, No. 15 5-86, p. 239. In Śaka 1327 Parthiva, Kaṭaya Vēma builds a maṇḍapa, called Vasantarāya maṇḍapa, at Sarpavaram on Wednesday, the 11th tithi of the lunar half of the month of Nija Aṣuḍha for the merit of Kumārāgiri. In the month of Nija Aṣuḍha the 11th tithi fell on Wednesday both in the lunar and dark halves. The English date equivalent is either 8 July or 22 July, 1405 A.D.
7. Ibid, No. 15-4-1 pp. 278-79. This is a copper-plate grant of Kaṭaya Vēma. The lines containing the date (Śaka 1327) are given below :

“श्रीशके गिरिनेत्रवह्नि शशिभिर्माणये शरद्युत्तमे
कृष्णे पार्थिवनाम्नि चन्द्रदिने वारे गुरोः फाल्गुने.”

8. Ibid, No. 15-5-86, p. 325. This records a grant of Kaṭaya Vēma in Śaka 1328 Sarvajit, on Thursday, the 14th tithi of the dark half of Magha for the merit of Kumārāgiri. The English date equivalent is Thursday, 12 January, 1408 A.D. The Śaka year 1329 corresponds to Sarvajit.
9. Ep. Coll., No. 293 of 1920.

Dēvarāya I ascended the throne¹⁰ in Śaka 1329 after coming out victorious in the fratricidal war, subsequent to the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). Kāṭaya Vēma went to the Vijayanagar kingdom probably to meet Dēvarāya I. His inscription¹¹ at Ahōbalam in the Cuddapah district shows that he was there in Śaka 1332 (1410 A.D.). Whether Kāṭaya Vēma actually met Dēvarāya I, and whether the result of such a meeting, if at all it had taken place, was favourable to him, are matters of conjecture. The course of events, however, subsequent to Śaka 1332 (1410 A.D.) suggests that Kāṭaya Vēma achieved his object. Dēvarāya I advanced into the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom and occupied the region comprising the present Bapatla taluk in the Guntur district. Dēvarāya I must have done this either to prevent Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma from collaborating with Annadēva Cōḍa, or to relieve pressure on the eastern front, if Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma had already been fighting Kāṭaya Vēma.

Kāṭaya Vēma, in spite of the combined opposition of Annadēva Cōḍa and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was able to maintain his hold on the Rājamahēndra Rājya including Kōnamāṇḍala. In proof of this statement his inscriptions at Tirupati¹² (Peddāpuram taluk), Komaragiripuram¹³ (Pithapuram division), Tottaramūḍi¹⁴ (Amalāpuram taluk), and Sarpavaram¹⁵ (Cocanada taluk) in the East Godavari district, dated in Śaka years 1330, 1332, 1333, 1334 and 1336 respectively, may be cited. It is thus evident that, excepting for a short interval in Śaka 1326, Kāṭaya Vēma held sway over the Eastern Kingdom for more than twenty years, after it came into his possession before Śaka 1317 (1391 A.D.). His inscriptions, however, have not yet come to light to the south of the Gōḍāvarī.

While Kāṭaya Vēma was ruling his kingdom to the east of the Gōḍāvarī, Annadēva Cōḍa occupied the region along the bank of the Gōḍāvarī in the west^{15a} probably with the help of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma

10. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXIV, p. 204, No. 304 and note; Mack. Mss., No. 15-8-25. In this manuscript the date of coronation is given as Śaka 1329 Sarvajit, Thursday, 10th tithi of the dark half of Kartika. The week day was Wednesday and not Thursday (Wednesday, 26 October, 1407).

11. Ep. Coll., No. 84 of 1915.

12. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 103.

13. *Redḍi Rani*, Vol. II (1924, October), pp. 33 ff. This is a copper-plate grant recording the gift of the village of Komaragiripuram to an Ayurveda-vaidyā, named Narasimha on the 15th day of the lunar half of the month of Magha. The date is unverifiable.

14. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

15. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 20 of Śaka 1334 and no. 2 of Śaka 1336. These two are the Sarpavaram records of Kāṭaya Vēma.

15-a. From almost the Papi hills the Gōḍāvarī flows from north to south till far beyond Rājamahēndravaram.

and of his own brother-in-law Pina Uṇḍirāja (Pinnuṇḍirāja), son of Śrī Cakravartī of the solar family.¹⁶ The identity of this Cakravartī is not known. As the donor of the Rāṅgulaparti plates¹⁷ is known as Uṇḍīśa or Peda Uṇḍirāja, Pinna Uṇḍirāja was probably a latter chief of the same family belonging to Sūravaram. Annadēva Cōḍa's occupation of the western Godavari region endangered Kāṭaya Vēma's position; for, easily crossing the Gōḍāvari the former might advance into Kōṇa-maṇḍala and attack the latter in his own territory. Kāṭaya Vēma, therefore, appears to have first crossed the river and attacked Annadēva Cōḍa. All the engagements between these two chiefs subsequent to Śaka 1334/1412 A. D., were fought on the western bank of the Gōḍavarī, as is borne out by the Rajahmundry Museum plates.

Annadēva Cōḍa's exploits:

The Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa refer to some of these battles. They state that Annadēva captured the enemy towns of Jaggavāgu and others.¹⁸ Jaggavāgu has not yet been identified. Besides this, Annadēva Cōḍa is said to have defeated, on the borders of Attili (Tanuku taluk, West Godavari district), all the southern kings who were hostile to him, and to have offered protection to ten thousand of the enemy's forces who had taken refuge within the walls of that city. The southern kings¹⁹ referred to here are no doubt the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories. It is evident from this that Dēvarāya I despatched a considerable army in aid of Kāṭaya Vēma. An engagement took place between the contending parties on the borders of Attili, in which Annadēva Cōḍa came out victorious. In this engagement he took ten thousand of the enemy's forces captive and offered them protection.

Among all the engagements that took place between Annadēva Cōḍa and Kāṭaya Vēma, the battle of Kāṁkaṅgaparti, the modern Kākaṅgaparti, on the banks of the Gautamī (in the Tanuku taluk) was the most important one. It was a decisive battle in which Annadēva Cōḍa inflicted a crushing defeat on the Kannaḍa and other enemies who suffered heavy losses. The Rajahmundry Museum plates describe the battle thus: "For the purpose of protecting his friend he (Annadēva Cōḍa) performed a heroic sacrifice with Pina Uṇḍirāja (Pinnuṇḍirāja) as *adhvarya* on the sacrificial altar of Kāṁkaṅgaparti on the banks of the Gautamī, making the Kannaḍa and other enemies the sacrificial

16. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 44, ll. 28-29.

17. C.P. No. 16 of 1917-18.

18. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 31-34.

19. Ibid. p. 34, f.n. 1.

victims".²⁰ The name of the friend whom Annadēva protected is not given in the plates. Yet, it is possible to guess who he was. He was not the Bahmanī Sultān, Firūz Shāh, as has been conjectured by some scholars; for according to Ferishta, it was only in the year A. H. 820 Firūz Shāh led an expedition into the Telingāna country. According to 'Azīz Ullāh Tabā Tabā this invasion took place between A. H. 815 and A. H. 820. Khafi Khān, another Muslim historian, places it some time after A. H. 818²¹. The year A. H. 818 closes with Śaka 1337 Manmatha (February 1416 A. D.) and A. H. 819 begins with the Caitra of Śaka 1338 (March 1416 A. D.). It appears, therefore, reasonable to place Firūz Shāh's invasion sometime after February 1416 A. D. (in or after the month of Caitra of Śaka 1338). The provenance of the inscriptions²² of Firūz Shāh in the Kistna district attests to the fact that the coastal region of Telingāna was overrun by him about 1417 A. D., (Śaka 1339) which corresponds to A. H. 820. It will not be, therefore, far from the truth if the date of the invasion is placed in the beginning of Śaka 1339, that is, at the end of A. H. 819. Annadēva Cōḍa was dead even by the middle of Śaka 1338, i. e., 1416 A. D. as will be shown later on. Under these circumstances the friend that was protected by Annadēva Cōḍa at Kāṁkaṣaparti could not have been Firūz Shāh. Nor could he have been the Vijayanagar ruler who was Annadēva's formidable enemy. He could not have been even the Rēceṅḷa king; for, evidence is lacking to show that the Dēvarakōṇḍa chiefs continued to take as much interest in him as they used to, in the time of Peda Vēdagiri Nōḷu. Hence, it cannot be said that the friend referred to in the plates was a Rēceṅḷa chief. So, the only king that could be thought of is Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma himself. Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma probably collaborated with Annadēva Cōḍa in crushing Kāṣaya Vōma's power, as has been surmised before. While, during one of these engagements, Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma was hard pressed by both Kāṣaya Vōma's forces and Dēvarāya's army, Annadēva Cōḍa, along with Pina Undirāja, hurried to his relief, and after winning a signal victory over the enemies he protected his ally. This victory gave him complete control of the western Godavari region. It was in the course of these wars that Annadēva Cōḍa went to Kṣīrārāma in Śaka 1335 (expired) in the cyclic year Jaya and made a gift of lands²³ to god Kṣīrā Rāmēśvara Śrīmanmahādēva of that place for the merit of his father Bhaktirāja and his mother Annadevamma (23 July, 1414 A. D.).

20. Ibid, p. 16.

21. Ibid, pp. 35-36.

22. Ep. Coll., Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924.

23. S.I.I., Vol. V., No. 145. The Śaka year 1336 current corresponds

Kaṭaya Vēma's death:

It is likely that Kāṭaya Vēma lost his life in one of these battles, as suggested in the previous chapter. The death of Kāṭaya Vēma in his wars with the Koppunūlla Nāyakas, the subordinates of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi who had the title *Kāṭaya Venuṇi-lalagoṇḍa-gaṇḍa* (the hero who took the head of Kāṭaya Vēma), affords clear proof to show that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi was an ally of Annadēva Cōḍa and helped him in his wars with his bitter foe, Kāṭaya Vēma.

Kāṭaya Vēma's character and achievements:

A long and glorious career thus came to an end. Kāṭaya Vēma was a profound scholar in Sanskrit. His commentary on the three dramas of the great poet Kālidāsa, known as *Kumāragirirajīyam*, greatly testifies to his scholarship. A *Caṭu*²¹ verse in Telugu informs us that a certain Rāyani Bāca (Bhāskara, son of Rāyanimantri) who wrote with a golden style (*paṣiṇḍi gaṇṭamu*) was a famous rāyasamī of that period. Kāṭaya Vēma was an able statesman and a veteran soldier. More than any one else of the Koṇḍaviṭṭi family he raised the prestige of the Redḍi power in the East by his extensive conquests. During the reign of Kumāragiri Redḍi, he carried the Redḍi arms victoriously as far north as the Chilka lake and Cuttack. He, however, hastened the downfall of the Redḍi power by his rivalry with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and by his indiscreet alliance with the Vijayanagar rulers who were ever ready to annex Koṇḍaviṭṭu to their empire.

Kaṭaya Vēma had great regard and devotion to his brother-in-law, Kumāragiri Redḍi and served him loyally and faithfully as generalissimo and prime minister. He carried out his behests with implicit obedience. His extreme regard and affection for his master and brother-in-law, Kumāragiri Redḍi may be inferred from his love of naming everything after him. He granted a good number of villages to brāhmins and temples for the merit of his king, Kumāragiri, after re-naming them after him. His Ahōbalam inscription furnishes a list of such villages. He named his commentary on Kālidāsa's dramas

24. కలయ బసిండిగంటమనఁ గాటయ వేమనమత్తమందు న

కృతముగ రాయన ప్రభునిబాసఁడు వ్రాసిన వ్రాలవ్రాతఁడన్

నలుగలుగల్గి కల్లరినఁ గలఁకమంత్రుల నుండెనిన్నియున్

జలజల జల్లజల్ల రనె సర్వ-వివర్ధులు మేలుమేలన్.

Kumāragirirājīyam after his scholar-master. He named his son also after his brother-in-law. These acts attest to his personal character as a friend.

Kāṭaya Vēma left behind him a son, named Komaragiri and two daughters, Anitalli and Hariharāmbā. As stated before, Anitalli, his daughter by Doḍḍāmbikā, sister of Kumāragiri Redḍi, was given in marriage to Allāḍa Redḍi's son, Virabhadra Redḍi, and Hariharāmbā, to Virabhadra Redḍi's eldest brother, Vēmā Redḍi. At the time of his father's death Komaragiri Redḍi was a young boy of about ten years of age, having been born in 1405 A.D., if what the *Torṅṅēdu* grant²⁵ of Kāṭaya Vēmā says is true. This inscription registers the grant of *Torṅṅēdu* to the brahman scholar, named Mādhava of the Civukula family, by Kāṭaya Vēmā in Saka 1327, on the occasion of the birth of his son, Komaragiri. It is interesting to note that this boy was married very early, probably for political reasons. Two inscriptions²⁶ from Dāksharāṁ dated in Śaka 1336 (1414 A.D.), and Śaka 1338 (1416 A.D.) record gifts for the merit of Komaragiri Redḍi, and his wife.

Annadēva Cōḍa and Allāḍa Redḍi :

After Kāṭaya Vēmā's death Annadēva Cōḍa took all members of his family captive; but "being disirous of fame" he is said to have protected them on their bowing to his feet.²⁷ In spite of Kāṭaya Vēmā's death Annadēva Cōḍa seems to have fared no better than before. He was not successful in occupying Rājamahēndravaram; yet he did not give up his endeavour. Now, he was confronted with another formidable foe, Allāḍa Redḍi, the right-hand man of Kāṭaya Vēmā Redḍi. Allāḍa Redḍi challenged the authority of Annadēva Cōḍa and his ally, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and gave them no peace or rest.

Allāḍa Redḍi was the son-in-law of Annadēva Cōḍa's brother, Bhīmadēva Cōḍa. He was a near relative of Kāṭaya Vēmā and a sworn

25. "वामाङ्कस्थरमः प्रतीतविभवः पद्मासनस्थो जग
न्नाथ श्रीकुमराद्विरेड्डिजननाभीष्टो जयत्यच्युतः"

-- Mack, *Ms.* No. 15-4-1.

26. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. B, pp. 329; and C, pp. 330.

27. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 15.

पादाम्बुजप्रणतकाटयवेमवंशः
कोर्त्यैकवसलतया समरक्षियेन
सोयं विमानि शरणागतभूपरक्षा
दीक्षागुरुर्जयति चोडकुलानदेवः ॥

enemy of Annadēva Cōḷa. The part he played in the wars which Kāṭaya Vēma waged against his enemies is, however, not known. His independent activities strictly belong to the period subsequent to the death of Kāṭaya Vēma. After Vēma's death Allāḍa placed his son, young Komaragiri, on the throne of Rājamahēndravaram and ruled the kingdom himself as his regent.

The regency of Allāḍa :

Komaragiri II did not live long after the death of his father. He died prematurely. When and how he died are matters of conjecture, as evidence is lacking to determine them. Komaragiri's death worsened the political situation still further. The Kaluvacēṅgu grant²⁸ states that after the death of Komaragiri (II) the earth was submerged under a host of wicked kings and chiefs who turned traitor to their master (*Strāṇi trāḥaparāṅgas*), and that Allāya Narēndra uplifted it like Viṣṇu and handed it over to Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma. From this it is evident that Annadēva Cōḷa with his allies occupied the Rājamahēndra Rājya after the death of Komaragiri II, son of Kāṭaya Vēma. This fact is further corroborated by another piece of indirect evidence also. From the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*²⁹ we come to know that there was Anna Cōḷavara-*agrahāra* (*Annacōḷavara-mahāagrahāra*) in the Bōḷasakurti-Sthala in Kōṇa-rāṣṭra. Judging by its name this *agrahāra* must have been granted to brāhmins by Annadēva Cōḷa after re-naming it after himself, as is usually the case with the donors who re-name the village they grant, either after themselves or after their fathers. The existence of this *agrahāra* in Kōṇa-rāṣṭra clearly testifies to Annadēva Cōḷa's occupation of a considerable portion of the Eastern Kingdom. Some of the nobles who were devoted to Kāṭaya Vēma and his family

28. *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, pt 1, p. 556, vv. 15 and 16.

स्वामिद्रोहपरायण

कुन्तुपतिजलराशिजलानिमग्नधरां

दोडुययल्लनरेन्द्रो

हरिगिव सौकर्यतस्तमुद्धृतवान् ॥ v. 45.

दुरितरहितचित्तो दोडुयाल्लाडभूपो

भुवमरिजनवश्यां भूयसा हन्यदोष्णा

विमलगुणयुतायां वेमभूपात्मजाया

मवनिसुरसुधाया मन्नितल्यां न्यधत्त ॥ v. 46.

29. *Bh. Pr.*, I. v. 61.

proved traitors and joined Annadēva Cōḍa. This is suggested by the reference in the Kaluvacēru grant to chiefs who turned traitor to their master. Allāḍa, inflicting a stunning defeat on his enemies, drove them away from his kingdom and re-occupied it. He then handed it over to Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, the rightful heir, and ruled it himself in her name. Allāḍa Redḍi was greatly helped in this struggle by his sons, Vēma, Virabhadra, Doḍḍa and Anna, his minister Ariyōṭi Liṅgana, his commander Narahari or Nāra Bhūpa, son of Pinnama Nēḍu and others.

Annadēva Cōḍa's death:

Annadēva lost his life probably in one of his encounters with Allāḍa Redḍi. His latest record is his Palakol inscription³⁰ dated in Saka 1335 (expired) Jaya (1414 A.D.) cited before. This inscription definitely shows that Annadēva Cōḍa was alive almost till the end of July 1414 A.D. Allāḍa is said, in a record at Palivela³¹ dated in Saka 1338 Durmukhi (in the month of Pauṣa), to have destroyed the whole of the *dr̥ṣṭikula* and established the descendants of Kāṭaya Vēma in the kingdom. His commander Narahari Nēḍu is given the title of the establisher of the kingdom of Allāḍa Redḍi (*Śrīmad-Doḍḍaya-Yalla. bhū'alapatchē rājya-pratiṣṭhāpak*) in an inscription³² at Palakol, dated in Saka 1338 Durmukhi, in the month of Srāvaṇa (August 1416 A.D.). So Annadēva must have died between July 1414 and August 1416 A.D., most probably in Saka 1337 (1415 A.D.). Annadēva's son Virabhadra also did not survive his father long, though he might have fought in vain against Allāḍa, while he was alive.

Allāḍa Redḍi and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma:

Allāḍa had yet to contend with his bitter opponent, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Probably just about this time Allāḍa Redḍi had to face new

30. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 145. The date of the record is Monday, the 6th tithi of the bright half of the month of Srāvaṇa in Saka 1335 (expired) Jaya. The English date equivalent is Monday, 23 July, 1414 A. D.

31. Ibid, Vol. V, No. 113.

“ गते दिवं काट्यवेमभूपे निर्मूल्य तदद्रोहीकुले समस्तम् ”

32. Ibid, Vol. V, No. 139

शाकाब्दे वसुमूर्तिरामरजनीनाथैश्च गगये गते
स्याते दुर्मुखि वत्सरेच विलसन्माम्युत्तमे श्रावणे
श्रीमद्दोडययल्लभूतलपतेः राज्यप्रतिष्ठापको
मंचेलाख्यपुरीश्वरो नरहरिः पित्रक्षितीशात्मजः॥

enemies from other quarters also. From the Vēmavaram plates of his son Vēma, we learn that the Gajapati king, and the lord of Karnāṭa, that is, the ruler of Vijayanagar, advanced as far as Rājamahēndravaram. The passage in these plates that Allāḍa made friendship with both of them (*matrīkr̥ṣṇa samāgatam Gajapatiṁ Karnāṭa-Bhūpaṁ catam*) implies that they came there as enemies. Probably, each wanted to extend his sway along the coast while Allāḍa was in trouble. Allāḍa was a shrewd statesman. He rose to the occasion. He defeated the Gajapati monarch and made peace with the ruler of Vijayanagar. There is a reference, in the Kommuchikkāla plates³³ of Anavōṭa Reḍḍi, to Allāḍa's victory over the Eastern kings (*paurastya-bhūpān*) who might have been the Gajapati and his feudatories. As the contemporary Telugu literature assures us that Allāḍa Reḍḍi maintained friendly relations with the Gajapati king, it is likely that they became friends only after this event.

The relations thereafter between Allāḍa and the Gajapati and Karnāṭa kings were cordial. This gave him additional strength to crush the power of his rival Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma completely.

The references to the exploits of Allāḍa Reḍḍi in inscriptions and literature attest to the fact that king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma continued his hostilities with the princes of Rājamahēndravaram. With the death of Annadōva Cōḍa, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was deprived of a powerful ally. He was not unaware of the prowess of Allāḍa and his sons. He therefore appealed to the Bahmanī Sultān Firūz Shāh for help. It is likely that he sent his minister, Māmiḍi Siṅgana³⁴ to Gulbarga to negotiate with the Sultān. The endeavours bore fruit. Sultān Firūz Shāh sent his slave-wazīr, Nizām-ul-Mulk with a considerable army to Telingāna. Firūz Shāh's inscriptions³⁵ at Vāḍapalli (in the Nandigama taluk, Kistna district) clearly prove that the Muslim invasion was undertaken in Śaka 1339 (in the beginning of 1417 A.D.).

From a careful study of the account of this invasion given by 'Azīz-Ullā Tabā Tabā we understand that the Sultān retreated to his capital without capturing the important fort of Rājamahēndravaram. There seem to have been two important reasons for this retreat, namely, the invasion of the Dēvarakōṇḍa kingdom of the Rēceḡla kings

33. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, p. 228.

“पौरस्त्यभूपान् परिभूय भूयः”

34. Māmiḍi Siṅga seems to have been a great orator in the Persian tongue.

“అడవిరాజ్యం నాకు నింపకలక నాకు పాద పాదలకా!” — Sr. Nd., II, v. 144.

35. Ep. Coll., Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924.

by Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar. As an ally of Allāḍa Redḍi Dēvarāya I started a big offensive against both the Rēceḷa and the Koṇḍaviḍu kings. It was a plan cleverly laid to wean some of the enemy's forces from the eastern theatre and help Allāḍa. Dēvarāya's plan proved, to a great extent, successful and profitable too to himself. His records in the Bapatla taluk (Guntur district) reappear just about this period; and this proves that he succeeded in marching through the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu as far as the coast. The Vijayanagar armies ravaged the country of the Rēceḷa kings far and wide from their military base at Pānugal (Nalgonda district), which had been already in their possession for the past some years. This Vijayanagar inroad into the territory of the Bahmanī subordinates necessitated the retreat of the Bahmanī army from Rājamahēndravaram. There was yet another and more compelling cause for the retreat of the Muslim armies. It is the defeat they suffered at Rājamahēndravaram. The Kommuchikkūla plates³⁶ of Anavōta, referred to before, state that Allāḍa Redḍi inflicted a defeat on the *yavanas* (*Yavanān vijitya*). These plates do not assign any date to this event. Since it was only in A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) that the Bahmanī armies advanced as far as Rājamahēndravaram, the above event must have taken place on that occasion in the latter half of that year.

The defeat of his ally Fīrūz Shāh was a blow to king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Deprived of any help from outside he was easily overthrown by Allāḍa Redḍi at Rāmōs'varam. The use of the term *bhūyas* (which means once again) in the Vēmavaram plates suggests that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was defeated by Allāḍa more than once.

There is one more exploit of Allāḍa Redḍi to be taken into account and that is his victory over Ālpa Khān. While the *Śivali/āvilāsam* and the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* refer to his victory over the Sultān of Dhārānagara, the Vēmavaram plates allude to that over Ālpa Khān. Really these two exploits are identical. Ālpa Khān was the son of Dilāwar Khān. Assuming the title of Sultan Hūshang, he ascended the throne of Mālwa in A.H. 808 (1405 A.D.) after the death of his father. His capital was Dhār or Dhārānagara. Ālpa Khān who was defeated by Allāḍa was Hūshang Shāh, the Sultān of Dhar or Dhārānagara. This exploit must have taken place before Śaka 1341, the date of the latest record³⁷ at Pālakol to refer to Allāḍa Redḍi.

36. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 228.

“यस्यानुज्जतो यवनान्विजित्य...”

37. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 135. The English date of this record is Sunday, 4 February, 1420 A.D. “*Tad-bhṛtya*” in line 3 of this record should be corrected to *tat-putrō*, for, in pp. 13-14 Nara Bhūpa is styled as Pinnaya Naranah, i.e., Narana, son of Pinnaya.

Allāḍa's death :

The Palakol inscription mentioned above states that Nāra Bhūpāla or Nārana (Narahari) performed in that year, in the month of Māgha (February, 1420 A.D.), the consecration ceremony of Allāḍ = ēśvara *liṅga*, made in stone. It was a general custom in the mediaeval period to set up *liṅgas* after the name of the deceased persons. Many instances may be cited in support of this statement from inscriptions themselves. It must, however, be stated that there had been also the practice of establishing *liṅgas* after their own names and erecting shrines by living persons. In such instances, this act of piety would be done by themselves and not by others. The paucity of Allāḍa's records after Śaka 1341, and the setting up of a *liṅga* after his name by one of his servants in that year, these two facts taken together, strongly suggest that he was dead by the time of the Palakol record (that is, by February 1420 A.D.). Allāḍa Redḍi's victory over Ālpa Khān or the Sultān of Dhārānagara has, therefore, to be assigned to 1420 A.D., or a little earlier. It is not known how Allāḍa came into conflict with Sultān Hūshang Shāh and when and where he inflicted defeat on him.³⁸

38. There is however room for conjecture. Liṅgana, the minister of Allāḍa, is said to have made his master rule the Rajamahendra Rajya, having maintained friendly relations with the Yavanas, Karpātas, and the Gajapātis (Bh. Pr. I, v. 62). The Yavanas do not seem to have been the Bahmani Sultans, who were Allāḍa's inveterate foes. The clue to know the identity of these Yavanas appears to lie in the *Bhimesvara Purāṇam*. Bopḍapūḍi Anna, younger brother of Liṅgana, is praised in that work for his beautiful Persian calligraphy on paper, which were despatched to the court of Ahmad Shah to secure the continual prosperity of the kingdom of Vema Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi.

“అన్నయమంత్రిశేఖరం హహమ్మదు కాసనదానధూమిభ్య
తన్నీడికి న్నది న్నచుచిరంబున వేమమహీసురేంద్రరా
జ్యోన్నతి సంతతాభ్యుదయ మొందఁగ బారసిభాష ప్రాసినఁ
గన్నులపండువై యమరు కాకితమందలి వర్ణపథకుల్”.—Ibid; v. 73.

I copied this verse as it is given in the printed work. This verse is, however, faulty and has an alternate reading, which does not make out any sense.

“అన్నయమంత్రిశేఖరం హహమ్మదు కాసనదానధూమిభ్య
తన్నీడికి న్నది న్నచుచిరంబున (?) వేమమహీసురేంద్రరా
జ్యో (జ్యో?) న్నతి సంతతాభ్యుదయ మొందఁగ బారసిభాష ప్రాసినఁ
గన్నులపండువై యమరు కాకితమందలి వర్ణపథకుల్ (?)”.

The first line is emended by some scholars as

“అన్నయ మంత్రిశేఖరం హహమ్మదు సేతు రదానధూమిభ్యత్...” etc.

The correct emendation seems to me to be this :

“అన్నయ మంత్రిశేఖరం హహమ్మదుహ గజరాతధూమిభ్యత్...” etc.

Allāḍa died in the beginning of 1420 A.D. (that is, in the last months of Śaka 1341) as stated before. By his prowess and statesmanship he did not allow his enemies to gain the upperhand, and the flag of independence of the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram to be lowered. He fought with his foes valiantly to the end, and succeeded in bequeathing the kingdom intact to the descendants of his master and relative, Kāṣaya Vōma. After his death Allāḍa acted as regent to his son Komaragiri, and was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom. After the death of Komaragiri, he practically ruled the kingdom himself. He wanted to have political power in his hands. His only ambition was to retain the kingdom in his family, as Anitalli, the wife of his son Virabhadra Redḍi, was the legal heir to the throne after the death of her brother, Komaragiri, being the sole surviving member of Kāṣaya Vōma's family. Allāḍa succeeded in fulfilling his desire.

Komaragiri III and Anavōta III.

It is generally believed that Vōmā Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi took possession of the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram immediately after the death of his father, Allāḍa Redḍi. But a careful study of the inscriptions of these Redḍi chiefs subsequent to the death of Allāḍa does not lead us to that conclusion.

As stated before, the date of the latest inscription to refer to Allāḍa Redḍi is Śaka 1341 (1420 A.D.), and the date of the earliest inscription³⁹ of Anitalli and her husband Virabhadra Redḍi is Śaka 1345 (1423 A.D.). It may be argued that this short period of four years is not sufficient to prove that there was an interregnum between Allāḍa and his sons. Even then, the absence of inscriptions of the latter earlier than Śaka 1345, has to be accounted for. There are other facts also to be taken into consideration. Within this period of four years are found two records, one a copper-plate grant,⁴⁰ and the other a stone inscription⁴¹ of Anavōtā Redḍi, both dated in Śaka 1344 (1422 A.D.). This Anavōtā was

There were no doubt two Sultans having the name of Ahmad Shah who were contemporaneous with Allāḍa Vōma; One was the Bahmani Sultan, the brother and successor of Firuz Shah, who ruled from 1422 A.D., to 1435 A.D., and the other was the Sultan of Gujarat who ascended the throne in 1411 A.D. (A.H. 814) and ruled till 1448 A.D. (A.H. 846). Allāḍa who was a foe of the Bahmani Sultan must have been a friend of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, who was often at war with Sultan Hāsham or Alpa Khan, the Sultan of Malwa. It, therefore, appears likely that Allāḍa defeated Alpa Khan in one of these wars. A close and combined study of the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions seems to suggest this conclusion.

39. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 109.

40. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 828. ff.

41. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 127.

the son of Anavrōla Reddi (Anaprōla), the eldest brother of Allāḍa Reddi. These two inscriptions indicate that, immediately after the death of Allāḍa, the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram was occupied and ruled by his nephews Komaragiri III and Anavōta III, sons of Anavrōla. Of these two brothers Komaragiri died very early, before Śaka 1344; for, the village⁴², which Anavōta granted for the merit of his brother in that year, was re-named Anaprōla-Komaragiripuram after him. After his brother's death Anavōta III came to the throne.

It may, however, be argued that Anavrōla's sons held sway only over the region to the west of the Gōḍavari, corresponding to the present Narasapuram and Bhimavaram taluks of the West Godavari district, as their records are discovered there. There is, however, strong reason to believe that they ruled the Rājamahēndra Rājya also. There is a reference in the Vēmavaram plates to the *grāma-grāsa* village (*grāma-grāsa-pāṇu*) of Anaprōla Reddi-Komaragiripuram⁴³, an old *punta* or track of which is mentioned among the boundaries of Vēmavaram (which was founded by the fusion of the two villages Vedurupāka and Pina Mahēndraḍa). This Anaprōla Reddi - Komaragiripuram was, no doubt, another village granted to the brāhmins probably by Anavōta III himself for the merit of his brother, though the plates registering this grant have not yet been recovered. The grant of Anaprōla Reddi - Komaragiripuram in the Rāmachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari district to brāhmins unequivocally testifies to the rule of Anavōta, son of Anavrōla, over the Rājamahēndra Rājya in the eastern Gōḍavari region also, probably after the death of the powerful prince Allāḍa Reddi. It is thus certain that the Rājamahēndra Rājya passed into the hands of Allāḍa's nephews after his death. The Kommuchikkala plates clearly state that Rājamahēndravaram was Anavōta's residence⁴⁴. (*āsīd Rājamahendra nāma-nagoram yasya prabhōr = vāsabhūḥ*). Probably, Komaragiri III and his brother, Anavōta unjustly usurped the throne of Rājamahēndravaram, after the death of Allāḍa, and consequently became the enemies of Allāḍa's sons. This might be the reason why Komaragiri and Anavōta, cousins of Allāḍa's Vēma, are not even alluded to in the Telugu works of *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and *Śivalilāriṇīsam* in the portion describing Perumāṇḍi Reddi's family.

Now the question arises as to how Komaragiri III and Anavōta III came to the throne, when there were Allāḍa's powerful sons

42. The Kommuchikkala plates register the grant of this village.

43. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 250, ll. 211-212.

44. Robert Sewell mentions a stone record of Anavōta Reddi of 1421 A. D. at Sarpavaram (Ant., I, 24; II, 59).

45. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. V, p. 229, l. 42.

Vēma and others. In this connection we have to take note of the fact that almost all the *kaifiyats* of villages in the coastal districts preserve the tradition that, after the fall of Koṇḍavīḷu, the date of which according to them is either Saka 1341 or 1342, a certain Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kaṭiṅga defeated the Redḍis, and ruled over the coastal tract until its conquest by the Vijayanagar monarchs. The *kaifiyats* invariably assign the Saka date 1342 for the Gajapati occupation of Rājamahēndravaram; but the dates they assign to the Vijayanagar conquest vary greatly. The latest date they furnish to the latter event⁴⁶ is Saka 1364. According to some of the *kaifiyats*, this Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kaṭiṅga is Narasiṁhadeva⁴⁷. This identification is wrong; for, the reign of Narasiṁha IV came to an end ten or twelve years before that date, that is, in Saka 1331⁴⁸. His son and successor Bhānudeva IV, also called Nissanka Bhānudeva, was the Kaṭiṅga monarch contemporaneous with Allāḍa and his sons. We do not know if there was a son of Bhānudeva IV, called Narasiṁha or Lāṅgūla Narasiṁha. In this connection it may be noted that, according to the quasi-historical work, *Gaṅgavaiṣṇavaritām*, Kājjala Bhānu of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaṭiṅga led an expedition to the west, and that, while he was there in the western country, a revolution took place in Kaṭiṅga, as a result of which Kapilēśvara came to the throne of Cuttack. The unequivocal statement of the *kaifiyats* leads us to believe that there was a Gajapati invasion, probably of this Kājjala Bhānu, wrongly written for Nissanka Bhānu, about Saka 1341 or Saka 1342, immediately after the death of Allāḍa Redḍi. There seems to be some indirect connection between the Gajapati invasion and the accession of the nephews of Allāḍa Redḍi. It may not be improbable that Komaragiri III and Anavōta III came to the throne with the help of the Gajapati monarch, and became his vassals.

Later on, Allāḍa's son Vēma, in setting up friendly relations with the Gajapati monarch, probably by ceding the Southern Kaṭiṅga out of expediency, defeated his cousins, re-occupied Rājamahēndravaram about Saka 1345, and asserted his power. It is likely that he continued to be the vassal of the Gajapati at least in name.

46. Loc. Rec., Vol. LX, p. 216.

47. Ibid, p. 75.

48. The earliest record of Vīra Bhānudeva, the successor of Vīra Narasiṁha IV, is his Śrīkūrmam inscription (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1205) of the 3rd aṅka, dated in the *Kaliyuga* era (wrongly written as Śakabde) represented by Ravi (12), Baṇa (5), and Sagarā (4) — 4512 —, that is, Saka 1333. This record proves that he came to the throne in Saka 1331. His next record at Sīmhachalam (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1115) is dated in Saka 1336.

Reign of Virabhadra Reddi :

After wresting the kingdom, Vēma got his younger brother Virabhadra, the husband of Anitalli, crowned king of Rājamahēndra Rājya. The Telugu works, *Śivalīlīlāsam* and *Kāśikhāṇḍam*, clearly state that Vēma got his brother Virabhadra anointed to the Rājamahēndra Rājya. Allaya Vēma also was the son-in-law of Kaṭaya Vēma. Yet, he was not the rightful heir to the throne. By anointing his brother to the kingdom, Vēma placed his brother's claim to it beyond dispute; for, Anitalli, being the daughter of Doddāmbikā, was the grand-daughter of Anavōta Rēḍḍi I, and the sister of Kumāragiri I of Koṇḍaviḍu. She was thus a direct descendant on her mother's side from Anavōta of the Koṇḍoviṭi family. Moreover, she was the daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma and the only surviving heir to the kingdom. Her claims to the kingdom were thus strengthened by her ties of relationship both on her father's and mother's side, and could not be disputed by any one. Her husband Virabhadra became through her the legal claimant to the throne; hence, he was crowned to the kingdom. Though Virabhadra was the king, Vēma Reddi appears to have been the *de facto* ruler of the Rājya. Inscriptions of king Virabhadra and Vēma range from Saka 1345 (1423 A.D.) till Saka 1356 (1434 A.D.).

The loss of Southern Kaṭiṅga, a portion of the Eastern kingdom was rankling in the mind of the valiant Vēma Reddi. He was looking for an opportunity to recover, somehow or other, his lost territory. In the mean time an unexpected event took place. The *kaifiya*⁴⁹ of Koṇḍaviḍu states that the Vijayanagar rulers conquered the Gajapatis, and the date it assigns to this event is Śaka 1353. The date however seems to be wrong; for, the date of the record⁵⁰ of Teluṅgurāya, a Vijayanagar feudatory at Simhachalam, is Śaka 1350. This may be accepted as the date of the re-conquest of the coastal tract by the Vijayanagar rulers. Dōvarāya II's conquest of the Gajapati monarch is corroborated by his Mudabidure record dated in Śaka 1351 Saumya. He is described in this record as "the lion in destroying the crores of elephants belonging to the lord of elephants, and the

49. "తదనంతరము గజపతిసంహారమునకుఁ జేసిన లాఁగులగజపతి జమియ్య
కు చేసికొని కడకము మొదలుకొని పునరాగ్రహీకర్తయైయు
గిరిమల్లసలహాలు ఆక్రమించి శా. ౧౩౪౨ శకము ల. ౧౪౫౫ శా.
౧౩౫౩ శకమువరకు ౧౨ సంవత్సరములు ప్రభుత్వము చేసి. "

—Kf. Kd., pp. 10-11.

50. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 905. The cyclic year was Kilaka and not Plavaṅga as given in the record,

Kalasōdbhava (Agastya) to the ocean of the army of the Andhra king) (*Mātāṅgarāja - sindhuraravakṣi-mardana-mrgēśvanan = Andhranarendu - svīnya-sāgara - Kalasōdbhavam Vijayarāja-tanūbhava - Devabhūvaram*)⁵¹ It seems certain that Teluṅgurāya was at Simhāchalam after the completion of his successful eastern campaign. There is reason to believe that the Velama chiefs also lent their help to the Vijayanagar monarchs in subjugating this Eastern kingdom of the Reddis, which was virtually under the domination of the Gajapatis. Liṅgama Nēḍu, son of Kumara Mādā Nēḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa, is credited, in the *Velugōṭṭari Vanisūrali*⁵², to have defeated Allaya Vēma and Virabhadra in battle, ravaged the Rājamahēndra Rājya and captured Simhāchalam. The invasions of Teluṅgurāya and Liṅgama Nēḍu do not seem to have been two different campaigns. The Rēceṅḷa kings maintained friendly relations with the Vijayanagar rulers from Śaka 1339 (1417 A. D.), the date of the siege of Pānugal. Hence, it may not be wrong to suppose that Liṅgama Nēḍu, as an ally of Vijayanagar, took an active part in this eastern campaign, and his exploits in the coastal tract have to be assigned to this period. Allaya Vēma's contemporary, Prauḍha Dēvarāya or Dēvarāya II, who succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagar in Śaka 1346 (1424 A. D.), completed the subjugation of the Redḍi kingdoms, and annexed Koṇḍaviḍu to Vijayanagar. Koṇḍaviḍu was thus erased from the political map of the Andhra country. With the conquest of the Eastern kingdom, Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district became the eastern frontier of the Vijayanagar empire. As a consequence of this Vijayanagar conquest, Vēma and Virabhadra became the subordinates of Dēvarāya II.

Vēma was an able and wise administrator. His minister was Annamantri of the Beṇḍapūḍi family to whom Śrīnātha dedicated his *Bihmēśvara Purāṇam*. Vēma found the policy inaugurated by his father Allāḍa to be the only expedient one in the conditions then prevailing, and therefore maintained friendly relations with neighbouring kings. He was practically independent though formally he owed allegiance to the Vijayanagar monarch. He achieved

51. S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 202 (Ep. coll., No. 33 of 1901).

52. VV. Vm., vv. 110, 112-118, and 126.

“చతుశ్శత్రుని సముద్రధమై మవలించు

దిరుగ నింహించి సాధించినాడు

గంగాసాక్షిగ మిటి కడిసి రాజమహేంద్ర)

వరము చూడంగొని వచ్చినాడు

వీరధనుని దొడ్డవిధు కనుస్యపరుల

రట్టండై కాలండె బెట్టినాడు.”

his object of recovering his lost territory in Kalinga sometime after Saka 1352. Vēma and Virabhadra re-conquered the Southern Kalinga, as is borne out by their records ⁵³ at Simhachalam. Since the latest date of the record ⁵⁴ of the Gajapati monarch, Bhānu-dēva IV at that place is Saka 1352, the Reddi conquest of that region must have been effected between that date and Saka 1356, the period in which Kapilēśvara of Orissa overthrew the Gāṅga dynasty of Kalinga. A record of Vēma at Simhachalam dated in Saka 1356 registers his remission of taxes on the lands of the *devas* and brāhmanas in the *sthālas* of Kaluvalapalli, Oḍḍādi, Poṇṇūru and so on, which were acquired by the strength of his own arms. Virabhadra's inscription is undated. It praises him as one who caused to disappear the enemy's heroic army.

Last years of Virabhadra:

Unfortunately the later history of Rajamahendra Rājya is all obscure. The circumstances that led to the downfall of that kingdom are not known. It is not even possible to ascertain the date of its final disappearance from the political field with the material available to us. Records of the house of Allāḍa Reddi subsequent to Śaka 1356 (Pauṣa), that is, December 1334 A.D., have not yet come to light. Two private inscriptions ⁵⁵, dated in Saka 1359 Pīṅgala in the month of Phālguna, allude to the benefactions of Vēma and Virabhadra. These records indicate that Virabhadra was still ruling the kingdom. It must have taken at least a few years more, after the date of the two records referred to above, for the complete collapse of the Eastern Reddi kingdom. There is reason to believe that it continued a lingering existence till at least Saka 1366. Raktākṣi, the date of the Dākṣhāram record of Dēvarāja II ⁵⁶.

The political situation of the coastal Andhra country changed with the accession of Kapilēśvara Gajapati to the throne of Cuttack in Saka 1356 57 (1434 35 A.D.). Kapilēśvara was a very powerful and ambitious king. To extend his kingdom far and wide was his only aim and ambition. He could not tolerate Southern Kalinga to be under the sway of the subordinates of the Vijayanagar monarchs whom he regarded as his rivals. He made attempts not only to regain Southern Kalinga but to annex also the kingdom of the Rajamahendra Rājya. The Vijayanagar monarch, Dēvarāja II, came to the rescue of the Reddi kings, as is suggested by the provenance of his record at Dākṣhāram

53. S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 1168 and 1169.

54. Ibid. No. 784.

55. Ibid, Vol. IV, Nos. 1352 and 1355.

56. Ibid, No. 1375.

dated in Saka 1366. He sent his minister Mallappa Odeyar to Rājamahēndravaram to help the Reddi kings to ward off probably the threatened attack by the Gajapati Kapilēśvara. In the published copy of this Dākshāram record of Dēvarāya II, a few lines in the end are missing⁵⁷. They are found in the copy preserved in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of this copy and the extra lines at the end of the record. These lines enable us to know that the gift recorded in the inscription was made in accordance with the command of Allaya Vēma Reddi.⁵⁸ It is thus evident from this record that Vēma and Virabhadra, the allies and vassals of Vijayanagar, were still alive till that date.

Amidst the major conflict between the mighty and ambitious powers, the Gajapatis of Orissa, and the Narapatis of Vijayanagar, the power of the Reddis was crushed and their Rājamahēndra Rājya gradually sank into oblivion. Finally, the Gajapati monarch came out victorious, and Rājamahēndra Rājya formed part of the Gajapati dominion, and lost its identity. We find inscriptions of Kapilēśvara in the kingdom of Rajamahēndravaram only four years after Dēvarāya's Dākshāram record. An inscription⁵⁹ at Penugonda in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district, dated in Saka 1370, Vibhava (1448 A.D.), alludes to the rule of Gajapati-kṣōṇisa, that is, Kapilēśvara. This record marks the end of the Reddi rule.

Thus ended the history of the Rājamahēndra Rājya, a glimpse of the glory of which, we come to know from the works of Srinātha and Kommana, the court poets of the Eastern kingdom.

57. Only 40 lines of the inscription engraved on three faces of the pillar, are published in the S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1375. "The other face of the pillar, which must have contained the rest of the inscription, has been built in".

58. Loc. Rec. Vol. II, p. 157. The inscription ends thus :

"... .. సర్వమానృతాను అల్లవరెడ్డి వేమ రెడ్డి రాజు అర్జును సమర్పణ చేసిను."

59. Mack. Mss., No. 15—4—4; Loc. Rec., Vol. II, p. 200.

"शाकाब्दे गगनाद्रिगमधरणीयंख्याममाप्रस्ति
विभवाब्देच तपस्यमासिशिनो वारे द्वितीयं तिथौ
पेनोण्डाख्यपुरोत्तमं गजपतिक्षोणीशमन्दीपितम्..."

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KANDUKŪRU.

Kandukūru in the Nellore district was a place of considerable importance in the early history of the Andhra country. It lay between the coastal region and the *Bōyavihāradēśa*, or the country of the Bōya chieftains, comprising among, others, the present taluks of Ātmakūru, Udayagiri, and Kanigiri in the Nellore district. *Bōyavihāradēśa* was a mountainous country studded with forests, and contained, in those days, many forts or towns (*Bōya-vīḍulu*) of the Bōya chieftains, who were supreme in their own territory. These Bōya chieftains not only resisted the invasion from the coastal country but returned it with compliment by occasional predatory raids.

It was Paṇḍaraṅga, the minister and commander of the Eastern Caḷukya king, Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, of the ninth century A.D., that reduced the Bōya chieftains for the first time, and established the sway of the Eastern Caḷukyas over their region. He made Kandukūru the southern military outpost of the Eastern Caḷukya kings of Vēṅgi. From that time it attained much political importance which it continued to maintain all through the later centuries.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, the region about Kandukūru passed into the hands of the Telugu Cōḷas of Vikramasimhapura or Nellore, who were, in course of time, subjugated by the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal.

During the period of political turmoil subsequent to the fall of Waraṅgal, when Prōlaya Vēma was busy establishing his authority to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, his youngest brother, Mallā Reḍḍi, co-operated with him and took an active part in building up the Reḍḍi power. The Mallavaram record¹ of Prōlaya Vēma styles him as Malla-sēnāpati, and the Telugu work *Hariramāṅga* as Malla-rathinīnātha. The conquest of Mōṭupalli in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district was one of the chief achievements of Mallā Reḍḍi.² When Sultān Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh led his armies against the Telugu country and marched as far as the coastal region, Mallā Reḍḍi attacked the foe and inflicted on him a severe defeat³ and saved the kingdom which was

1. N. I. D., III, O. 73, p. 1022 ff.

2. Hr, Vm., I, i

3. Mack, Mss., 15-4-42: The Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi.

then in the making. There is reason to believe that the youngest and the eldest brothers of Prōlaya Vēma were put in charge of the southern and northern provinces of the Redḍi kingdom respectively, the youngest in Kandukūru and the eldest in Dhanadapura or Tsandavōlu.

The few extant records of the Redḍis of the Kandukūru branch furnish little historical information. They generally record the construction of tanks and temples, and gifts made to temples and brāhmanas. The kings of the Kandukūru branch do not mention in their records their contemporary kings, the rulers of Koṇḍaviḍu, a fact which suggests that they were ruling independently.

Out of the two inscriptions⁴ of Mallā Redḍi that have come to light, one⁵ contains the date Śaka 1246. Excepting these two, the earliest records of the members of the Kandukūru branch are dated in Śaka 1320 and 1322, and belong to king Śrīgiri Redḍi, son of Pina Kōmaṭi Redḍi, and grandson of Mallā Redḍi⁶.

Judged from their records the Redḍi kings of Kandukūru appear to have become powerful only from the end of the fourteenth century A. D. It was during the period of anarchy in the last years of Komaragiri's rule that Śrīgiri and his brothers, sons of Pina Kōmaṭi, asserted their independence.

The limits of the Kandukūru Rājya cannot be determined with exactitude; but its extent may be roughly ascertained from the provenance of the few lithic records of Mallā Redḍi's descendants. Almost all these records are found in the Nellore district, particularly at Kandukūru and Old Chuṇḍi in the Kandukūru taluk. There is however a single copper-plate record, the Pedapūḍi grānt of Kōmaṭi Redḍi II, son of Mācā Redḍi and grandson of Mallā Redḍi. The original plates of this grant are lost; only its copy is preserved in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. It registers the grant of the village of Pedapūḍi to the brāhman scholars, Yellōpeddi Lakṣmaṇa Dikṣita of the Saṇḍilya-gōtra and Ṣaḍḍarsanāla Vallabha Yajva of the Kausika-gōtra as an *agrahāra* in the Śaka year 1326, corresponding to the cyclic year Tāraṇa, on Thursday, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Magha.⁷

4. N. D. I., Vol. II, Kr. 34, p. 546; Kr. 15, p. 489.

5. N. D. I., II, Kr. 15.

6. N. D. I., II, Kr. 35, p. 549; and Kr. 43, p. 568. Kr. 43 is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama; but the Śaka year is wrongly given as 1222. The year Vikrama corresponds to the Śaka year 1322, and not to 1232 - Vide, note on p. 568, II.

7. According to the *Indian Ephemeris* there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Magha in the year Śaka 1325, Subhannu, and not in Śaka 1326, Tāraṇa. The date intended seems to be 27 January, 1104 A. D., that is, Śaka 1325, Subhannu, Magha Śu. di. 15.

The date, however, is irregular according to the *Indian Ephemeris*. The village of Pedapūḍi and its boundary villages Aṃṭalūru, Tāḍiparti, Ālapāḍu, Mūlupūru and Muṇḍūru are all in the Tenali taluk of the Guntur district. This is the only record of the kings of Kandukūru found in the Guntur district. In the absence of any records other than this grant, either after or before Śaka 1326, it may be presumed that Kōmaṭi II occupied the coastal strip as far north as Tenāli, defying the authority of Koṇḍavīḍu during the period of the Vijayanagar aggression.

The coastal strip, however, was not long under the occupation of the Redḍis of Kandukūru. The Ālapāḍu and the Kasuvukūṅṅu grants of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma bear testimony to this. The villages of Ālapāḍu, one of the boundary villages of Pedapūḍi in the Tenali taluk, and Kasuvukūṅṅu, near Ponnūru in the Bapatla taluk, were granted to brāhman scholars by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in Śaka 1334 and Śaka 1326 respectively.* These grants establish the fact that he recovered his lost possessions in the Guntur district soon after his accession to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu.

Genealogy of the Redḍis of Kandukūru :

The two main sources that furnish a long genealogy of the princes of the Kandukūru branch are the Pedapūḍi grant adverted to above, and the commentary on the *Giriśāṣṭisūktimālā*, written by Sivalīṅga-bhūpati, one of the descendants of Mallā Redḍi. In addition to the verses contained in the Pedapūḍi grant, the commentary contains a few more, praising its author, Sivalīṅgabhūpati and his brother, Sōmēśvara.† The information regarding the descent furnished by the extant records and by the commentary alluded to above, when combined together, makes up the following complete genealogy of the Redḍi chiefs of this branch. (Vide, next page for genealogy).

S. Cp. No. 6 of 1908 - 09 - Ālapāḍu grant : Loc. Rec., Vol. 48, pp. 48, ff. Kasuvukūṅṅu grant.

† E. Hultzsch - Reports on Sanskrit Mss. in Southern India. Vol. II p. 91, No. 1028 D, C. S. M. (Madras), Nos. 5078; R. 2200, R. 5377; R. 9415.

Malla I (Saka 1246)¹⁰Pina Kōmaṭi
Redḍi IMācā Redḍi I
|
Gaṇapati (S. 1324)¹³Srīgiri
(S. 1322)¹Rācā Vēma
(S. 1320)¹¹

Mācā II

Anna
(S. 1328)¹²

Pedḍi

Malla III

Kōmaṭi II
(S. 1326)¹⁴Srīgiri II
(S. 1330¹⁵; S. 1335)¹

Sōmēśa

Sivalinga

Kōmaṭi III
(S. 1333)²⁰Malla II
(S. 1328¹⁶; S. 1330)¹⁷

Anavēma

Nārāyaṇa

Tippa
(S. 1352)²¹

Srīgiri

Rāma

Dēvarāya

Nārāyaṇa

It must be noted here that in framing the above genealogy four records, which were discovered outside the Nellore district, were also taken into account. Three of them are found in the Cuddapah district, two

10. N. D. I., II, Kr. 15, p. 189, Kr. 31, p. 546.

11. Ibid., II, Kr. 35, p. 549.

12. Ibid., II, Kr. 43, p. 568.

13. Es. coll., No. 115 of 1923; Ep. Rep. 1923, para 95.

14. Mack. Mas., 15--4--42. His paternal uncle Rācā Vēma and Annadeva are mentioned as Vēma and Annavēma in the Pedapḍi grant.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 433 of 1911; Ep. Rep., 1912, para. 69.

16. N. D. I., C. P. No. 5, p. 23.

17. Ibid., II, Kr. 13, p. 502; Kr. 19, p. 505; Kr. 21, p. 515.

18. Ep. Coll., No. 422 - 1911.

19. Ibid. No. 42 of 1911.

20. N. D. I., II, Kr. 68, p. 608.

21. Ibid., Kr. 16, p. 495.

at Lēpāka and one at Taṅgaṭūru, both in the Rajampeta taluk, and the fourth is found at Dāmal in the Conjeevaram taluk, Chingleput district. The Taṅgaṭūru inscription dated in Śaka 1328 belongs to Annā Redḍi, son (mistake for grandson) of Mallā Redḍi²², and those at Lēpāka dated in the Śaka years 1329,²³ and 1335 belong to Mallā Redḍi,²⁴ son of Annā Redḍi. The latter was evidently the donor of the Taṅgaṭūru record. The donor of the Dāmal inscription²⁵

22. Ep. Coll., No. 433 of 1911, Ep. Rep. 1912, para 69, page 81. A copy of an inscription of these princes at the same village is preserved in the *Local Records* (Vol. 22, p. 166). According to this copy the donors were three brothers, Canna Redḍi, Anna Redḍi and Malla Redḍi, sons of Perumallā Redḍi, brother of Vema Redḍi of Addaṅki.

(అద్దంకి సింహాసనాధీశ్వరులైన వేమారెడ్డింగారియు పెరుమాళ్లరెడ్డింగారిపుత్రులు చన్నారెడ్డి అన్నారెడ్డి మల్లారెడ్డింగారు etc.

It is evident that this passage is wrong. Vema's brother was Malla Redḍi and not Perumallā Redḍi; the latter name is evidently a mistake for Malla. We do not know if this inscription is different from the one copied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy. The Epigraphist's copy is damaged. The date in both the copies is, however, the same—Śaka 1328, Vyaya. As such, both the copies, most probably, refer to one and the same inscription. It must, however, be stated that there is much difference between the Epigraphist's copy and that preserved in the Loc. Rec. According to the former the donor is Anna Redḍi, son of Malla. The extant Redḍi records do not mention any Anna, son of Malla. There was one Annadēva Redḍi, grandson of Malla and son of Pina Komaṭi Vema. In all probability he might be the donor of the Epigraphist's copy of the Taṅgaṭūru record.

23. Copies of these records are also preserved in the *Local Records*. The above date is taken from them. According to the Epigraphist's copy of this record which is much damaged, the date is Śaka 13[30.]

24. Ep. Coll. Nos. 422 and 424 of 1911. See also Mack. Mss., No. 15-3-8, pages 85-87. The names of the donors of these records copied by the Epigraphy department differ from those in the copies preserved in the *Local Records*, for instance, the passage containing the name of the donor in the *Bukkapatnam Kaiḍiyat* runs thus; అద్దంకి నగర సింహాసనాధీశ్వరులైన చన్నారెడ్డి అన్నారెడ్డి మల్లారెడ్డింగారు, that is, Malla Redḍi, son of Anna Redḍi, son of Canna Redḍi of Addaṅki. It seems certain that these inscriptions belong to the same chief Malla Redḍi who, according to the Lēpāka records, was the son of Anna Redḍi, the donor of the Taṅgaṭūru record. According to the accounts preserved in the *Local Records*, Anna Redḍi was the son of Canna Redḍi and grandson (not son) of Malla Redḍi, younger brother of Vema. The extant Redḍi inscriptions do not mention any Canna, son of Malla. The name Canna might stand for S'rigiri, or might have been wrongly written for Cinnā Redḍi, Redḍi the younger, a popular name, probably of Pina Komaṭi, son of Malla (C. f. Cikka Oḍeyalu of the early Vijayanagar records). The copies of inscriptions at Taṅgaṭūru preserved in both the *Local Records* and *Mackenzie Manuscripts* are faulty. According to them the donor Malla, son of Anna was the grandson of Vema of Addaṅki which is a mistake. He was the great grandson and not grandson.

25. Ep. Coll., No. 115 of 1923; Ep. Rep., 1923, para 95.

is Gaṇapati Redḍi, son of Māca, and grandson of Malla. Besides the usual Redḍi titles he had a new one, *Vaṇudilāmpaṭṭasthāpanācārya*, the establisher of Vaṇudilāmpaṭṭu.

History of the Redḍis of Kandukūru:

Very little is known of the history of the Redḍis of the Kandukūru branch. These chiefs refer in their records only to Addaṅki and not to Koṇḍaviḍu. As stated already, Śrīgiri Redḍi, son of Pina Kōmaṭi and grandson of Malla, was the first member of this branch to assert his independence. He is represented by two records, one from Kandukūru,²⁶ dated in Saka 1320, and the other from Koṇḍamuḍusupālem,²⁷ dated in Saka 1322. The Kandukūru record states that he was the eldest son of Pina Kōmaṭi and that his mother was Gaurāmbikā. He was a good critic of art and literature. He knew the beauties of *Saṅgīta* (music), and *Sāhitya* (literature). He is termed as "*kalāvān*" (artist) in an inscription²⁸ at Old Chuṇḍi. He constructed "many huge tanks for providing plenty of water to crops" (*Sasyabharapraśasyān = anḍkasahagrū-bhḥisamanagambhṛyamahātākān*). He performed all the gifts described by Hōmādrī. His guru was Śrīgiri of the Ghōḍeyarāya family.²⁹

King Śrīgiri's reign appears to have been an eventful one. The Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṭi II states that his father Māca II, having expelled the Turuṣkas who were great archers from his own kingdom (ātmarāṣṭra), made it free from enemies by the power of his arms.³⁰ This statement clearly shows that there was a Muslim invasion of the Kandukūru Rājya, the date of which is not given any where. It seems however possible to determine it. This event took place sometime before Saka 1326 or 1404 A. D. The only Muslim power in the Deccan country at this time was the Bahmanī kingdom of Gulbarga, and Sultan Firūz Shah, who ascended the throne on 23 safar, A. H. 800

26. N. D. I., Kr. 35.

27. Ibid., Kr. 43.

28. N. D. I., Kr. 19, p. 505.

29. Ibid., Kr. 35. The reading given is "*Srīmad-Voḍiyarāya-Śrīgiri-gurōḥ-padaḥja-svaparaḥ*" (p. 555, verse 8). This is wrong. The correct reading should be "*Srīmad-Ghōḍeyarāya-Śrīgirigurōḥ etc.*,"

30. Mack, *Mss.*, 15—4—42. I give below the śloka as I find it in the original.

धानुष्कधोरितमः तुरुष्क
प्रापय्य निष्कासनमात्मराष्ट्रात्
निष्कण्टकं सर्वभुवं व्यधत्
स माचभूपो भुजवैभवेन ॥

(15, Nov. 1397 A.D.)³¹, was the contemporary of Srīgiri's brother Maca, father of Kōmaṭi II. The Muslim historians state that Firūz Shāh led an invasion against the kingdom of Vijayanagar in A. H., 801-02 (1398-99 A.D.). According to Tabā Tabā he "contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. So in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts". 'Devadar' (Dēvarāya), the chief of the infidels, according to the same work, came to terms with the Sultān, and agreed to pay "thirty three lakhs of *ṭānkas*, and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne, taking a receipt from the court auditor of accounts."³² Thereafter Firūz shāh returned to his capital. Tabā Tabā's account differs from that given by Ferishta. According to the latter the causes that led to the out-break of hostilities between the Bahmanī kingdom and Vijayanagar was Dēvarāya's invasion of the Doab country "with thirty thousand horse and vast army of foot" in A. H. 801³³, that is, in Śaka 1320 or 1398 A.D. The result of the war, according to both the historians, is the same. The war ended with the defeat of Dēvarāya. Ferishta states that "after much negotiation Meer Fuzl Oolla (on behalf of Firūz Shāh) agreed to accept ten lakhs of *hoons* for the royal treasury as ransom for the prisoners, and one lakh for himself as negotiator."³⁴ In spite of this statement there is reason to believe that Firūz Shah sustained defeat and retreated to his capital.

Whatever might be the truth regarding the result of the war, it cannot be gainsaid that there was an invasion of Firūz Shāh against the Vijayanagar territory. This was probably the occasion when the Muslim armies overran the kingdom of Kandukūru also. The date of Maca's defeat of the Muslim armies referred to in the Pedapūḍi grant, if sustained during this invasion as it seems likely, is Śaka 1320 (1398 A. D.), or about that time. Rāca Vēma, brother of Srīgiri, is stated, in the Kandukūru record³⁵, to have conquered "in war his enemies who had sworn never to flee (*Samāptakan-sapatnān*), with the help of *haribala*, that is, cavalry." The enemies referred to here must have also been the Muslims.

Even the danger of the common foe, Firūz Shāh, could not make the Reddis and Rayas forget their old animosities and stand united. The Reddis regarded the kings of Vijayanagar as their bitter enemies. Neither of them was slow to take advantage of the internal troubles in

31. J. B. O. R. S., XXVII (1941).

32. J. S. King's *History of the Bahmanī dynasty*, p. 37.

33. Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 370.

34. Ibid p. 375.

each other's kingdom and the weakness of its rulers, to extend their power each at the expense of the other. Such were the relations between the Redḍi kings and the Vijayanagar monarchs at the time of the death of Harihara II³⁵ in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). After the death of Harihara II, his sons, Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar I, Bukka II and Dēvaraya I, contested the throne.³⁶ While there was civil war in the Vijayanagar kingdom, the Redḍi chiefs of Kandukūru led an expedition into the Udayagiri Rājya to the west of Kandukūru. They were successful in occupying Pottapinaḍu, and Pulugulanāḍu, subdivisions of the Siddhavaṭam and Candragiri śīmas respectively. The *Local Records* state that they advanced as far as the fort of Racavēḍu (Rāyachōti, the headquarters of the Rayachoti taluk, Chittoor district), and laid siege to it. After a sanguinary battle the fort fell into their hands.³⁷ The leaders of this expedition were Anna Redḍi, brother of Śrīgiri Redḍi and his son, Malla III.

Inscriptions³⁸ of Annā Redḍi and Malla Redḍi at Taṅgaṭṭuru and Lēpāka in the Cuddapah district bear evidence to their incursion into the Udayagiri Rājya. The *Local Records* mention a number of villages that were ruined or destroyed as a result of this Redḍi invasion undertaken about Śaka 1328, the date of the inscription of Anna Redḍi.

While the Redḍi campaign was in progress, king Śrīgiri's rule appears to have come to an end. His successor on the throne of Kandukūru was his nephew Kōmaṭi II, son of his brother, Māca II. He was the donor of the Pedapūḍi grant referred to before. While his paternal uncle Anna was busy in occupying Pottapi and other countries, Kōmaṭi II extended his authority along the seaboard, as stated already. However, he was soon compelled to relinquish the newly acquired territory. The districts of the Udayagiri Rājya remained, for a period of seven years or even more, under the sway of the Redḍis of Kandukūru, as is borne out by their inscriptions at Lēpāka. The latest date furnished by Malla's records at that place is Śaka 1335 (1413 A.D.)

Kōmaṭi II had two sons, Sōmēsa and Sivaliṅga whose records have not yet come to light. Of these two, Sivaliṅga was a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote a commentary on *Gīṛṣāgṛṇṭhisūktimalā* of Harādattācārya. During the rule of Kōmaṭi II, his cousins Malla II,

35. N.D.I., II, Kr. 35, v. 15.

36. Ep. Rep. 1921, page 46.

37. Ibid, and 1932, page 34.

38. Loc. Rec. Vol. XXII, *Kaifiyat* of Chittiveli, pages 166 - 172; Ibid, Vol. XVII, pages, 178 - 179; *Kaifiyat* of Bukkapatnam.

39. Ep. Coll., Nos. 433, 422 and 423 of 1911.

and his brothers who were the sons of Śrīgiri Redḍi appear to have made Chuṇḍi their head quarters. The few inscriptions of Malla II known to us are found at that place. They are dated in Śaka 1328⁴⁰ and Śaka 1330⁴¹ and record the construction by himself of a temple to god Janārdana with a *maṇḍapa*, *prākāra* (compound wall) and a *gṛha* and his grants of lands to that temple. Malla II appears to have been the eldest son of Śrīgiri by Gaṅgāmbā, if the priority in dates⁴² of his own records to those of his brothers is taken into consideration as a test.

In the reign of Kōmaṭi III, brother of Malla II, Dēvarāya I, sometime after his accession to the throne, launched an attack on the Redḍi kings to recover his lost territory, and to wipe out the kingdom of Kandukūru. He succeeded in both the attempts. The *Local Records* state that he despatched a considerable force from Udayagiri to Chandragiri and Siddhavaṭam *sīmas* and reduced Malla III to submission. The Vijayanagar supremacy in that region⁴³ was thus re-established. The paucity of records of the chiefs of Kandukūru for a period of seventeen years from Śaka 1335 (1413 A. D.) clearly proves that Dēvarāya I succeeded in achieving his primary object. The latest record⁴⁴ of the Redḍis of Kandukūru at Chuṇḍi is dated in Śaka 1352, Sādhārāṇa. It registers the grants of land made by Tippana, Śrīgiri, Rāma, Dēvarāya, and Nārāyaṇadēva, sons of Kōmaṭi III, brother of Malla II, in the presence of god Viṇṇayaka on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, that is, in Vijayanagar itself. This conclusively proves that the Vijayanagar conquest of the Kandukūru Rājya was complete by that date. We hear no more of the Redḍis of Kandukūru as independent rulers. They became vassals of the sovereign lords of the country.⁴⁵

40. N. D. I., I, C.P., No. 5, p. 23.

41. Ibid, II, Kr. 18, p. 502; Kr. 19, p. 505; Kr. 21, p. 515.

42. Ibid, II, Kr. 68, p. 608.

43. *Loc Rec.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 178-179.

44. N. D. I., Kr. 16, p. 495.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT.

There are few details of the government, both central and provincial, their mutual relations, the working of the administrative machinery, the duties and privileges of the respective officers of the State and so on. Records of the period, either copper-plate or stone, do not enlighten us on this subject. The information, if there is any, furnished by them, is very meagre and undefined; for instance, one of the verses in the Vānapalli plates of king Anavēma Reddi, purporting to give the daily routine of his work, says, "while king Anavēma, the treasury of all virtues, whose great fortune is praised (as he employs it) for the protection of the world, is seated in the durbar on the jewelled-throne, some people receive the sovereignty over the country (*deśa*), others the distinction of a palanquin, a chauri, and a parasol, others their (confiscated) kingdom, (and) others *agraharas* full of wealth." Verses like these do not help in giving us any clear idea about the State, or the duties of the officers of the State.

The *Sakalanīṭisammataṁ*, a Telugu anthology of verse on the principles of government, culled from works on polity, extant at that period, written by different authors, enables us to know only the theory and principles on polity. The construction, equipment, defence and importance of the fort, the qualifications of persons to be appointed as ministers, commanders, doctors, secretaries, accountants, and other servants of the State and their duties, the principles to be observed regarding income, expenditure and taxation, qualities which are unworthy of a king, principles regarding accountancy, embassy, war and peace, espionage and the like, are the topics that are dealt with in this work. This work does not add much to our political knowledge of the period, either in theory or in practice, for, all works on *Nīti*, written in Sanskrit, or in any vernacular language, are almost alike, enunciating only the principles and furnishing, very little information regarding the practice of the day. In fact, all vernacular works are but translations of ancient works written in Sanskrit. This statement applies to the *Sakalanīṭisammataṁ* also. The verses collected in it are translations of *ślōkas* taken from very early and ancient Sanskrit works, like the *Mudrāmañjya*, *Pañcatantra*, *Kāmandaka*, *Śāhīśtra*, *Nītibhāṣaṇa*, *Nītiāraṇi*¹, *Puruṣārthasāra*, *Dharmyaṇi*,

1 Ep. Ind., III, p. 65, v. 18 (Translation).

Dhrtarāṣṭranīti, *Mahabharata*, *Padma Purāṇa* and so on. There are also verses taken from Telugu works like *Buddenanīti* and *Cārucarya*, produced in the early mediæval period, besides some, which were composed by the author himself. Since the principles of the Hindu polity were more or less the same and did not undergo any change from the early centuries up to the mediæval period, the Telugu work under reference is not of any exclusively special value to us.

Such principles of government are also enunciated casually in a number of verses in another Telugu *kavya*, named *Rukmāṅgadacaritram* by Praudhakavi Mallana. This work was produced in the period under review, and deals with the story of king Rukmāṅgada which is illustrative of the *mahatmya* of *Ekadaśīratam*. The verses on polity in this work do not appear to have been translated from any Sanskrit work. An occasion arises for king Rukmāṅgada to go on a hunt to kill wild animals, which grew rampant in the neighbouring forests in his kingdom and caused distress to the tribal men living there. At the time of his departure from the capital, the king entrusts the kingdom to the charge of his son³. The poet takes this opportunity to air his views on polity by making Rukmāṅgada instruct his son on the art of government. Though many of the verses are of the same type and the principles are almost identical with those enunciated in the ancient texts on *Nīti*, yet a knowledge of the history of the period suggests to us that the enunciation of some of the principles might have been impelled by circumstances prevailing in the period in which the work was written. The works, *Sakalanītisammataṁ* and *Rukmāṅgadacaritram*, give us in that way a general, though superficial, idea of the art of government in theory.

Council of Ministers:

The form of government in vogue during the Reddi period was monarchy. According to the Hindu works on polity, the State comprised seven elements, namely, king, minister, dominion, fort, treasury, army and ally. The king was the supreme head of the State. Strictly speaking, he was only the supreme executive officer. His authority was limited in the sense that he had to carry on the administration of the country in accordance with the rules laid down

2. *Nītitaraṇāli*, now not extant, appears to have been a small Telugu work containing twenty seven verses, as its name indicates, which was dedicated to Kandamatya, son of Aubhajanautri. From the few verses reproduced in the *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, each of them appears to have been addressed to Kandamantri by his protege, Maḍiki Siṅgaṇa himself. Siṅgaṇa reproduces some more of his stray verses, which were not taken from any of his works, and they are labelled as "*maḍigamu*" (mine).
3. Ep. Gr., III, vv. 16-66, pp. 92-101.

in the *Dharma Śāstras* or *Smṛtis*, without swerving from them even a little. He had to hold consultations with a council of ministers, twelve in number, according to Manu, sixteen according to Bṛhaspati, and twenty according to Sukra, or at least as many as he chooses within the prescribed number, on all important matters relating to the State.⁴ The necessity and importance for a king to consult with his ministers is much stressed by the authors of works on Hindu polity. One of them says, "As a king gets every thing done with the aid of councillors, he should surround himself with them. He should not consider that he could secure the councillors, financiers and commanders when he wanted their services; for, that would be like an attempt to dig a well to extinguish the fire burning a house."⁵ Another author says, "When a king attempts with much pride to discharge his duties, either without consulting his ministers or going against their advice, he falls an easy prey to his enemies who deprive him of his wealth and dominion."⁶ Praudhakavi Mallana warns the king not to rely entirely on his minister, for, he says, "If he (king) entrusts the kingdom to his minister's care, and does not look after the affairs of the State, the minister himself becomes the master in course of time."⁷ From these texts it may be inferred that the king had a council of ministers to consult on all matters affecting the State. The chief minister was called a *pradhāni* and the remaining members of the council were called *mantrins*. Immaḍimantri, the donee of the Vanapalli plates of king Anavēma Redḍi is described as "the lord of ministers in politics (*Nītau mantriśvarah*), the chief of learned men in scientific discussions (*Vidyāgyōsthīṣu vibudhāgrāṇi*), and a friend in salutary counsels to kings"⁸ (*mitram hitōpadhēṣu bhūbhujām*). From the description given of his talents, Immaḍimantri appears to have been one of the ministers of king Anavēma. If this surmise is correct it may be said

4. "...మనుమతద్వాదశ మంత్రిమండల మేన

సురమంత్రి మతమంత్రికోడకంబు

కవిమతవింశతకంబైన మలియథా

సంభవంబైనను సచివసమితి

తనదు చుట్టు గొంతుల దవిలీ యథాశాస్త్ర

మార్గవృత్తి గాగ్యమంత్రినింక

యమరక జేయవలయు నాహితచిత్తుండై

బుద్ధి వృద్ధి కై సుబుద్ధియగుచు".—Sk. Sm; III, v. 696.

5. Sk. Sm. III, p. 33, pr. 735.

6. Sk. Sm. III p. 79, v. 699.

7. Rk. Cr. iii, v. 28.

8. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 65 v. 22 (translation).

that the king in the Reddi period had his council of ministers, whose number might or might not have been in conformity with that given by the texts on polity. The texts on *Nīti* strongly advise the king to appoint brāhmanas as his ministers. The kings of the Reddi dynasty generally adhered to this principle of appointing brāhmanas as their ministers, as is evident from their records. Kōmaṭi Vēma, the founder of the Reddi kingdom, had for his ministers Rāma Pregarā and Mallinātha. Anavōta's minister was Sōmaya, and Mallinātha. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's minister was one Māmiḍi Sīngaya. It was only during the reign of Kumāragiri an exception was made to the general rule. Kumāragiri appointed his own brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma as his prime minister and generalissimo. He, however, in his turn had his *purōhitas* and *amātyas* to advise him on political affairs, of whom Appaya's son Jatanamu Peddi,⁹ a brāhman, was the first and the greatest.

The council of ministers appears to have consisted of the *purōhita*, *pradhani*, *senāpati* and others. They tendered their advice to king on all important matters relating to the State. The king was not, however, bound by their decision. The king's decision was final on all matters. The subjects fared ill or well in accordance with the nature and enlightenment of the king. In practice, the king, in spite of the check exercised by the ministers, was generally an autocrat, and oftentimes a despot also. His word was law. Tradition records that the rule of Kumāragiri and Rāca Vēma was oppressive and tyrannical. Both lost their thrones on account of their oppressive rule. King Rāca Vēma was the most unpopular and tyrannical of all the kings of the Reddi dynasty. He levied even *purīṭi-pannu*, a tax on every case of delivery, and collected it, if tradition is to be relied upon, with an iron hand. The people became so much exasperated by his oppressive measures that he was one day brutally murdered by one Saviram Yellappa, a member of the Baliya¹⁰ caste.

9. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 226. This record at Amaravati extols Peddi, minister of Kāṭaya Vēma in the *śloka* given below.

तस्याभूत्प्रथमः पुरोहितगणेमात्येषु चोक्तैर्वान्

श्रीमानप्यय विप्रवर्यतनयः श्रीपेद्दिनामाद्विजः

येनात्मस्थितमन्त्रशक्तिविभवै रूत्साहजातोदयै

दांतुर्वेमनृपस्य नित्यमस्मिन्नास्मस्यादिता स्मिध्वयः॥

10. *Kondavīṭṭi-dāṇḍakārikā*. See also *Kondavīṭṭi-samrajyamu* (Telugu) by Maddulapall Gurubrahma Sarma, p. 88. It is necessary to point out here that the term Baliñjya, and not Baliya, was in vogue in the period under review. See, the chapter on Trade, Pt. II.

It has to be noted, however, that the power and influence of the ministers and nobles, in the period under review, were greater than in the previous periods. In the interests of the kingdom they could even stop the succession of a prince to the throne, if he was a minor. This is best illustrated in the succession of Kumāragiri after the death of his father, king Anavōta. He appears to have been a young boy. From a consideration of the political plight to which the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu was reduced by the time of Anavōta's death, the ministers and nobles of the country did not view with favour the succession to the throne of Kumāragiri Redḍi. They elected Anavōta's brother, Anavēma, in his stead and crowned him king. This seems to the import of the passage "*Rajya-Śrī-ramaṇi-svayamavarapatih*" found in some of the records of Anavēma Redḍi.

Yuvarāja:

Next to the king *yuvarāja* or the heir-apparent was as important as the prime minister. Texts on polity state that minister and *yuvarāja* are the two arms of the king." Anavōta Redḍi, son of Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi, was the *yuvarāja* during the reign of his father, and associated himself with his father in the government of the kingdom. Eṅṅā Pregada, the court-poet of Prōlaya Vēma, says that prince Anavōta was the commander-in-chief, *camūpāgresara*¹¹ of the Redḍi army. Anavōta appears to have been sufficiently an aged prince to be appointed commander-in-chief of the army. In the early years of the re-establishment of Hindu independence in the coastal region, during which the foundations for a new kingdom of the Redḍis were laid, each of the brothers of Prōlaya Vēma was a commander, and the whole army was under the direct supervision and control of the king.

King Kumāragiri Redḍi anointed his son, Anavōta II, *yuvarāja* to the kingdom, sometime after his accession to the throne. Anavōta II was a young prince by the time he was anointed *yuvarāja*. So, Kumāragiri placed him under the tutelage of his brother-in-law and prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. Anavōta II accompanied Vēma in his expedition to the East, and got practical training in all branches of war and peace. After the creation of the Eastern kingdom Kumāragiri anointed him to it and made him his viceroy. Unfortunately Anavōta II died very early.

11. "Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI, v. 31, p. 274.

12. "యమరాజు నమాశ్చంద్రును

నవనీపాలున కుదంచితాయత భంజమూర్". —Sk. Sm., II, v. 605.

13. Hr. Vm., I. Pt i,

Rāca Vēma also must have been a *yuvarāja* during the reign of his father, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, though no reference to this is found anywhere.

The examples given above prove that *yuvarāja*, in the Reddi period, was the heir-apparent who was next in importance to the king.

Officials of the Central Government:

The chief officials of the State in the Central Government were mainly accountants of different denominations with different portfolios and duties. They comprised what is now commonly called the Secretariat. Ancient works on *Niti* describe an accountant as the jewel-lamp to the royal palace, and the wisdom personified, specially with regard to records involving the various problems concerning income and expenditure¹⁴.

Kavile-Sampratis: The duties of an accountant are well described by the poet Maḍiki Siṅgana in a number of verses detailing the work he had to do. Unfortunately, some of the technical terms used therein regarding accountancy are now obsolete and are unintelligible. The full import of the verses is not, therefore, quite clear to us. We understand from these verses that there were some head accountants, called *kavile-sampratis* (record-keepers) who kept registers, entering therein the several orders of the king regarding the collection of revenue and expenditure. Accountants, to whatever denomination they belonged, generally comprised the department of Finance, which was the only one department worth mentioning in the ancient Hindu administration. It was both essential and extensive. Accountants estimated the king's revenue and the corresponding expenditure, from the different *durgas* or provinces in the kingdom, and posted ledgers on different items of revenue and expenditure. After consulting the *kavile-sampratis* as to the orders previously passed by the king, probably regarding remission and surcharge, they determined the net income and expenditure after deducting the wastage and so on, and prepared the balance sheet of royal income in kind and specie, and their total annual net increase.¹⁵

14. Sk. Sm. II, vv. 293-294.

15. ఆయవ్యయంబుల జాడ బాహించి యా

యా య వరువు లమర నిలిపి

పురుషవరువు లొలి పరికించి నెలకులు

తప్పిపోవకయుండ నొప్పుదీర్చి

Rāyasams: There was another set of accountants called *rāyasams*. The term *rāyasam*, a corruption of the word *vrāyasam*, means *lekhanā* or writing. But in the period under review, *rāyasam* was the name of the office of a special accountant, attached to the Central and Provincial governments. One appointed to this office was called *rāyasam* after the post he held. Hence every writer was not a *rāyasam*; but every *rāyasam* was a writer. *Liṅgasam* was a technical name, applied only to those officers who attended upon the king, or a

యవనీశువాలానుకవిణలఁ గ్రీతయొప్ప
 విలెసంపతులను గలుగ నెఱిగి
 వసు నా మవ్యయవాచనంబు నాసి
 వడి నెత్తుటాకర్షవులనుఁ బఱి (?)
 గాఁగ నిగ్గయించి కలతరుగువుచొత్రి
 తెలిసి ధాన్యయొక్కములకు నలవి
 పేరుబడియుఁ జెలుపఁ బెద్దయు చేర్చుట
 కరణికంబు ధాత్రి కందము త్రి”.

సగులు గ్రుచ్చినయట్లు జెడనులు చక్కఁగా
 విశదమయిన లెక్క జెడని నిడుచు
 నెలమి నేక సానములు దళసానముల్
 చెడరిపోవకయుండఁ జరువపుచ్చి
 తలఁపులో మఱవక తరవాయి దప్పక
 కుఱుచలు ద్రోక్కక కుఱుపడక
 యెదిరివారు వినఁగ నెన్నక బలపంబు
 మాపక పెనుద్రేలు దాపుఁగొనక
 తెలివిపడఁ గూడి తలపులోపలను జెండు
 నిశ్చయము చేసి వ్రాయఁగ నేర్పునతని
 గణితశాస్త్రజ్ఞు లిల మేటికరణ ముండు
 మంత్ర మందార యబ్జయమంత్రి కంద !”

“పనియంక సంబును బడభుజ చేతపు
 దెలిహంసపదమునోఁ గలుముక త్రి
 తుడుపు తద్దిగుణంబు నెడల నిద్దటివాల
 నిరుఘంట లిఖితంబు విరసప్రతి
 పత్రికతుడుపులోపలిసంజ్ఞ భుజలెక్క
 తక్కు జక్కవగాక చక్కనిడుట

provincial governor or a high official in the State, and took down in writing in their presence, whatever orders they passed, or whatever communiques they issued. A *rāyasam* of old corresponds more or less to the modern secretary or stenographer. Maḍiki Siṅgana recounts the qualifications necessary for one to hold this office. He must be serious-minded, quick in hand, an adept in many scripts, and proficient in all necessary languages. He must always attend upon the king, and take down in writing orders of his master orally dictated, and read them out to him to get his approval.¹⁶ An inscription¹⁷ at Yāzali in the Guntur district mentions one Prusōttamayya, the *rayasam* of Veligōṭi Rāyapa-Nāyaka, a subordinate official of Kumaragiri Reddi. Rayani Bāca was the *rayasam* of Kaṭaya Vēma.

లలితగుణావళోఽన్తః క్షేత్రే వాసయంతోఽన్తః

దగులగ్రంథాటయగు మిగులసూటం

గలుగుతెక్కలు మాఱుగ నెలయుజాన్తః

గర్గవులు గూర్చి నెడలను గర్గము డింగి

నిలవనీనసంధులు నెరయ నీఱుండు

కరణ మెంతయు నేర్పరి కింకమంత్రి !"

“దొరలు ప్రజలు బంట్లు తొల్లిట్రీతిన

కడమతీతనకీర్తులు మరుసువడిన

మనవిం జెప్పంగఁ జేరఁ జనుచెంచునప్పడు

పరుసంకనములేక పరిగవడక

మన్నెన దప్పుక మఘనోన్ను లడుగక

కింకలెల్లవల్లవారె కిందు జెడిగి

తరము తెలిగి వానిం దగిలెడుపనిదీర్చి

వీరకలొక వానట్లు నాకియుండఁ

బొనిసి నాకియు మడుపుకు బొనియఁబోక

యాయవలనన మొరలు నాక జేయ నుడిగి

యేరినాతినియందుల గొలిపు నలిగి

మనెను నాతిండు కింకలయు మంత్రికింక ” — Sk. sm., II vv. 295, 297-99.

I reproduce these verses here in extenso in order that those, who are able to make out the meaning of the technical terms used therein, may give their full import, and interpret them correctly and exactly. What I said above is merely the gist, as I understand it.

16. Sk. Sm. II, V. 303.

17. Ep coll, No. 542 of 1928-29. This inscription reveals the fact that, not only the kings but, high officials in the State also had their own *rayasams*.

Departments of the Central Government :

Properly speaking there was, as stated already, only one important department, the department of revenue and finance, dealing with income and expenditure. Other departments of some note, if they may be properly so called, were those relating to public works and to war and peace (military).

i. *Public works*: Construction of tanks, the chief among the public works of daily utility, was classified as one of the seven acts of merit that perpetuated the name of a man on earth. Hence, many of the local tanks of small size in the Redḍi kingdom came, we may well believe, into existence as a result of charity of private individuals. However, public works of great magnitude, involving a great amount of labour and expenditure, like the construction of *jalaśayas* or *Segaras* (huge tanks), and dams and the digging of canals for irrigational purposes, were generally undertaken by the government. For instance, the construction of the *Santanāsāgara* at Koṇḍavīḍu, and the digging of the feeder canal leading to it, were undertaken by the Redḍi kings. The kings of the Redḍi dynasty were fully aware of the necessity of such public works, on which agriculture mainly depended. But, with the completion of the work, the interest of the authorities ceased, and they did not maintain any special department to attend to the repairs and other works connected with it. This draw-back, however, was set right by offering a definite portion of the land below the tank, irrigated by its waters, on *daśabandham* tenure,¹⁸ to private individuals who, in return for the land granted, were bound to look after the repairs and other things connected with the work. After the completion of the construction of such huge tanks, the land below them was brought under wet cultivation, and gradually assessed. Accounts were maintained regarding the expenditure involved in completing the work, and the revenue accruing from the assessed lands below it. Some of the accountants in the Central Government probably looked after this business.

ii. *Military department*: What we know about the military organisation and the working of the military department is very little. What little is known to us is described in the chapter on the military organisation and war. It may, however, be presumed that some of the accountants, as was the case with other departments, kept military accounts, and dealt with wages, salaries, equipment, and other items relating to the army.

18. See the chapter on Agriculture, in Pt. II.

iii. *Revenue department*: It is but natural for this department to claim a great majority of accountants and their superior officers in the Secretariat. These accountants kept registers regarding income and expenditure. Baddena,¹⁹ the royal author of a work on polity of the early mediaeval period, and Praudhakavi Mallana²⁰ of the period under review, mention a number of items of income, or the sources from which a king derived his revenue. They are as follows:

<i>Baddena</i>		<i>Mallana</i>
1. <i>Kṛṣiprapaṇcam</i> = <i>ari</i>	(Produce of the land paid by the farmers to the king)	Āraṁbamun = <i>ari</i>
2. <i>Ganulu</i>	(mines)	Ganulu
3. <i>Gōkulamu</i>	(cattle)	Gōrakṣa
4. <i>Suṅkamu</i>	(tolls)	Suṅkamu
5. <i>Vaṇikkriya</i>	(trade)	Vāṇijyamu
6. <i>Naṇḍanavanamu</i>	(Pleasure gardens)	Sṛṅgāraavanamu
7. <i>Kappam</i>	(tax)	Appanamulu
8. <i>Durgarakṣaṇamu</i>	(protection of the fort)	

Revenue :

Baddena's *kṛṣiprapaṇcamu* and Mallana's *araṁbamu* mean the same thing. Both these terms denote cultivation in Telugu. While Baddena gives eight sources of revenue, Mallana mentions only seven. Both the lists agree with each other as far as they go. The term *durgarakṣaṇam* suggests that it was a tax for *kavali* or protection of the fort. The terms *karamu*, *kappam*, *ari*, and *appanam* - all denote taxes in general in Telugu. The special significance of each term, and the particular tax it signifies, is not known to us. The term *vari* in Tamil means both tax and paddy. In fact, it denotes generally some kind of tax in Tamil. The Telugu term *ari* seems to be a contraction of the Tamil *vari*. Andhras appear to have applied the term *vari* to paddy and *ari* to tax. Since the

19. గనులు కృషిప్రపంచ వారి కిస్తును మంకిము గోకులంబు నం దనవనముం జలస్థల పుష్కవనోక్తియ నుగ్గరితీయం బసంకల యన్నిమార్గముల నర్థముం గూర్చికి కేరలంబు కాం త్రున పాలియించురాజు నీతి పొందునె రంజనునోభూభుజా! —Sk. Sm., I, v, 99,

20. గోగోక్షయ వాణిజ్యము
వారంబును నరియు మంక మపునములు శృం
గారవనంబులు గనులును
గారవనంబులు భవనంబులు భవనంబులు భవనంబులు —RR. Gr., IU, v, 86

term *ari*, a contraction of *vari*, is used in Telugu in the sense of tax, it is likely it signified the tax in kind, or the king's share in produce, paid by cultivators. *Ari* then means a tax in kind, that is, paddy. The term *arigāpulu*, which finds mention in some of the inscriptions of the early mediaeval period, means therefore ryots who paid *ari* severally. Both the terms *ari* and *appanamu* mean tax, yet the difference between them appears to be this; *ari* referred to the tax in kind, and *appanamu*, probably, to the tax in specie or *suvarṇa*. *Dhanyādāya* and *suvarṇādāya* were the two kinds of income in tax, received by the king from each village.

The sources of revenue, according to the two authors mentioned above, may be specified as follows :

1. Agriculture
2. Industries
3. Trade
4. Tolls and excise duties
5. Pasture lands and forests (Gōrakṣa)
6. Social amenities (Nandanavanamu)
7. Customary and other fees paid in coin.

Agriculture : The most important source of revenue was agriculture. Land was surveyed with a pole of fixed length, determined by one of the high officials of the State, in accordance with the ancient custom. It was then classified into wet, dry and garden lands, and assessed in accordance with the estimated yield of the crop. The land measure of the wet lands differed considerably from that of the dry lands. Similarly, the rates of assessment for the wet and dry lands also were different, though they are not known to us. Only the tax on wet lands, in which paddy was sown, appears to have been collected in kind, and all other taxes, to whatever category they might belong, were probably collected in specie (*suvarṇa*). From the Vilasa grant²¹ of Prōlaya Nāyaka we come to know that one sixth of the produce from the land was taken as tax or king's share by the Musunūri chiefs. It is likely that kings of the Redḍi dynasty also followed their leaders, the Musunūri Nāyakas, and collected one sixth of the yield as their share of tax. The method adopted in collecting and disposing of the king's share of paddy is not known to us.

It is likely that the king's officers were present at the harvest season (the spring and the autumn harvests), and collected their revenue.

²¹ *Forgotten chapters*, Ap. I.

The tax on garden lands was collected in specie. The term *suvarṇādāya* finds mention in the Chimakurti grant²² of Prōlaya Vēma. Besides the tax on garden lands, tax on houses (*illari-illu + ari*) may be presumed to have been collected in *suvarṇa* from villages, that is, either in *māḍas* or *ṭaṅkas*. The collection of rent in *ṭaṅkas* on farm-lands is known to us from a *cātu* verse of Srinātha. In this verse, he deplores his inability to pay the stipulated amount of rent of seven hundred *ṭaṅkas*²³ to the State on the land farmed out to him, in the village of Boddupalli on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa, having been deprived of the fruits of his labour on account of the inundation of the river, which swept away a great portion of the crop in the farm, and other pests. This verse of Srinātha reveals to us the fact that huge tracts of arable land, also waste, were farmed or leased out periodically to private individuals for a fixed rent to the State.

Industries: A considerable income to the king's treasury was derived from mines. As both the authors, Baddena and Mallana, mention mines or mining industry as an important source of revenue, it may be taken to have formed one of the important items of revenue. Much information is not available regarding this activity of the people of those times; yet, references to diamond mines in the accounts of foreign travellers enable us to know that it was an important industry in the period under review. Iron smelting also was an important industry. Besides taxes on mines there were other industrial taxes, *Vēṭikaṭṇālu*, as they were called, on looms, oil-mills and the like. Except *illari* and *pullari* (tax on houses and on pasture lands) no other taxes find mention in the records of the Reddi kings. In fact, these records are very barren in this respect. Yet, as many of these taxes were mentioned in the records of the Kakatiya monarchs and of the Vijayanagar rulers, the predecessors and contemporaries of the Reddi kings, we may be certain that they were in vogue in the Reddi kingdom also; for, any ancient institution or custom, once established, was never allowed to lapse. Many of them were in vogue in the country from centuries before.

Saṅka is a term of wide import. It is now generally taken to mean 'customs duties,' collected in all trading centres along the main lines

22. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI p. 150.

23. "శ్రీష్ట వేదమ్మ సోనిపోయె నిరతిఫలము
నిలకొలఁకును తినిపోయె నిలలు పెనలు
బొమ్మపల్లెను సోన్మోన్ మానవోతి
నెల్ల వేల్లిరిను పెనలలు శకుమాలు".

of communication. But a perusal of the Kākatīya records makes it clear that it connotes more than that. An inscription²⁴ of Kākatī Pratāparudra at Pāṇem (Nandyāl taluk, Kurnool district, dated in Śaka 1241,) mentions *nēla-suñkya adhikāris* besides *suñkya - adhikāris*. These officers, as implied by the terms themselves, collected *suñkam* of two kinds, one ordinary, and the other *nēla-suñkam*. What *nēla-suñkam* was is not known. Probably, it was a kind of rent of land. This inscription shows that the term applied not only to tolls on commodities or articles of merchandise, but to other forms of taxes also. Tolls were collected in all important towns, and villages where weekly fairs were held, and at all ferries. The toll collected at a ferry was called *puṭiṭ kālī* or *puṭiṭ mūlavīsālu*²⁵ (basket-boat-hire). Some of the taxes on articles of trade also went by the name of *suñkams*. Duties, collected at ports, on sea-borne imports and exports were also called *suñkams*. A record²⁶ of king Anavōta Redḍi at Motupalli in the Guntur district, dated in Śaka 1280, refers to *maḍi Suñkanulu*, that is, customs duties levied and collected on *ckkumaḍi* (exports) and *ḍigumaḍi* (imports) at that port. Tolls which were collected on commodities in transit at particular place were called *mārga-suñkam* or *ubhaya-suñkam*, or *aḍagaḍi suñkam* [(toll collected at entrance (*aḍa*) and at exit (*kaḍa*)].

Officers who collected tolls were called *suñka-adhikārulu* or *Suñkarulu* in Telugu. The right of collecting *suñkam* was periodically sold by auction to the highest bidder to a single or a group of individuals. These farmers of *suñkam* were called *suñka - guttakāṇḍru* (plural of *suñka-guttakāṇḍu*, a monopolist or farmer of *suñkam*). These officers are mentioned in a record at Taṅgaḍa (Guntur district) of the time of Kumāragiri Redḍi, dated in Śaka 1313. Salt also was a king's monopoly. The duty on this article also was not directly collected by king's officers. It also formed one of the many kinds of *suñkams*, and was collected in the same way as other *suñkams* on a monopoly basis.

Gōkulam and *gōrakṣaṇam*, cited as one of the sources of revenue to a king by Baddena and Mallana, relate to cattle and their breeding and rearing. In ancient times, the wealth of a country was estimated in terms of the aggregate number of cows it possessed. Cattle was valued as wealth. For feeding such innumerable number of cattle, extensive pasture lands were necessary. Waste lands and the forest lands provided pasturage for cattle. These were under the direct control

24. Ep. coll, No. 163 of 1913.

25. Ep. Coll., No. 880 of 1926.

26. Ibid. No. 301 of 1909.

and management of the government. These pasture lands were let out for rent to the cultivators to graze their cattle on them. The tax collected on the pasturage was called *pullari* (*pullari-pullu* means grass; *ari* tax), grazing tax. In this way the government realised great income from pasture lands. The material at our disposal is very scanty to ascertain the method of collecting this tax. Since the general method followed appears to have been farming out or renting, the pasture lands also were probably rented periodically to private individuals on the same basis as others.

Another source of income to the royal treasury was *kappam*. This was the tribute paid by the subordinate feudal chiefs to the king. These chiefs ruled large tracts of land, like *śīmas* consisting of many villages owing allegiance to the king. After deducting the expenses for their army, they remitted the remainder of the revenue, collected from their *śīma* or district, to the king's treasury. It is probable that some villages also were farmed out to influential individuals for a fixed rent. Each individual was put in charge of one or more villages according to his status and influence. These were held responsible for the revenue to be paid to the king from the village or villages under their charge. This revenue, paid by the renter, seems to have also been termed as *kappam*. This seems to be the import conveyed by the term *kappam* in a passage in one of the records of the Eastern Calukya king, Ammarāja II Vijayāditya. The passage runs thus: "*Asya grāmasya kappabhidhānam karam varjitam*," the tax named *kappam* to be paid from this village, is remitted. This passage makes it clear that *kappam* was not only a tribute paid by a feudal chief to his suzerain, but also the rent paid by a renter-village-lord to the king.

Besides these there was another important source of income, namely, *Rāca-ūḷḷu* (king's villages). This term *Rāca-ūḷḷu* finds mention in an inscription^{27a} at Kottāru, Kistna district. One of the three classes of villages referred to in this record, is *Rāca-ūḷḷu* the other two classes being *agrahāras*, villages granted to brāhmanas free of taxes, and *nāyakkara-paṭṭu*, administrative groups of villages, called *nāyakkaras*, which were placed under the charge of *nāyakas*. It is likely that *Rāca-ūḷḷu* were exclusively managed by king's staff of officers. They seem to have been analogous to *bhaṇḍāra-grāmas* of the middle Vijayanagar period, and on a par with the *haveli* lands and villages of the later Mogul period.

27. Ep. Ind., VII. p. 188.

27a, Ep. coll., No. 395 of 1926.

Expenditure :

How, and in what way this income was spent is not known. It may be presumed that a great amount of money was added to the reserve in the royal treasury. In fact, Baddena advises a king to spend only either one fourth or one third of his whole income, and lay by the remainder.²⁸ Most of the remaining money was probably spent on military organisation, the only department that claimed a lion's share of the income. Whatever remained was spent on religious and other benefactions, and on public works. Many of the important officers and servants of the State were generally remunerated for their services with grants of land free of tax, that is, as *sarvamangam*. They enjoyed the land and performed their duties to the State.

Administrative divisions :

For properly carrying on the administration of the country, the kingdom was divided into a number of administrative divisions called *bhūmis*, *simas*, *nāḍus*, *sthālas* and *grāmas*. Of these *nāḍu* and *sthāla* were not new divisions. The territorial division of *nāḍu* was in existence even before the rule of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. The rulers of the country made use of this *nāḍu*, originally a socio-geographical unit, as a political division. During the rule of the Kākatiyas, one or more *nāḍus* were included in a *nāyaṅkaram*, the territory or district which was placed under the charge of a *nāyaka* or a military feudal officer of the State, and each *nāḍu* was subdivided into a number of *sthālas*. Each *sthāla* in its turn comprised a number of villages. Each village formed an administrative unit. From the *Local Records* we come to know that a village included one or more hamlets in it. During the rule of the Redḍi kings, the *nāyaṅkara* system was unaffected, and the administrative divisions, namely, *sthāla* and *nāḍu*, were continued as before. As stated above, an inscription of this period at Kotturu refers to *nāyaṅkara* groups of villages. An inscription²⁹ at Dhēnuvakonḍa in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur district, dated in Saka 1260, refers to the *nāyaṅkara* of Podillapalli Singama Nāyaka. The Redḍi kings introduced however a new political division, called *śima*. The formation of the *śima* appears to have been an innovation of the Redḍis. There is no mention of *śima* in

28. “తనకు నాయ మైన ధనములో నాలకు

భాగ మొండె మూడు పాళ్ళపాల

నొండె నర మైన నుచితంబుఁ గాన మి

క్రిలి క్యయంబు నేయవలన దధిప”.—Sk. Sm., I, v. 131.

29. N.D.I. Vol. II, O 35, p. 962.

the Kākatiya records. The political condition of the country probably necessitated the formation of this division of *sīma*. It gradually became very popular with the progress of time, as is attested to by the later records. The kings of the Reddī dynasty divided the kingdom into a number of *sīmas*. Each *sīma* was formed by grouping a number of *nāyāṅkarams* together. If, during the rule of the Kākatiya monarchs, *nāyāṅkara* formed the chief administrative division, *sīma* during the Reddī rule became the major political division. One or more *sīmas* were grouped together to form a *bhūmi*. Inscriptions³⁰ of the Reddī kings of Koṇḍaviḍu refer to Kōṭa *bhūmi*, and Śrīśaila *bhūmi*. This *bhūmi* does not appear to have been as important as the *sīma*. It is seldom referred to in the records of the Reddī kings. One or more *bhūmis* consisting of many *sīmas* appear to have been attached to a *durga* or a fort. The *Koṇḍaviḍidaṇḍakavile* refers only to four forts or *durgas*, fourteen *sīmas*, and two thousand forty eight *grāmas*. The names of the *durgas* and the *sīmas* it mentions, are given below.³¹

<i>Durgas</i>	<i>Sīmas</i>	
1. Koṇḍaviḍu	1. Koṇḍaviḍu	8. Mareḷḷa
2. Vinukoṇḍa	2. Vinukoṇḍa	9. Kandukūru
3. Bellamkoṇḍa	3. Bellamkoṇḍa	10. Podili or Darśi
4. Nāgarajuna- koṇḍa	4. Addamki	11. Ammanabrōlu
	5. Udayagiri	12. Cuṇḍi
	6. Kōṭa	13. Dūpāḍu
	7. Nellore	14. Nāgarjunakoṇḍa

The *Daṇḍakavile* states that these *sīmas* were formed during the time of the Cōlas, a fact which cannot be supported by the available evidence. We do not know if the above list is genuine. It is interesting to note the inclusion of Udayagiri and Nellore also in it, and the absence of any of the *sīmas* or *durgas* to the north of the Kṛṣṇā. If this list is a genuine one, this arrangement may be taken to refer to the beginning of Prōlaya Vēma's reign, when Udayagiri and Nellore were yet under his rule. The loss of Udayagiri and Nellore in the south was later on compensated by the acquisition of territory to the north of the Kṛṣṇā. The above list depicts the

Ep. Ind., XXI, p. Ep. coll., 331 of 1933.

Vide. Māddulapalli Garubrahma Sarma's *Koṇḍaviḍisāmrājyam*, pp. 15, 16. The *Daṇḍakavile* recounts also the names of the several *nayakas* who were governing the *sīmas* and forts, but does not however mention the king to whom they owed their allegiance. None of the names given therein is found in the available records of the Reddīs.

administrative arrangement of the Redḍi kingdom at about the time of its inception. Even this list seems to be incomplete, for Taṅgeḍa sima, mentioned in the Redḍi records, is not included in it.

From the material available to us, it seems possible to classify roughly the officers of the State who controlled the provincial and local administration into three distinct groups, namely, (1) feudal chiefs, (2) tributaries, and (3) other officers. Feudal chiefs were governors appointed over a territory of limited extent on a military tenure. The nature of the tenure and other particulars will be described in connection with the military organisation; (2) Tributaries or samantas were those who rented or administered one or more villages on condition of paying a stipulated annual tribute or *kappam* to the king. (3) The others were officers of the State who did not come under the first two categories. The material at our disposal does not furnish any information regarding these officials.

Village :

The village officials formed a separate class of their own. The link between them and the Central Government was not strong. Generally, a village was a tract of land comprising a number of homesteads and some hundreds of *khāris* of arable and wastelands. It was like a joint family, managed by elders. Every village consisted of a number of servants who were remunerated for their services to the village commune by *mānyams*, grants of tax-free lands, *meras* and *mirāsīs* (fees). They were commonly called *ayagaras* or *grāma bhāṭas*, and their land-grants, *bhaṭavṛtti-mānyams*. Generally, their number was twelve, though the exigencies of work, rural economy and the size of the village determined the number. In some of the villages the duties and functions of more than one servant were united in the same person.

Radḍi or *Redḍi*, the head-man of the agricultural community, was generally the head of the village and superintended its affairs. He was also called *grāmakūṭa*,³² a term later on changed into *gaṇḍa* (modern *gaṇḍ*). In early times he was appointed by the ruler of the country. In the mediaeval period, when a group of agricultural families cleared the forest and founded a village to settle in, the procedure was different. One who had sufficient influence among the elders of the families, approached the king with presents, and obtained the sanction and assent of the king for the *radḍikam* of the village. Inscriptions of the mediaeval period and the *Local Records* furnish many instances of this kind. The sanction of the ruler of the land was necessary for the Radḍi

or the head-man for obtaining the *kūṇāci* rights of service. He was the king's representative in the village, and made himself responsible for the revenue tax, payable by the village community as a whole to the king, either in kind or in specie. He collected the revenue in kind, mostly paddy, and *kāṇṇakolu* and *kaṇṇālu* in *suvarṇa*. He preserved and protected the former in the royal granary (*rācu-gāde*) in the village which was under his charge, probably to defray the local expenses of the government, both civil and military, and to sell the remaining paddy for a proper price when it sold dear. There were royal granaries for each and every village which was an administrative unit. The fact of the existence of royal granaries is known from a record³³ of Kumāragiri Redḍi at Taṅgeḍa in the Guntūr District. We come to know from this inscription that the governor of the *śma* had the right to make a gift of some paddy from the royal granary, whenever necessary, for worship and festivals in the local temple. Probably, he had to obtain previous sanction of the king for doing so. The headman was the man on the spot. He was able to discharge his duties well because of his personal influence and his acquaintance with the circumstances and concerns of the people in the village. In him were combined the civil as well as the magisterial duties. He settled disputes in the village.

Karaṇam was the accountant of the village. He maintained accounts relating to the extent of the arable and waste lands, cultivated and fallow land, the wet and dry cultivation, taxable and rent-free land, an estimate of the crops grown, the assessment on the dry and wet crops under the previous and the present governments, the total extent of the *brahmadya* and *devadaya* lands, the village services and every item concerning the administration of the village including public works. He measured the fields, estimated the crop, determined the king's share of produce each *arikaṭṭu* had to pay, and maintained registers regarding their transactions. Every deed or document was properly drawn up and signed by witnesses, that is, it bore the Śaka year, cyclic year, month, fortnight, *tithi*, the week-day, the country,

33. Ep. Coll. no. 380 of 1926. The Inscription was dated in Śaka 1313, corresponding to the cyclic year Prajapati, and the gift registered therein was made on Friday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of the month of Margaśīra. The *tithi* and the week day were wrongly given as *daśami* and *Śnavara* in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*. I made the above correction of the date after consulting the estampage of this inscription in the Bāmavva Pantulu collection, now preserved in the library of the Andhra University. The correct English date equivalent is 21st Dec. 1391 A. D. It is also possible that royal granaries were set up only in towns of some administrative importance and not in each and every village. Taṅgeḍa was the capital of the *śma*; so it is no wonder if there was a royal granary there.

its king, the place where the business was transacted, name of the village and every other matter of importance, with the signature of the writer of the deed, were entered in it. It was then duly attested with the signatures of the witnesses.³⁴ The *karaṇam* and the *reḍḍi* were the chief officers of the village. They both worked hand in hand in assigning the lands to the ryots and collecting the king's share. Any business transacted on behalf of the whole village without their approval was not valid and legal.

The brāhman *purāṇit* was as important to the village community as the other servants of the village. Each and every member of the Hindu society was accustomed, from time immemorial, to do a thing at an auspicious moment after consulting the *pañcāṅgam*, the *tithi vara*, *nakṣatra*, *varjam* (the inauspicious period in the day during which no work is done), the position of the planets in the Zodiac, and so on. For tilling the soil afresh in the new year, for sowing the seeds, for going on a journey, for performing any kind of business, whether public or private, whether auspicious or inauspicious the *purāṇit* was consulted. He informed the villagers of the *vratas* of the day, good and bad omens, the auspicious moments to do or begin a work or business, and predicted the *śukuna-phalas*, and at times the future of individuals according to their horoscopes. He went in the early morning, after performing his daily oblations and worship, to the houses of nobles (*dorathu*), offer them *tulasi* leaves, and tell them the calendar of the day.³⁵ He was an important person in the village community.

In very early times the police duty was vested in the hands of the head-man of the village; but with the growth of the village and its population, its administration grew unwieldy, and the *talari* was appointed for the police watch. His activities were supervised by the village head-man under whom he had to work. *Talari*, or *areka* as he was also called, was the policeman of the village. Like other servants of the village he was granted a *manḡam*, tax-free

34. “శక కాలంబును వర్షరంబు నెల వత్సంబుఁ దిగ్గణ వారము

స్నోక దేశంబును దాని నేలు విభు నయ్యార్యుం నిజసానముఁ

సకలాధ్యక్షును నామనిశ్చయముగా నాక్షిప మేతంబు వ్రా

యక కాలదంబరివ్రాల వ్రాయుకరణం బజ్జాని గావండు నే.”—Sk. Sm., II, v. 302.

35. “.....బ్రాహ్మణ కాలమున

దొరల యిండ్లకు నేగి తులసియుఁ బెట్టి

మరుస నిచ్చలు విన వారలకుఁ జెప్పి” — Nv. Gr. p. 103.

land, for the services he rendered. Besides this, he was remunerated by fees also on auspicious, and important festive occasions by those living in the village. The fee was called *talāri-kaṭṇam*. His office was hereditary. It was his duty to go on rounds both day and night to preserve law and order and bring the offenders and bad characters to book.

The *barikapu* was another police servant of the village. Every village in ancient times had a boundary wall (*prahari*) around it, with gates and watch-towers. The country in ancient times was full of wood and jungle, the resort of wild beasts. To protect the village from wild beasts as well as the enemy from outside, a boundary wall with gates and watch-towers was constructed in times of yore around the village. The *barikapu* was assigned the duty of going on rounds along the "*bahya-vilāhi*, or the street outside the boundary wall or the outer blocks of the village, as well as other ways, during day and night..." and of guarding the village from wild beasts and the enemy. He was generally stationed in the watch-tower, and in the event of the approach of hostile raiders, he proclaimed it to the villagers by beat of drum. Surrounding the boundary wall of the village, there were the arable and waste lands and pastures. It was the duty of the *barikapu* to guard the fields also from wild beasts and thieves. *Prahari tiruguṭa* was the technical name given to this act of going on rounds along the boundary of the village proper, to keep watch over it or to guard³⁷ it.

The term *prahari tirugu* became corrupted in common parlance to *pari tiruguṭa* (*prahari tirugu - pari tirugu*). We have therefore the terms *pārikavali* (boundary-watch) and *pārikavu* (boundary-watchman). *Bārikapu* is a variant of *parikapu*. *Talāri* and *barikāpu* were both police servants belonging to the village. The former's duty was however restricted to the internal watch, and that of the latter to the external watch.

The other village servants were the goldsmith, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the washerman and the barber. According to the requirements of each village, there were, in some villages, other servants also, like a superintendent of the tanks and water-courses who distributed water for purposes of cultivation, an astrologer and so on. Exigencies of the village determined, as stated already, the number of *grāma-bhātās*.

37. "ಪ್ರವಾರಿ ನರಿಂನು ರಣ್ಯವು ಧೈರವು ಲಗ್ನಿವಿಳಾಸವಾಯಿಲೆ" — Bh. Pr. I

"ಆಪ್ತನು ಪುನಃ ನಾಕಿ ಶ್ರೀನಾಂಪುನಃ"

ಪ್ರವಾರಿ ನಾಕಿ ಯುಂನು ಧೈರವಿಳೆ..... — Ks. Kh. I

In this way the village was an economically independent unit. It supplied its residents all the necessities of life without making them dependent for them on other villages. The village community was a compact one. The villagers themselves managed the affairs of the village.³⁷

Under this simple form of municipal government the residents of the village lived in peace and plenty. The attachment of the villagers to their place of residence was so great that even if the village was desolated by famine or war, they seldom left it uninhabited. If by chance they were compelled to remove themselves from the village, owing to any epidemic or other cause, they returned again to it after the trouble was over³⁸, and re-built their houses very near the original village site. They went on as usual, without caring to what power the country or kingdom was transferred, or to what sovereign it was subjected, so long as they were uninterrupted in the exercise of their rights and privileges. It made little difference to them if the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu was in the hands of the descendants of Prōlaya Vēma or of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, or if it passed into the hands of the kings of Vijayanagar or the Mussalman kings, so long as their *brāhmadēyas* and *devadēyas* were protected as in days of old, and their customary rights and privileges and other ancient customs were not interfered with. This is the reason why the stereotyped form of this village organisation defied many a political storm which raged furiously in the country, and the village stood compact, and firm.

The rulers of the land did not interfere with the affairs of the village so long as their *kappam* or tribute, and the king's share due to them from the village, was paid regularly. The exercise of authority by the king's officials over the affairs of the village was only nominal, and every village was practically independent. Probably after every change of sovereignty, the head-man of the village, as he was the king's representative, was required to visit the capital with presents, and to get himself re-confirmed in his office. It is likely that the king's officers occasionally visited the village to supervise the

37. Sir John Macpherson in his Minute of the 4th July 1786 says about the Indian village, rather flatteringly, thus: "It is much to discover with certainty, that we have yet a great deal to learn in the revenue line, and we are fortunate if we can collect and take up the links of ancient forms. One thing is certain, nothing was more complete, more simple, correct and systematic than the ancient revenue system of this country. It was formed so as to protect the people who paid it from oppression, and secure to the sovereign his full and legal rights."

38. Ep. Rep. 1908 paras 76 & 77.

village accounts, to settle the boundary disputes between villages, to estimate the crop before it was cut, and so on.

This system of village government turned the villages more or less into small republics. It however became rigid in course of time, and prevented the growth of the several elements that composed the village community, by investing the age-long social custom with a halo of sanctity, and imparting too much power to tradition and usage, with no deviation whatsoever from the past. Occupations and professions crystallised into castes and communities which became either exagamous or endogamous. Occupations became hereditary with the progress of time. Any public work undertaken in the interests of the village was done on the basis of mutual co-operation and by free or forced labour.

The economic plenty of the village made its isolation more marked, and the residents of the village generally never felt the need to break out of this isolation by laying out good roads from village to village and otherwise improving the means of communication and travel. Patriotism narrowed down and no one was generally able to see beyond the limits of one's own village. For want of proper communications, travel was difficult, and contact with distant places and peoples was seldom made. The social advance of the community as a whole was held up. The village in ancient times was the bulwark of religion, tradition, and custom.

CHAPTER XIV

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

We are not able to get much information regarding the administration of justice in the period under review, except a few references in contemporary literature, which are, however, of invaluable help to us in suggesting the procedure that might have been adopted in deciding some cases. These references, when studied in the light of the *Śmṛiti* literature, afford us an idea of some of the methods of legal administration then in vogue. No doubt, the chief source of the law of the Hindus then, must have been the same as it is today, the *Śmṛitis* or the codes of law by Yājñavalkya, Narada and others. Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣara* on Yājñavalkya seems to have been the primary legal authority. Another legal treatise written in this period was the *Parāśara Mādhanīya*. Its author is the celebrated sage Vidyāranya, the spiritual teacher of the Vijayanagar kings, Harihara I and Bukka I. This work is believed to have been written by the sage to serve as a manual for the officers of the Vijayanagar kingdom.¹ It is not, however, known how far it was accepted as an authority during the period of the Redḍi rule in the coastal region of the Andhra country. Neither inscriptions nor literature of the period furnish any information regarding either the qualifications of the judges or the procedure adopted in appointing them.

Dharmāsana and Civil cases :

To administer justice and to punish the criminals were the duties of the king. He was the fountain-head of justice. He administered justice with the help of his councillors. The *purōhit* of the king, who was expected to be an authority on *dharma*, was probably the most important of the councillors. The court of justice was called *dharma sabhā* or *dharmāsana*. Members who tried cases were called *dharma sabhājanas*² or *Sabhyas*. The *dharmāsana* at Vijayanagar is alluded to in the *Vaiṣyavamsasudhārṇava*³. In fact, this work is in the nature of a judgement, drafted by Mallinātha, the famous commentator on the dramas of Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit classics, in a civil dispute regarding a communal question. The *dharmāsana* at Rājamahēndravaram is referred to in one of

1. Wilk's History of Mysore, p. 169.

2. Sm., Dv., I, iii, v. 102.

3. A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, presented to Sir E. Denison Ross—The *Vaiṣyavamsasudhārṇava* of Kōlacala Mallinātha by Dr. V. Raghavan, p p 234 ff.

his *cātu* verses 'by poet Śrīmātha. Another reference to *dharmāsana* is found in the Telugu drama, *Kṛiḍābhīrāmam*.⁵ The court referred to in this work was temporarily set up to settle a dispute between a *vēṣyā* and her daughter's lover. We are told that the policemen in the city brought and presented the *vēṣyā* before the members of the *dharmāsana*. This reference in the *Kṛiḍābhīrāmam* enables us to know that an arbitration court temporarily set up to decide a civil dispute was called *dharmāsana*. This court of justice decided all the cases as coming under the eighteen heads of *vyavahāra* mentioned in the treatises on law, such as disputes regarding lands, houses, debts, sales, purchases, assault, inheritance, violation of agreements and others. The judges examined witnesses and decided the case. There are references in the Telugu literature to *kūṭa sākṣulu*,⁶ witnesses who gave false evidence.

Trial by ordeal:

There is a fine verse in the Telugu work *Simhāsana dvātrimśika*, which suggests another method of trying some of the law-suits. While describing the moon-rise, the author compares the moon to a red-hot iron ball held by the damsel of the East to prove her innocence to the Sun. The idea contained in this verse is this: the moon shines as if she were a red-hot iron ball held by the damsel, namely the Eastern quarter, to swear that the Sun, not knowing that she was true to him, had divorced her, though she wished in her mind only his rise. The phrase *maḍḍu paṭṭa* used in this verse is very interesting and significant. The term *maḍḍu* in Telugu means a red-hot iron ball. Another Telugu work *Bhōjaraḥṣyam* furnishes two more references to this term *maḍḍu* in two different passages. Of these two, one passage reads thus: *maḍḍunaku bōyunaṣṭi = oka-treḍḍeḍ = uḍuku pūyasaniḥu decci yatani cen = iḍḍu*,⁷ that is, having brought a ladle-full of boiling rice-milk with sugar and put it in his hand as if pouring to a *maḍḍu*. Here, the term *maḍḍu* means an ordeal or a person undergoing an ordeal. The other passage runs thus: *agniśambhananiḥu paṭṭukoni*

4. "...విద్యుంనుల్ రాజమహేంద్ర పట్టణమునన్ ధన్యునకుంటి..."

5. Kr. Rm., vv. 264, and 265.

6. Rk. Cr., I, v. 164.

7. "తనయునకుమె మడిచి గోరెడు

నను విడిచె ననుండు కల్లనానాడు లేకుం

టు వెలుగుచును పూర్వార్థం

గ న జగమున ముడువల్లుగతి కళి మెఱసెన్." — Sm. Dv., I, iv, v. 106.

8. Bh. Rj., III, 59.

maḍḍu divicinaṭṭu." This passage means "like taking away a red hot iron ball acquiring the power to restrain fire by magical means." The verse and these passages in the literary works referred to above surely indicate the trial by ordeal which had been an ancient one. Some serious cases concerning offences and crimes committed secretly, or lacking in direct evidence to prove guilt, were decided by ordeals and on oaths. Ordeals were called *divyas*" in Sanskrit. It was generally believed that, in trials by ordeal, the divine agency would intervene to expose the guilt or vindicate innocence. Ordeals were generally performed in public before the judges in a court or before an idol in a temple. The fire ordeal was called *maḍḍu paṭṭuṭa* in Telugu, that is, to carry a red-hot iron ball in hand to a certain distance. If the hand of the person who carried the ball was not scalded he was considered not guilty. The *Smṛtis* mention a number of other forms of ordeals also. We do not know if other forms also were in practice during the Redḍi period. From one of the passages cited before, it seems that pouring some boiling liquid into the mouth was also another method of fire ordeal in practice.

That trials by ordeal were common in those days is known to us from the accounts of the Muslim historians and of foreign travellers as well. We are told by Amīr Khusrū that, at the end of the victorious expedition of Khusrū Khān against Warangal in the reign of Sultān Mubārak Shah of Delhi, the Kākatiya monarch, Prataparudra, in order to conclude peace with him "sent jewels, clothes, sandal, gold, horses, elephants and other valuables to the Khān (Khusrū Khān) by way of *Jizya*." But the Khān was not satisfied with them and demanded that every thing in his possession to be sent to him. Thereupon Prataparudra affirmed that he had nothing left of his former wealth. "To this the Khān replied that, if the raja were speaking truth, he could have no objection to submit to an ordeal. He should thrust his hand into hot oil, and if he sustains no injury from the heat, no suspicion will exist against him." This passage shows that even the Muslims who invaded the Deccan country were well acquainted with the Hindu method of trials by ordeal. "In criminal charges," observes Nicolo Conti, "oaths are allowed where there is no witness to prove the offence. There are three modes of swearing. In one, the person to whom the oath is administered, stands before the idol, and swears by the idol that he is innocent. Having taken

9. Ibid, VI, 181.

10. About the *divyas* (or leads), vide, Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar's article in J.A.H.R.S. VII, pp. 195 ff; Julius Jolly's *Hindu Law and Custom* (Greater India Society Publication No. 2), pp. 310 - 317.

11. E. D., II, Appendix, *Nuh Sipīhr* of Amīr Khusrū, p. 560.

the oath, he then licks with his tongue a piece of iron, such as a mattock, red-hot; if he escape uninjured he is declared innocent. Others again, having first taken the oath, carry the same piece of iron, or a red-hot iron plate for several paces before the idol; if burnt in any part he is punished as guilty; if he escapes unhurt he is exempt from the punishment awarded for the offence. There is a third manner of swearing, and this is the most common of all. A vessel is placed before the idol filled with boiling butter. He, who swears that he is innocent of the offence charged against him, plunges two fingers into the butter which are immediately wrapped up in linen, and a seal impressed upon it, to prevent the covering being removed. On the third day the bandage is taken off. If any injury appear upon the fingers the accused is punished; if no injury present itself he is released." "

Criminal cases:

There is reason to believe that criminal cases were tried by the king himself or his officers. An Eastern Calukyan record¹² of either the eighth or the ninth century refers to *daśāparādhas*, ten kinds of crimes; but it does not state what they are. The *Smṛtis*, however enumerate these crimes and state that the king himself should investigate and deliver judgement over them.

Investigation of crime and police organisation:

Investigation of crime was left in the hands of the police. Police organisation was one of the very important departments of the administrative machinery. Like other departments the policing also was organised on the basis of the village. It was the central column around which the whole edifice relating to defence and investigation of crime was reared up. The *Śukranīṭisāra*, a work on polity calls the police-man a *gamika*, and details his duties clearly. According to this work a *gamika* had his station either at the beginning or at the end of the residential quarters, and kept strict watch over all persons who arrived at and departed from the village, particularly strangers. It was his duty to study the character of each person, allow only those of good character and well-noted persons entering into the village, and others

12. Major, Conti, pp 31-32.

13. I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 187, *Biharati*, Vol. V, p. 99.

14. " దినానాగంకు గ్రంథం దమము దిక్కు-ల నింజెన్ "

ఇనులు పను ఒడిగ రాచకు

లనుకూలై తిరుగజొచ్చి రానగరము జోగన్ " — Sm. Dy., II, X, V. 117.

only after they provided surety or security. Once in every *ardha-gaṇa* he had to patrol the streets during nights. The policemen in Telugu are called *ārekulu* or *talārulu*. Even during the period under review the policemen continued to do this duty of patrolling streets day and night.¹⁴ In the period of dark fortnights they used to patrol the streets with torches in their hands.¹⁵ Policemen were remunerated for their services by periodical fees and other emoluments by villagers. If the village was a big one, there were more than one *gamika* to discharge the police duties. The head of the policemen was called *pedda talavari* (head-policeman). The chief executive police officer in the village was designated *paṭṭalaka* or *paṭṭēla*, a patel. We come to know from inscriptions that the office of *paṭṭēla* existed in the Telugu country during the Eastern Calukyan period.¹⁶

The duties of the policeman were twofold, to prevent crime and theft, and bring the offenders to justice. Theft was considered to be the greatest of all offences. If a theft was committed in any village it was the duty of the policeman to detect the thief. The responsibility of the policeman belonging to any particular village under his jurisdiction ceases only when he succeeds in tracking the thief to the limits of another village. In discharging his duties the chief of the policemen was assisted by the servants of the village, and if necessary, by all the villagers. If, when a theft was committed, a police officer failed to trace the thief and recover the lost property, he was bound to make good the loss and pay it to the sufferer. This was an age-long custom which had been in vogue in Ancient India from the *Śmṛti* and even the *Sūtra* period. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says that the king had to restore the goods stolen to their owners after having recovered them from thieves, and in case he was unable to recover them, he should pay out of his own treasury.¹⁷ Similarly, the *Gautamadharm Sūtra*, a more ancient work than the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says that the stolen property recovered from thieves should be returned to the owner, and if not recovered, should be paid out of his treasury (*cōra-hṛta-mapajētya yathāsthānam gamayet; kṛṣṇāḍvā dadyāt*).¹⁸ The *talāri* or *āreku* had thus become one of the twelve

15. "...అరము లోన ఘనముగా అంతయ్యె

నారకులును దివియ అందికొనుచు

గల్గెపుట్టె ననుచు నెల్లదిక్కుల జాడ

అరము జొచ్చి రతి విహస్తులగుచు" — Ibid, v. 124.

16. A stone record at Budamanarāyalapaḍu (now deserted) in the Nellore district mentions a certain *paṭṭēla*.

17. S.B.E., VII, *The institutes of Viṣṇu*, III, 66-67.

18. *Gautamadharm Sūtra*, X. 46-47.

essential servants of a village in the mediaeval period. He was held responsible for preserving law and order in his jurisdiction, to maintain internal peace besides preventing and detecting, as stated before, crime and theft. Police-watch, *kāvali* as it was called, was instituted not only over the village proper but over the crops pertaining to it. The fee that the *talāris* received for this service was called *kāvali-kaṭṭam*.

Accu kāvali and Veli kāvali :

The *Local Records* inform us that the police system described before was in practice during the period of the rule of the Reddi kings of Koṅḍaviḍu. The *kaifiyat* of Kōṭa informs us that, in the reign of Anavēmā Reddi, the Cōḍas, probably members of the Telugu Cōḷa dynasties, who were powerful in the Ēḡuva country and in the region around Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district), carried on predatory raids into some of the villages in the Reddi kingdom, and robbed the produce of the fields escaping skilfully detection of the *talāris*. Thereupon, the cultivators (*saṁsaris*) approached the king and represented to him their grievance. We are then told that king Anavēmā appointed for the *accu kāvali* a member of the Mutrāca¹⁹ community, named Cippēḷi Bōḍiliṅgama Nāyaka, a capable servant in his court, made him the bailiff to keep watch over the Kōṭa and other *simas* and, to hold himself responsible for thefts and loss of property. *Accu kāvali* is an interesting term. It denotes the police system by which a watch-man or a *kāvaligar* was bound to make good the loss of property sustained by the owner, were he unable to catch hold of the thieves and recover the lost property. The same *kaifiyat* further states that the service of *veli kāvali*, that is, external watch was conferred on a certain Aḍapa Siṅgama Nāyaka.²⁰ The information which the above *kaifiyat* furnishes is very valuable to us, since it

19. This is a Telugu-caste most numerous in the Kistna, Nellore, Cuddapah and North Arcot districts. The Mutracas are hunters, palanquin-bearers and hereditary watch-men in villages.

నిర్భరాచ నారి రాస్యపరిపాలన ఆయనపిమ్మట ఆన కేమారెడ్డిగారి ప్రభుత్వం. మితని ప్రభుత్వంలో గ్రామాదుల పంటపరియాయ ధాన్యాదులు మొదలయిన మహాస్సూలు తలాల్లు కావలి కట్టావున్నంతలో చోడుల వుసద్రవంచాత నిర్వాహకం లేక సంసార్లు ప్రభువుతో చెప్పకున్నంతలో అప్పుడు చిప్పేటి బోడిలింగమనాయకు అనే ముతరాచ కొల్వకు కావము వుండగా అతని సామర్థ్యంకు (?) అ[చ్చ]కావలి నిర్వాకం నాయగలడని ప్రభువుకు తోచి యాకొట మొదలయిన సీమలు కొన్నింటికి అచ్చు కావలి నిర్ణయం చేసినారు. అదేసా సింగమనాయనికి వెలి కావలి....'

20. Mack. Mss. No. 15-6-1: *Kaifiyat* of Kōṭa.

acquaints us with two forms of police service, namely, *accu kāvālī* and *veli kāvālī*. The *kaifiyat* referred to before does not, however, mention the terms on which the appointment was made, the kind of remuneration the policeman received, whether kind, coin or land grant. However, it appears to be certain that, from the custom prevailing in the country, he received *mēra*, fixed measure of grain annually, and *varṭamas*, fees in the form of *talāri-kaṭṭam* from people of different communities in the village periodically and on all important and auspicious occasions in their homes. The bound bailiff, that is, the *accu kāvālīgar*, who had under his jurisdiction many *sīmas* or political divisions, had in all probability a special staff of policemen of his own choice for every *sīma* separately, who were aided by the *talāris* appointed in turn by themselves over every village in the *sīma*. It is thus patent that the *accu kāvālī* system of police administration constituted itself into a big department unconnected with the regular government, though, probably supervised occasionally by the king's officers. The chief bailiff or the police commissioner in charge of several *sīmas* held himself answerable to the king for thefts and stolen property in the region under his jurisdiction. The *accu kāvālī* system further shows that the police administration was not a whit different from what was prevailing in the *Sūtra* or the *Smṛti* period.

Veli kāvālī appears to have been simple ward and watch as opposed to *accu kāvālī*. The term *veli kāvālī* means external watch. We have probably to understand by this the watch instituted at the main entrance or exit of the village. It was probably the duty of this *kāvālīgar* entrusted with this watch, to note carefully the arrivals and departures of strangers and bad characters at and from the village respectively. It is also probable that he had to keep watch over the crops belonging to a village, without their being devastated by wild beasts. As the Koṭa *kaifiyat* informs us that king Anavēma appointed one, Aḍapā Singama Nāyaka, to this service of *veli kāvālī* over some *sīmas*, as in the case of *accu kāvālī*, it appears certain that the right of appointment of bailiffs whether bound or otherwise for a number of *sīmas* vested in the hands of the king himself, though the working out of details regarding police administration was entirely left in the hands of the chief bailiffs. It seems also probable that the number of *sīmas* entrusted to each bailiff was, by the very nature of the work, not uniform. In the *veli kāvālī* system of policing *būrikāpu* seems to have been the policeman on the lowest rung, connected with a village.

The mountain passes, where there was every possibility for thieves and highway robbers to hide themselves and attack the merchants and passers-by, were specially guarded by policemen.

Punishments :

Criminal cases were tried and punishments were awarded in accordance with the laws of the penal code. High treason was punished with death. The traitor who was awarded this punishment was made to put on red clothes²¹ and was taken by policemen to the *vadhya-sila* (the stone of execution) to be beheaded there. It was customary to show to the brahman some amount of lenience as regards punishment. Punishments in criminal cases were no doubt very severe. They varied according to the nature of the offence committed, or of the crime perpetrated. The fundamental principle in awarding such severe and cruel punishments appears to be to make them exemplary to strike terror in the minds of the people, in order to discourage and dissuade them from committing such crimes any more. If the tortures referred to in the Telugu works of this age are taken to be real and not exaggerated, then it may be said that there were various kinds of inhuman and horrible punishments awarded to the criminal, like the amputation of his hands and feet, placing him in stone mills and crushing him to death by working them, flaying him alive and so on.²²

21. “అనుచు వధ్యచిహ్న మైన రక్తాంశుక
మడిగి మ్రొక్కినంత ” — Sm. Dv., I, V, 211.
“యత్త వారిచ్చిన యరుణాంశుకంబులు
వధ్యచిహ్నమునకు వలను గాగఁ
బలకించి చని వధ్యశిలయొక్కి ” — Ibid, V, 216.

22. “అనుచు వారాయణాయని వీనిఁ బట్టి థి
తొలిపింపఁదగునని పలుకువారుఁ
గార్లుచేతులు గనియలుగాఁబట్టి
చిదిమింప దగునని పదరువారుఁ
గాయంబు నుగ్గు గాఁ గలుగానుగలఁ బెట్టి
త్రిపుట తగునని తెలుపువారు
మైన జాటులు మట్టి పై నగ్గి తగ్గిలించి
మిడికింపఁదగునని నొడుపు వారు.” — Ibid, III, v. 60.

- “అప్పుడు గొంక జీయన్తాయ శిలనిఁ
బట్టి కొఱ్ఱొక్కింపఁ బాడియండు
కొండ జీతని సందు సందులు చక్కగా
బాడిద నఱకింపఁ బాడియండు
కొండ జీతని కండ లందందఁ దిగఁ జెక్కి
భక్షింపుమని పెట్టఁ బాడి యండు
కొండ జీతనిఁ దలక్రిందుగాఁ గట్టించి
పైచర్మ మెలిపింపఁ బాడియండు
కొండజీతనిఁ బచ్చిగుఁదియల మోడింపఁ
బాడియండు ” — Bh. Rj., V, v. 316.

However, no positive evidence can be adduced to prove that all these varieties were in use, though they were not unknown to this age. Almost all these punishments were awarded to criminals in the territories under Muslim rule. Instances may be quoted from the Muslim chronicles themselves. Sultan Firūz Shāh of Delhi writes thus in his *Futūhat-i-Firūz Shāhi*: "In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Mussalmans has been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses, tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing man asunder, these and many similar tortures were practised ... All these things were practised that fear and dread might fall on the hearts of men, and that the regulations of government might be duly maintained."²³ Viewed in the light of this passage it seems probable that some of the above mentioned punishments were practised by the Hindu kings of this age in the Redḍi kingdom also. The Redḍi kings were not above the spirit of the age in which they lived.

Punishments awarded in civil cases seem to have been not so cruel and inhuman, though severe, as in the criminal cases. Default to liquidate a debt was punished very severely. A verse²⁴ in the *Rukmāṅgadacaritram* enumerates the various punishments inflicted on a

23. E.D., III, p. 375.

The Telugu works of this period do not refer to the punishment of executing criminals by elephants. Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador who visited the court of Vijayanagar during this period however refers to them. He writes: "Sometimes they order the criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunks and tusks (E.D. IV, p. 111). Ibn Batuta gives a detailed description of how the elephants execute the criminals. "The elephants which execute men," he writes, "have their tusks covered with sharp irons, resembling the coulter of the plough which turns up the ground, and with edges like those of knives. The driver mounts the elephant, and, when a person is thrown in front, the animal winds his trunk round him, hurls him into the air, and, catching him on one of his tusks, dashes him to the ground, when he places one of his feet on the breast of the victim. After this he does as he is directed by his rider under the orders of the Sultan. If the Sultan desires the culprit to be cut in pieces, the elephant executes the command by means of the irons above described; if the Sultan desires the victim to be left alone, the elephant leaves him on the ground, and (the body) is then stripped of its skin" - E.D., III, Appenpix, p. 618.

24. "కట్టిరి కొట్టి కీడ్చి రక్తకంఠు లాగిరి గుండు తొమ్మునన్

బెట్టిరి చెంగులదోచిరి రక్తింపఁగ నెడల నిల్చి రంతుఁగాఁ

బాట్టిరి పచ్చడంబు వడిఁ జూడఁగ దోచిరి పట్టుకారులకన్

బట్టిరి నిలుపానమలఁ బాలుఁగ కేసిరి నీర బిందఱున్." - Bk. Cr., IV, v. 112.

person who was unable to pay the tax or to repay his debts, Even Śrīnātha, the court poet of king Peda Kōmaṇi Vēma Redḍi was subjected to much humiliation and severe punishments in his last days for his inability to pay to the royal treasury the stipulated tax of seven hundred *ṭaṅkas*. A *cāṭu* verse²⁵ full of pathos, which is said to have been composed by the poet himself, refers to the punishments he had undergone. These do not differ much from those that are enumerated in the verse in the *Rukmāṅgadacaritam*, referred to above. Śrīnātha says that he was made to stand in hot sun with the *poṇḍadaṇḍa* around his neck, that his feet were fettered, that bamboo fetters were applied to his fore-arms, and that a heavy ball of black granite stone, usually kept at the entrance of the gate of the royal palace was placed on his arms. Though the brahman was exempt from capital punishment in those days, he was not allowed to go scot free for not paying taxes to the State, for not repaying debts and, for committing other civil offences.

25. “కవిరాజు కంఠంబు కొఁగిరించెనుగదా

పురవీధి నెరురెండె సొగడవండె

అంధ్రనైపథక ర్తి యంఘ్రియుగ్మంబునఁ

దగిలియుండెనుగదా నిగళియుగము

వీరభద్రా రక్షి విద్వాంసు ములకేత

వియ్యమంచెనుగదా నెనుకగొడియ

సాగ్యభోమని భుజాస్తంభ మెక్కెనుగదా

నగరివాకిటనుండు నల్లగుండు

కృష్ణ వేణువు గొనిపోయె నింతఃపురము

దిల బొత్తులు దినిపోయెఁ దిలలు పెనులు

బొద్దుపల్లెను గొడ్డేటి మాససాధి

నెట్టు చెల్లింతుఁ డంకంబు లేడు నూర్లు.

CHAPTER XV.

MILITARY ORGANISATION AND WAR.

It was customary to describe the army as consisting of the traditional fourfold division of chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers. In fact, chariots formed, in very ancient times, the chief division of the army. We find representations of chariots which were in use in the Andhra country in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the battle scenes sculptured on the Amrāvati marbles, now housed in the Government Museum, Madras. With the lapse of centuries, chariots as a division of the fighting force, went into disuse. During the period under review the king's army consisted of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.

Elephants :

Elephants played a very important role in the warfare of the mediæval period. Though they were not the chief division of the army, they formed the most important section. Victory in battle in the middle ages greatly depended on them. Till the time of the Western Cālukya king Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara, that is, till the twelfth century A.D., the Kāṭiṅga forests are said to have been noted for fine elephants. King Sōmēśvara says in his *Abhilāṣitūthacintāmaṇi* that the elephants obtained in the Kāṭiṅga country were the best.¹ We are told by Ferishta that prince Ulugh Khan, after the conquest of Warāṅgal, proceeded in person towards Jājñagar, and that, on that occasion, he took forty elephants from the Rāja and sent them to his father.² But during the period under review Andhras imported elephants greatly from Ceylon.

A wooden seat, called *Caṇḍōlu* in Telugu, with a canopy above, was provided on the back of the elephant for holding warriors with bows and arrows and other weapons. How this seat was decorated and the elephants accoutered for war, is known from the fine descriptions given in the *Pañḍāvivācaritra*³. The description given in this work

1. Abb. Ct., Vol. I, v. 1194, p. 135.

2. Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. I, pp. 405—06.

3. మా కంఠం లభ్యమౌ నాదనమున నీలిచి
పల నారలకు నెల్ల ధియములు నేయు
మౌతిలో న్నితి మైన నిద్రకలంబు
పైని బల్యమై లా హుండునున్ను

refers to the king's elephant. From this we may suppose that the elephants of other military chieftains also were similarly decorated, though not so elaborately. It is interesting to note from the description given in the work referred to above, that sharp weapons were fastened to the tusks of the elephant. This statement is corroborated by the foreign travellers, like Nikitin and Varthema, who visited South India at the end of the fifteenth century. Of these, Nikitin says "The elephants are clad in ornamental plates of steel. Large scythes (weighing three pounds) are attached to the trunks and tusks of the elephants, and the animals are clad in ornamental plates of steel. They carry a citadel, and in the citadel, twelve men in armour with guns and arrows."

తగలు పటంబులు దంబు గాఁజేసి

కూర్చిన అంతలు కుదుగు గా వెన్ను

పైఁ గప్ప ముఖమాలు పరపులు చేసి

పగు నాణు వన్నియ బం గారుతోడ

గచియించి దానికి రత్న మల్ తాపి

తీర్చిన పొడవల తేచ్చియుం గట్టి

మణిగణ తపనీయమయ మైన యట్టి

చప్పురం బొక్కటి సమకూర్చి మీఁద

పద్మరాగ ప్రభాపటాలిచే మించు

బం గారు శిఖరంబు బానుగనికొను

గంటలు మువ్వలు గట్టిగాఁ గట్టి

చుట్టు ముత్త్యుపఁజేర్చు శోభిల్లఁజేసి

మణిమయ మంజర మధ్య ప్రసాదం

జిలుతిగంటల పేర్లు వెలువైన కరికం

గరమ నంనునఁ జీర్చి ఖంట శుంధుచి

పంస కర్ణంబులు ఫాలమం నుంచి

మంత్రలజ్జలు మొనసిన పటము

కుంభిసలంబునఁ గొమరొప్పు చేసి

శుద్ధిదంతంబు శోభిల్లు నట్టి

తపనీయ వలయముల్ దట్టించి ముసల

ఘనతాలి శస్త్రముల్ ఘటన గానింగి

బంగారు గోలుసులు పదిములఁ గట్టి

గంటలు ప్రక్కల గణగణమ్రాయం

తొండంబు గోలుసులతోడ రంజల్ల

శృంగారి మీరీతి శీఘ్రమే చేసి."—Pv. Cr., pp. 29-30.

Varthema also gives a good description of an elephant ready for battle, and of an elephant fight. He, however, observes that the number of men carried on the back of an elephant was seven (including the elephant driver), and not twelve as stated by Nikitin. "When an elephant goes into battle", says Varthema, "he carries a saddle, in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastened underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carries a large and very strong wooden box, and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant, between the boxes, they place a plank the size of half a span, and between the boxes and the plank a man sits astride who speaks to the elephant, for the said elephant possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world; so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go armed with shirts of mail, and with bows and lances, swords and shields. And in like manner they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and as wide as the hand of a man. And in that way they fight But if at any time they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks, and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight."

Abdur Razzak informs us that the Vijayanagar king, Dēvarāya II had more than one thousand elephants." Every time the Musunūri chief Kāpaya Nayaka, the king of Warāṅgal, concluded a treaty with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga, we are told by the Muslim historians that he gave them elephants also in accordance with the peace terms. The kings of Koṇḍaviḍu also had an elephant force even though their actual number is not known to us. In fact, king Anavema Reḍḍi's title *paricīṭānēka-gativiśēṣa-vāraṇa-mārtaṇ=īpāya*, mentioned in his Srisailam record,⁷ suggests that the success he attained in his victorious eastern campaign was due to his mastery in the science of elephantology. Nicolo de Conti says, "This animal (elephant) is so intelligent that when he is in battle he frequently receives the javelins of the enemy on the sole of his foot, in order that those whom he carries on his back, may not be injured."⁸ These extracts from the accounts of foreign travellers are given in order to enable the readers to understand the full importance of the elephant force in those times.

5. Varthema's travels, pp. 126-127.

6. E.D., Vol IV., p. 105.

7. Ep. coll., No. 20 of 1915.

8. Major., Conti, p. 12.

Horses :

Cavalry " was the next important division of the army. Horses also were beautifully decorated and ornamented in diverse ways like elephants. Though many of the horses employed in warfare were mostly imported from Arabia, Persia and other countries in their neighbourhood, there were some of the indigenous breed also, especially reared in Sindh and Āraṭṭa countries on the west coast of India. Horse breakers are called *reṇṇṭulu* and cavaliers *rāhuttulu* in Telugu. Prince Doddṛ Redḍi of Rajamahēndravaram, son of Allāḍa Redḍi, was a cavalier of great repute. He is said to have performed a great feat by making his horse on gallop jump, at a stretch on one occasion, a distance of twenty four cubits in length,⁹ in the neighbourhood of a certain town. Cavalry was the all important and preponderating division of the army of both the Emperors of Delhi and the Sultans of the Bahamān kingdom. They were reputed to have possessed more cavalry than their Hindu contemporaries. The Vilasa grant " of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family states that the Sultan of Delhi possessed nine lakh horse (*navalakṣ-āśvasādhanam*). Consequently, the Muslim rulers were known as *Āśvapatis*, lords of the horse, and the Hindu kings of South India as *Narapatis*, lords of men (foot soldiers).

Infantry :

Infantry consisted of four divisions of warriors, namely (1) *Selaḡōla bāḷamu*, (2) *Vilukāṇḍru*, (3) *Kaṭṭiḡaḡāṇḍru* and (4) *Elkkaṭlu*.

9. Duarte Barbosa gives a description of the cavaliers he had seen in Goa. "They ride on high pommelled saddles", writes Barbosa, "and make much use of zepares and light tied to their saddles, with long light lances which have heads a cubit long, square, and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton... and many of them kilts of mail. Their horses are well caparisoned with steel head pieces. They carry maces and battle axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two " (Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 180). Since the manners and customs of the people and the culture of South India was essentially the same, it may not be wrong to say that the above description might be as well true of the cavaliers of the Andhra country also. The differences, if there were any, might have been very little.

10. "పారి దాటింపఁ బురోహితమున వాహ్యుల్ని పక్షంబునం

దగుచే ముల్లయ రెడ్డి నందమఁకు దొడ్డయ్యకు మాన్చిశ్చనం

డినునై నాలుగుమాన్చిమేర ననఁగా లెక్కింపఁగా నేల ము

ప్పటి నాగురి కీర్తిగాఁజేరి గతుమద్దరించిది బ్రహ్మయము." — Ks. Kh., I, V. 58.

11. *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix I,

Each of these regiments got its name either from the weapons it used in fighting, or from the way the services of the warriors were remunerated, or from its distinguishing feature and work in the army.

Selagōla in Telugu means a javelin or spear. *Selagōlabalamu* was the force of spearmen or javelineers. A short spear or a javelin was called *nējā*, *ite*, or *bullemu* in Telugu. Though the main form is the same there are sharp differences between them.

The section of *vilukāru* (or *vilukāṇḍra*) was the army of archers or bowmen. The bow was one of the most important weapons of warfare in Ancient India. Arrows were carried in a quiver, called *tūṇira* in Sanskrit and *dona* and *ammula-nodi* in Telugu. The Redḍi kings were expert archers. Prōlaya Redḍi, his son Vēmā Redḍi and his son Anavēmā Redḍi were specially praised for their skill in archery. The use of bows and arrows did not become obsolete even by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Duarte Barbosa states, "They (the foot-soldiers) carry strong round shields covered with silk. Everyman carries two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows; others carry steel maces. Many of them wear coats of mail and others jackets quilted with cotton."..... "Their bows are long like those of England"¹² The Russian traveller Nikitin observes, "The Hindus carry a shield in one hand, and a sword in the other. Some of the servants are armed with straight bows and arrows."¹³ Bows and arrows were used in warfare both by the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Expert archers had their names painted or incised on the shafts of the arrows they used in warfare in order to strike terror among their enemies. This is suggested by a verse¹⁴ in the Telugu work, *Haravilāsam* written by Srinatha. This custom of shooting signed arrows was not a new innovation of the mediaeval period. It was in vogue from the earliest times till the time

12. Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 119.

13. Ibid, p. 181.

14. Major, Nikitin, p. 12.

15. "చిత్తరుగ్గతిలోడ కమానిపువ్వశరములు

కేసి మధుమాసకాలంబు చిత్రిజనకు

నలికులంబులపేర నామాక్షరములు

వరుచనిత్యేనఁ గుఱుతింపఁ నానియందు."—Hr. VI, III, v. 57.

Another important division of the infantry was *ekkatlu*, the plural form of the term *ekkaṭi*, a contracted form of *Ekkatīdu*.²⁰ *Ekkatī*, otherwise called *Onṭari*, was, as his name indicates, brought into the field of battle almost at the end of the fight, when it was a losing game, and was ordered to take part in hand to hand fight. *Ekkatī kayyamu*, the combat of singles, began only after every prospect of victory was lost. The *ekkaṭi* forces served probably as the reserve army, and each fighter in this division was probably a great wrestler and wielded also heavy weapons like maces and the like. There were *ekkaṭis* in every important town and village in the kingdom. The *ekkaṭis* of Velaṅṭūru (Vellaṅṭūru), Taṅgeḍa and Pōlōpalli are mentioned in the records²¹ of the Redḍi period. From the way in which these *ekkaṭis* made gifts to local gods, we come to know that they were remunerated for their services by grants of land. All these sections of infantry are mentioned in the *Palnāṭivīracaritra*²², produced in this period. In this work *ekkatlu* are referred to as *Onṭarlu* (*Selaḡōla prajalamu heccu vaṅṭarlu*; *Vaṅṭari* is the corrupt form of *Onṭari*). *Ekkatī* and its synonym *Onṭari* seem to have been the vernacular equivalents of the Sanskrit word *Ēkaṅgarīra*, the hero who fights the combat singly. These *ekkaṭis* of the Redḍi period gradually formed into a separate military caste or community, and are now popularly called *Vaṅṭarlu*. These now form one of the three sections of the Telaga community of the fourth caste, the other two being the Telaga²³ (proper), and the Kāpu.

Weapons:

The traditional list of weapons of the Hindus consists of thirty two weapons. These include swords, sabres, daggers, maces, javelins, spears, battle-axes, discs and so on. Besides these there were artillery engines to discharge stones (*pāsāṇa yantras* or catapults). Friar Jordanus observes thus: "Two things there be which cannot be withstood by arms; one is the bolt of heaven; the second is a stone from an artillery engine." We come to know from Ferishta that the

20. "ఒంటరి యెక్క-టీఁ డొంటిఁ డొంట్రిఁపు

నా నేక భటునకు నామమగునా..."—An. Bn., II, p. 59, v. 185.

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 327 and 328 of 1937 and 367-380 of 1926.

22. Pv. Cr., p. 20, p. 28.

23. H. A. Stuart writes "Telugas are a Telugu caste of cultivators who were formerly soldiers in the armies of the Hindu sovereigns of Teliṅgaṇa."..... "A *Vaṅṭari* was in olden days, a *sepo*y, and as such owned *inām* (rent free) lands. Even now he has a prejudice against ploughing *jirāṇṭi* (ordinarily assessed) lands." (*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, pp. 13-14).

24. *Foreign notices*, p. 206.

Hindus of this period used guns also in warfare. He informs us that, in the battle of Adōni, Sultān Muhammad Shāh's booty, according to Tohfut-oo-Salāteen, consisted of three hundred gun carriages and battering rams besides other things.²⁵ If the Hindus of Vijayanagar used guns, there is no reason to disbelieve that their contemporaries, the Hindus of the Konḍaviḍu kingdom, also used that weapon in their warfare. Every warrior was armed to the teeth and put on armour to protect his head and body. Each warrior was equipped with bow and arrows, sword and shield and other necessary weapons of offence and defence. The shield, called *arige*²⁶, *keḍemu* or *ḍuluvāḡu* in Telugu, was commonly made of hide, in different sizes and shapes. The comparison of the *arige-billa*²⁷, used in Telugu to denote a shield, with a tortoise indicates that it was circular in shape. Representations of rectangular shields also may be seen in some of the scenes sculptured on the Amarāvati slabs.

Recruitment:

From the brāhman to the sūdra members of all the four castes were recruited to the ranks of the army. Several regiments consisting of large sections of people of trading communities were also formed in times of necessity.

There were special officers to enlist recruits to the army. These were called *kālarulu*²⁸ in Telugu. These officers were busy collecting the army when the king made up his mind to invade a country. The tests, the recruits into the army had to satisfy, are not known to us. However, in the matter of recruitment the procedure and the tests adopted in the Konḍaviḍu kingdom might have been more or less akin

25. Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 312.

26. " . . . ఆశ్వంబులకు
వరధానులును వరధానులకు
వరిగెలవారిలను బన్నిచ్చి గీచుటై" — VK. Cr., IV, v. 85.

27. " అరిగ బిల్లా క మతాక్కట మెలుకుంగ
నడిచంబులును మీల ఎవకరంప..." — Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 156.

28. " ఖండేందు ధరునిమీదను
నం డెత్తగవలయు ననుచు నన బలములం బి
అన్యంబుని కాలరి తుమ్మెద
రింపములకై ముందు పంపఁ దద్దయు వేడ్కకై" — Vb. Vj., II, vv. 87-88.
"దండయాత్రాసముత్సృక సనాథుండై సాహసాంక మహీనాథుండు
రిగిన కాలరులం బంచుటయు" — Vb. Cr., IV, Pr. 40.

to those adopted in the Vijayanagar kingdom. Barbosa describes how the recruits were collected there (South India). He writes thus, "The officials of war in choosing a man for the army strip him naked and look at him to find out how tall he is, what is his name, in what land he was born, the names of his father and mother, and in this way he is appointed without leave being given to him to go to his country, and if he goes without leave and afterwards is captured, he is very evilly treated"²⁹.

The March:

After assembling the forces, war drums were sounded. After consulting the *jyōtiskas* and *śākhnikas* and after worshipping his tutelary diety and the local gods, the king marched out of the city with his troops on an auspicious day and at an auspicious moment. Generally, the period in the year most suitable for leading an expedition was the *Śaradṛtu* or the autumn season. Different kinds of musical instruments, like *kāhaḷa* (clarion), *būra* (trumpet), *ḍamūyi* (kettle drum), *kanakatappeṭalu* (another variety of drum), *śaṅkha* (conch), gongs and so on, were at play during the march of the army and the battle. *Vegarulu*³⁰ or spies were sent before-hand to trace the movements of the enemy and *dāḍikūṇḍru*³¹ or scouts were sent in advance of the army to clear the way and lay out the roads and look to other arrangements.

The equipage followed the army in march. Tents and tent materials, different kinds of cots woven with broad tape, thick and broad seats made of board, spittoons, different kinds of chests laden with treasure, umbrellas, boxes containing musk, sandal, camphor and other things, were carried on bullock carts, camels and other beasts of burden. Pairs of palanquins, horses kept ready with bridles, servants carrying cages containing birds, shop-keepers with their travelling shops of food-grains and other necessities of life, and yoke-men carrying in their yokes boxes filled with treasure, all accompanied the

29. Barbosa, I, p. 212.

30. "ఘనముగా శృంగారమున నేటిది", — *Pv. Cr.*,

31. "ఇది చుడెంచె జైత్రు డని యెల్లవంతులను బ్రహ్మదను
పాదలగ మేలివార్చె గొని బోరన వచ్చిన దాడి గాఢ దనము..."

— *Nr. Pr.*, II, v. 60.

Though there is a slight and subtle difference between the two terms, *vegaru* and *dāḍikāḍu*, they were both generally applied to scouts as well as spies in Telugu literature.

army". Certain classes of minstrels also attached to distinguished nobles and warriors accompanied the latter, singing their glories (*biridu padyas* and *galtyas*). If the Muslim historian, Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, is to be trusted, nautch girls also accompanied Hindu kings to the field of battle". Soon after crossing the frontier the invading troops devastated the enemy's kingdom. They pillaged "all the cattle and pastures of the enemy" and burnt the outlying towns and villages. The king by regular marches reached the important outlying town of the enemy and invested the fort.

32. "గొల్లెనల్ మొగ్గలైన ముత్యంబుం

సదయము తెల్లను నిచ్చి పోయెడు

శస్త్రాస్త్ర యువకు శక్తి పుష్కలము

కలవస్తువులచే సోద్రుమైనట్టి

నానావిధంబుల నాణెలు లెడు

మందసంబులు గట్ట మడలక మోయు

వేసడింబుల నిచ్చి కీర సేవకల

శీతపు బొక్క-ముల్ చేతిలో వేసి ... — Pv. Cr., p.

ఘనమైన కూలాలు గట్టిన యట్టి

శక్తిపరమాంబు నాగించి పడవ

బాగుడొంగులు బండ్లు మోయ

వెనుల నొంటల మోదైన యట్టి

వేసడింబుల నెల్ల శాంతి పూర్వ ... — Ibid, p. 29.

గొల్లెనల్ గట్టిన గొప్పలొబండ్లు

బ్రాసపెట్టెలు పట్టెమంచములు

తిరుచైన పీటలు తిమ్మసడి గలను

వింతయంగసములు వెలయ గొల్లలును

కొక్కిరి కమ్మరి గడ్డ కమ్మ

మాదిగా నానన లకురు పెట్టెలును

బొక్క-సంకల బల్ల బోన కావళ్లు

జన్మాపిట్టలు శారికాకీ

పంజరములు వట్టు సరిచారములును

పడినాగలేనీలు పాలకీర్తనలు

ఘట్టభాగ్యంబుల యంగళ్ల నారు

మందడివడ దండు చయ్యనం గనె" — Ibid, p. 4.

33. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Pt. III, p. 16.

34. J. S. King's *Burhan-ul-Ma'asir*, p. 17.

Forts :

Forts were of four kinds in accordance with the position in which they were situated, namely, *sthaladurgas*, *jaladurgas*, *vanadurgas*, and *giridurgas*. *Sthaladurga* was an ordinary fort built on a plain and protected by a big moat around it and by a number of high enclosing walls,³⁶ for example, Rajamahēndravara and Niravadyapura (Niḍadavōl) were *sthaladurgas*. The remaining three were regarded as natural forts; for, it was considered difficult to reduce the forts situated in forests (*vanadurgas*), among the mountains (*giridurgas*) and those surrounded and protected by vast expanse of water around (*jaladurgas*), because of their location. Kātama Redḍi II, father of Vēmā Redḍi, the prime minister of king Kumāragiri Redḍi, was an expert in reducing *jaladurgas*, and consequently he got the title *jaladurga-malla*. King Anavēma Redḍi is extolled in his Śrīsailam record as a veritable Balarāma in breaking the *sthaladurgas* (*sthaladurga-vidaḷana-Balarāma*), and a Raghurāma in subduing *jaladurgas* (*jaladurga-sadhana-Raghurāma*). Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Bellamkoṇḍa and Nagarjunkoṇḍa were some of the great mountain forts in the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

Every fort was furnished with drinking water resources, enough of grain and other necessities of life including salt; to with-stand a prolonged siege, and was protected by strong garrison.

Battle began at sunrise with the beating of war-drums and lasted till sunset. After sunset drums were beaten and armies returned to their respective camps³⁶.

Military Officers :

Before the investment of the fort, the army was formed into *vyūhas* or columns, and placed under the command of different officers. The rank of the generals varied in accordance with the number of troops under their command. The terms denoting generals in the Telugu works of this period are *paḍināyaka*, *paḍālu*, *paḍarālu*, *daḷavāyī*, and *daṇḍanāyaka*. The *Velugūḍivūri Vamśārāṇi* mentions *paḍināyakas biruda-rāhultas*³⁷ (distinguished cavaliers), and *leṅkas* (servants).

“ ముగ్గుల రాజ్యం నుండి చీకాళిని స్వాధీనం చేసుకుంటూ భూస్థలం నీర్మలంపాడెన
ప్రజాకారం నలమగ్గుల జల వన పర్వతం నుండి స్వభావమగ్గులయ్యును ప్రజాకా
రం నీకేయన్ను జనులకు నోచరయలను నీ చరిత్రధమగ్గులండును...” —

Sk. Sm. I, Pr. 8; Kr. Rm., v. 112. Vide, Description of the fort of Warangal.

36. *Tabaqāt-i-Albari*, pt. III, p. 35.

37. P. 19.

The term *paḍi* in *paḍināyaka* seems to be a variant of *poḍuvā*, and equivalent to the Sanskrit term *paṭṭi*³⁸. *Paṭṭi*, according to the Sanskrit work *Nītiprakāśikā*, an extract from a larger work devoted to the *Nīti Sāstra* ascribed to Vaiṣaṃpāyana, was the smallest unit of the army consisting of a chariot, an elephant, three horses and five foot-soldiers. According to the same work, a chariot had a retinue of ten elephants, one hundred horse, and one thousand infantry; an elephant of one hundred horse, and one thousand infantry; and a horse of one thousand foot-soldiers, and each foot-soldier had ten followers.³⁹ We have no means to verify if this description of this *paṭṭi* held good in the period under review also. We, however, take *paḍi* as the smallest unit of the army, whatever might have been its volume. *Paḍināyaka* is styled *paḍirāya* in inscriptions at Simhāchalam, for instance, Śrī Rama paḍirayaḍu, Vijayadēva paḍirāyaḍu, and Kūnāṇḍi paḍirāyaḍu. The terms *paḍināyaka*, *paḍirāya*, *paḍalu* and *paḍavālu*, all seem to be synonymous. The term Baṅḍa paḍalu, an officer (commander) of a small regiment of foot-soldiers, finds mention in an inscription at Taṅgeḍa.⁴⁰ *Paḍavālu* and *daḷavāyi* do not seem to be synonymous, though they are taken to be such at the present day. *Daḷa* means a part or fragment. Hence, it seems reasonable to think that a *daḷa* was a detachment of the army consisting of a certain number of units, each unit being, as stated already, a *paṭṭi* or *paḍi*. *Daḷavāyi* therefore seems to have been an officer of a higher rank than *paḍināyaka*, *paḍavālu* or *paḍalu*, and a subordinate official to *daṇḍanāyaka*, otherwise called *daṇṭāyaka*, a commander-in-chief

Honours :

Kings granted badges of honour to those who distinguished themselves by performing great and valorous deeds. Each military honour consisted of a title, a badge of honour, a flag and other insignia. Flags of honour of such distinguished heroes were called *birdu-paḍugalu* or *birudu tekkemulu*. Each of the distinguished heroes was granted the privilege to have their *birudaṅkas* (titles of honour) sung by minstrels (*bhaṭṭavaru*) in their services on all auspicious, public and state occasions. Special anklets of heroes of honour to be worn on the left leg (*ḍākāli-gaṇḍapeṇḍāramu*) were highly valued. There were umbrellas of honour (*biruda goḍugulu*) also which were different from ordinary umbrellas. Each honour carried with it some

38. The term *paḍuvā* in the sense of army is mentioned in the Addaṅki stone inscription of Paṇḍaraṅga, general of the Eastern Caḷukya king, Vijayaditya III (Vide *Iharata* Vol. V, pt. i, p. 484).

39. Gustav Oppert, *On the weapons, army organisation, and political maxims of the Hindus*, pp. 4-5.

40. Ep. Coll., No. 367 of 1926.

distinguishing mark or privilege. Each honoured hero had to lay down his badges of honour, when he was defeated"; and it was the custom in ancient times for the victor to assume the titles and badges of honour of the vanquished. Besides these titles of honour, kings used to grant a village or some land to the warriors who distinguished themselves in war. This military grant also was known as *jivitamu*" (military *jūgīr*).

Declaration of Armistice and Conclusion of Peace :

Armistice was declared by blowing a trumpet (*dura*) called *dhurmadāra*" in Telugu. Terms of peace were settled and written by an officer called *sandhi-vigrahin*", minister for peace and war, one of the

41. "నాడె సింగముమాదకు వచ్చె వేగఁ

బాటు తెండని రవుకుల చీరఁబాటె

భీతి నన్నవోతాఁడె బిరుదులన్ని

వీటిఁ బోవంగ దన్నా లకోటబయల " — Vv. Vm., v. 1

జల్లి పల్లికడ రాజులఁ జంపి రణము గుడిపించి చలమర్చిండబిరుదును, సోమకుల పరశురామ బిరుదును, నంతెంబరగండ బిరుదును, ధరణీవరాహ, చౌహత్త మల్లబిరుదులను వహించి, భీమవరముకడఁ గాపానేనిఁ జంపి ఖడ్గ నారాయణ, గాయగోవాళ, హిందూరాయసుర త్రాణబిరుదులను వహించి " V. Vm., pr. 86.

Any number of instances can be cited from the *Velugōṭivari Vamsavalī* to prove the statement made above. In this way these titles of honour used to migrate from place to place and from kingdom to kingdom.

42. "నేకకులకు మునుజేసిన

జీవితములు చెఱుప — Bh. Rj., III, v. 189.

"ముఁ ॥ జీవితమంది రాచపనిచేయుక పాటినపంద " — Ibid, VI, v. 15.

Later on, the term *jivitamu* came to mean that which served as a means of one's livelihood. *Jitam*, the Telugu term now in usage, is the corrupt but colloquial form of *jivitamu*.

43. రాత్రిపో ॥ రిందిప్రభాత కాలము పరకుప్పట్టమైనను 'ధర్మ దాగ' వట్టించుచు నున్న వాఁ డెదె " — Kr. Rm.,

Vide, Introduction also, p. 115 (by Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu).

44. "అవనీపతి నిల్పందగుఁ

బ్రవిమల మతిచతురు నిఖిలభాషామృతముఁ

సవినయ శ్రీమవిలేఖను

వివిధవిధ ప్రాధు సంధివిగ్రహపదవిన్ " — Sk. Sm., II, V. 387, p. 38.

important State officials of the Hindu court. It was a general custom observed during the mediaeval period to present the victorious king girls also, besides jewels, elephants and horses.

Peculiar Customs and Rites:

Bomma peṭṭa: Victors in battle took particular delight to disgrace, insult or deride their vanquished foes, particularly during this period. This inordinate desire of the victors to do so was responsible for a peculiar custom, namely, *bomma peṭṭa* in Telugu. According to this custom the victor got an effigy of the vanquished prepared, and set it either on his spittoon or on his ornamental anklet of heroes¹⁵ (*gaṇḍapeṇḍāraṁu*). The number of images either on the spitting-pot or on the *peṇḍāraṁu* increased in proportion to the number of heroes vanquished. This setting or fixing of an image (*bomma peṭṭa*), came in course of time, to mean figuratively to destroy, or to disgrace. In this sense many poets of this age used this phrase frequently in their

45. While reviewing the wars between the Velama kings of Raṅgavṛkṣa and Devarakonda and the Reddi kings of Konḍaviḍu, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya writes, "Maca was killed and his head was carried away as a trophy to Devarakonda by Vedagiri, and was used by him as a spittoon to show his contempt for his departed enemy." (Vv, Vm., Introduction, p. 27). On another page he again writes, "Peda Komaṭi Vema carried away his head to Konḍaviḍu, where, emulating Vedagiri's example he had it fashioned into a spittoon." (Ibid, p. 28). In the above cases it is not correct to state that the head was carried as a trophy and fashioned into a spittoon. The following lines are the authority for the above statements.

“అకొమార వేగిరి వేడే యువవేమారడి తిమ్మని మారారడిని నొట్టి తమ్మపడి
నానఁ బొడిగించిన, నాయనవేమారడి పినవేగిరివేనిఁ జంకి, తిమ్మపడి నానఁ
బొడిగించి” — Vv. Vm., p. 39

The term తిమ్మపడి నానఁ బొడిగించుట means to get a figure or image in metal set on the spittoon. That only a metal image of the vanquished is set either on the spittoon or on the anklet (*andiya*) of the heroes is clear from the following verse from the *Velugotirari Vanisaraḷi*, which describes the process of preparing the image concerned.

“ఎత్తి పుటంబుఁ బెట్టి కుడియించి కళంకము నీర్చి కాకమ్మ
నొత్తి ఘటించి లోనాగతి నొండొకరీతికిఁ జెచ్చి వమ్మె
నత్తనీ నీవదంబుజమునఁది నుఁ బెట్టిన రాజు లండఁజు
మొత్తముగట్టి నీ మఁగఁగఁమములు వల్లుగు రావు మాధవా!” — v. 87. Also
refer to verse 108, p. 40.

*kāvya*s.⁴⁶ Inscriptions of this period also bear testimony to the prevalence of this custom during the period under review. An inscription of Arjunadēva of the Matsya line of Oḍḍi at Simhachalam (Vizagapatam district), dated Saka 1279, extols him as one whose feet shone with the glittering ornament containing the images of twelve kings⁴⁷; (*dvādaśa-bhūpa-rūpakhaṇita-prādhāsi-bhūṣaṇita śrīpālah*)⁴⁸; this means that king Arjunadēva defeated twelve kings whose effigies were set on the foot-ornament (the anklet of heroes, *gaṇḍapeṇḍāram*). The victors took pleasure in getting figures of their vanquished enemies prepared and arranged according to their whims and fancies in order to satisfy their vanity and pride. Some got them prepared with outstretched hands and fixed them on their spittoons, so as to make them appear as if begging for the quid of their chewed betel⁴⁹; and some with hands raised and folded as if making salutation.

Raṇamu kuḍupu: One other curious, but ghastly, rite that was in vogue during the period under review was *raṇamu kuḍupu*. This rite consists in offering rice cooked with the blood and bones of the enemy kings⁵⁰ to the *bhūtas*, spirits or goblins to satisfy them. We come to know about this rite exclusively from the Telugu work, *Velugōṭi-vāri Vamīācaṇi*⁵¹. Each and every member of the Rēceṇḍa line is said to

46. "... రివరిచర్మమున దోలెడి (అక్కడ) లేమికి బొమ్మలుట్టెడి."

—Vkr. Cr., I, v, 73.

"పువ్వుమాపులకను బొమ్మవెట్టు ... " — Ibid., VII, v, 44.

"పేదర్మకిని బొమ్మవెట్టువారు ... " — Ibid., v, 124.

47. "अस्तिद्वादश भूपरूपवचितप्रोन्नसिभूवाञ्चित
श्रीपादो भुविनिज्जिताखिलरिपु [ः*] श्रीमत्स्यवंशोन्नवः
श्रीमानर्जुनभूपतिर्गुणनिधि तस्याधिकप्रेयसी... "॥

48. "తమ్మ తమకంతి క్రియమ
తమ్మకు చెయి బాచి రిపులు తలక్రించె నీ
తమ్మపడిగాన నందగు
బొమ్మలక్రియ రాపు రావభూతగుడిం గా..." — Vv. Vm., p. 16, v. 58.

The term '*boṇṇala kriya*' clearly shows that those were figures of enemy kings set on the spittoon. Also, refer to verses 112 and 113, page 41.

49. Vv. Cr., v, 62.

50. Ibid., V, 38; "కుంట్లారిమ్మడిం జరిపి భూ | తక్రావంతిడె గొల్లపల్లి బయలన్..."

—v. 37; pr. 49; v. 58; v. 54; pr. 59, 60 etc.

have revelled in performing this rite after winning the war or crushing the enemy. Consequently, there are many verses and passages in the above-mentioned work which either refer to or describe this rite of *raṇamu kuḍupu*. From these we come to know that the heads themselves of the enemies, slain on the battle field, were placed as stumps to form the fire-place or hearth, that the blood of the captive kings was extracted by throwing them into stone mills and working them, and that food was cooked with blood as *esaru* (boiled water for cooking food) in the skulls of fallen enemies⁵¹. The authors of *Velugōṭivāri Vamīacaritra* describe *raṇamu kuḍupu* in their work⁵² as an Āgamic rite of making, on the field of battle (at the place where the enemies were slain), in the middle of night singly, stark-naked, besmearing body with ashes and unfastening the lock of hair on the crown of the head, an oblation of food mixed with the blood of enemies, placing it in their skulls, to Dakinī and other *bhūtas*, chanting *mantras* relating to *bhūta-bali*. The *bhūtas* and deities that were invoked at the time of making this oblation are Digam̐barī, Kālī, Mahakālī, Śakinī, Dakinī, Bayilā, Kayinī, Vīra Bēṭala, Bhairava, Vīrabhadra, Raṇa Pōturaṇa, and other *kalahādhidēvatas*.⁵³ After first worshipping these the oblation of food was made.

51. Ibid, v. 64.

52. Page 26, foot-note 2 with a star.

53. Vv. Cr., pp. 19-20.

HISTORY OF THE REDDI KINGDOMS.

PART II: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL.

INTRODUCTION

In the succeeding chapters an attempt is made to describe some aspects of the social and religious life of the people in the Reddi period. The account may not be full, as it is pieced together from various sources, from travellers' accounts, Telugu poems, and inscriptions of this period. The accounts of travellers are very meagre though not untrustworthy. They had little scope to come into contact with people, especially of the upper classes, unless they happened to be ambassadors or government officials. Their accounts, however, furnish good information, either first-hand or corroborative, regarding some aspects of social life, and are therefore valuable. The Telugu poems also, when properly studied, provide much useful information. It is, however, true that the heroes of the poems around whom the stories revolve, are either mythical or imaginary, and as such, they do not have any direct bearing on contemporary life. Moreover, by about this time the Telugu *kāṇḍa* became highly conventionalised. In spite of these limitations we are able to glean something of contemporary life reflected through some of the words, similies, and other figures of speech, used by the Telugu poets of this age. Terms like *pōḍu* and *maḍḍu*, or usages like *maḍḍu paṭṭuṭa*, are pregnant with meaning and connote a whole system or a live institution then in vogue. The similies and other figures of speech were drawn from the life around the authors, and the description of heroes, whether imaginary or mythical, and their activities, were based on contemporary life. We have therefore to probe deep into these descriptions and bring out the full meaning of the terms used, and get glimpses of the life of the day. The dress and ornaments worn by the characters in the poems, their games and amusements, their customs and manners, their moral precepts and their various impious deeds and practices were all primarily drawn from contemporary life, and as such, the Telugu poems, when studied with caution and discrimination, supplement the travellers' accounts regarding many aspects of life. Inscriptions, by direct statement and indirect reference, also throw some light on the social life of the period.

In addition to the general inadequacy of material, there is yet another difficulty, that of properly interpreting the age we deal with. As we are living today far removed from that period, and under conditions almost totally different from those prevailing then, and in a civilisation greatly influenced by western ideas and institutions, a proper and sympathetic understanding of the age appears quite difficult.

The succeeding pages may not give a complete picture of the life of the period in all its aspects. Yet, they may indicate, the broad outlines of the social life of a bygone age, rich in colour and variety.

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY

Society is always a complex problem and more complex is the pattern of Hindu society. It is not easy to give a clear and detailed picture of Hindu Society as it evolved through centuries of its development, with its many exogamous and endogamous divisions, nor is it very necessary for our present purpose. A brief account of the principal castes constituting it, as they obtained in the middle ages, chiefly in the period of the Redḍi sovereignty, will be given below.

The pattern of Hindu society, as revealed by a study of immemorial tradition, continued to give the State the usual pyramidal structure with *sūdras* and the *caṇḍālas* at the bottom and the *vaiśyas*, *kṣatriyas* and *brāhmanas* forming the super layers. It is needless to discuss the mythical or professional basis of these divisions; but by the time of the Redḍis, the Muslim invasions and the economic conditions prevailing then in the country had greatly affected the castes, the *brāhman* accepting military employment and clerical service in the State and taking even to agriculture, the *kṣatriya* becoming a practical farmer, and the *sūdra* following trade as a profession and even rising to be a king. The Redḍi kingdom was the result of a spirit of revivalism among the Hindus, and during that rule, naturally, we find the various castes sliding back into their usual avocations, though not strictly adhering to them; for, the changes wrought by the Muslim rule did not fail to bear lasting effects.

Brāhmanas :

Brāhmanas, the custodians of religious and sacred knowledge, were considered to be the highest in rank of all the sections of the Hindu society. They were held in respect by members of the other three castes or *varṇas*. The *brāhman* caste consisted of a great majority of *smārtas*, and of the followers of the Hindu religious schools like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

A scrutiny of the list of *gōtras* of *brāhman* donees mentioned in the copper-plate records of this period, and of the number of the *Vēdas*, and the *Sāstras* in which they are said to have been proficient, establishes the fact that the kings of this age extended their patronage mostly to the *Yajurvēdins*, *brāhmanas* well-versed in the *Yajur Vēda*,

and experts in the ritual connected with Vēdic sacrifices. This was in accordance with the spirit of the times. Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musuṇṇṇi family claims that he had made pure the sacred places of the Andhra country which were desecrated by the Mussalmans, by setting again in motion the Vēdic sacrifice which was stopped during the Muslim rule¹. Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Redḍi kingdom, assumed the interesting and revealing title of "*anavarata-purōhita-kṛita sōmapānā*"², one who had the *Sōma* juice taken incessantly by purōhitas in sacrifices. Grants of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu testify to the revived sacrificial activity after the re-establishment of Hindu independence. It had become the self-imposed duty of the early kings of this age to recover and regrant the old *agrahāras*, to brāhmanas, which had been formerly in their enjoyment, having been granted to them by kings of yore, but were lost to them during the Muslim occupation of the country. Vēdic sacrifices became the order of the day. It is, therefore, no wonder if many of the donees mentioned in the grants of this age were the followers of the *Yajur Veda*, who were adepts in sacrificial lore and ritual. Among them we find the followers both of the *Kṛiṣṇa Yajur Veda* and the *Śukla Yajur Veda*, the two schools into which the *Yajur Veda* is divided. The *Śukla Yajur Veda*, otherwise known as the *Vājasaneyya śākhā*, named as such after Vājasaneyya, consists of fifteen śākhās, of which the Kaṇva and the Madhyandina śākhās are the prominent ones. Brāhmanas of the Vājasaneyya school appear to have immigrated into the coastal Andhra country from the north in large numbers, in the early centuries of the Christian era, during the Pallava period. According to an undated stone inscription³ at Uppuṭṭuru (in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district) Trilōcana Pallava⁴ alias Mukkaṇṭi Kaḍuvetṭi, a Pallava king, whose name is preserved only in tradition and whose identity has not yet been finally established, granted Lavaṇapura or the modern Uppuṭṭuru as an *agrahāra* to one thousand brāhmanas, followers of Yājñavalkya, who are said to have come from the town of Ahicchatrapura on the banks of the Ganges. A copper-plate grant⁵ of the time of the Kakatiya monarchs corroborates this statement. According to another stone inscription⁶ king Kakati Gaṇapatiḍva confirms an earlier grant of the village of Idupulapaḍu (in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur

1. *A Forgotten chapter*, Vide Appendix, No. I, p. 104, v. 37.

2. S. I. I., VI, No. 243.

3. Ep. Coll., No. 779 of 1922.

3a. For the traditional account about Trilōcana Pallava, See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's work "*Trilōcana Pallava and Karikala Cōḍa*".

4. CP. No. 4 of 1916-17; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 346 ff.

5. Ep. Coll., No. 803 of 1922.

district) made by Trinayana Pallava to brāhmanas of various *gōtras* who were learned in the Vēdas and were the followers of the Kāṭyāyana Sūtra and the Kāṇva sākha (*Śakla Yajurvedins*). Another inscription at Kōlavennu⁶ (in the Bejavada taluk, Kistna district) records that a minister of Kakati Gaṇapatiḍēva granted an *agrahāra* to several brāhmanas of the Yājñavalkyakula.

From the study of the grants of the Reddi period we come to know that brāhmanas who followed the *Yajur Veda*, whether it be of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajus* school or the *Śukla Yajus* school, formed the majority of the brāhman caste. The number of those who followed the *Rig Veda* and the *Sāma Veda* was comparatively less than that of the followers of the *Yajur Veda*. We do not come across *Atharvanēdins* or followers of the *Atharra Veda* in the inscriptions of this period. Some of the brāhman donees mentioned in grants were *divēdins*, experts in two Vēdas, either in the *Rig Veda* and the *Yajur Veda*, or in the *Yajur Veda* and the *Sāma Veda*.

Brāhmanas were further subdivided into a number of clans (*gōtras*⁷) which are supposed to derive their origin from ancient Rṣis. The *gōtras* represented in the grants of this period, numbering nearly thirty, are given below: This number is not exhaustive.

(1) Ātrōya	(11) Kāsyapa	(21) Śalāṅkāyana
(2) Bhāradvāja	(12) Kauṇḍinya	(22) Saṇḍilya
(3) Bhārgava	(13) Kauśika	(23) Saunaka
(4) Dēvarāta	(14) Lōhita	(24) Srivatsa
(5) Gārgya	(15) Maitrōya	(25) Sūṅgabharadvāja
(6) Gautama	(16) Maitrāvaruṇa	(26) Vādhūla
(7) Harita	(17) Maunabhārgava	(27) Vasiṣṭha
(8) Kāmākāyana	(18) Parāśara	(28) Viṣṇuvardana
(9) Kāṇva	(19) Purukutsa	(29) Viśvāmitra
(10) Kapi	(20) Rathītara	(30) Yaska.

The list given above merely indicates the *gōtras* of brāhman donees figuring in the copper-plate grants issued by kings of the

Ep. Coll. No. 530 of 1925.

"The word *gōtra* has a curious history. In *Rig Vedic* times it meant an enclosure for cows. They were kept in them during the night to prevent depredation by wild animals and thieves. At day-break they were let loose for grazing in fields, *gōṣṭhas*. Naturally the cows belonging to one family used to be kept in one *gōtra* which thus came to mean a family. The *gōtrapati*, like *kulapati*, the head of the family, became the *gōtra Rṣi*. The grazing ground *gōṣṭha* would, on the other hand, find room for cows of many families; hence the word came to mean a number of allied families, or of persons meeting together for a common purpose, a club."—Prof. J. C. Ray in *The Modern Review*, June, 1930.

coastal region of the Andhra country during this period. By its very nature it is limited, and does not contain the *gōtras* of brāhmins who were not recipients of *vṛttis*. A perusal of the list of donees mentioned in grants shows that there were experts in the *Rig Veda* and the *Yajur Veda* among the brāhmins of the Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Kāṇva, Kāśyapa, Kauśika, Srīvatsa, Vadhūla, and Vasiṣṭha *gōtras*, and in the *Yajur Veda* and the *Sāma Veda* among the brāhmins of the Ātrēya, Kapi and Kaundinya *gōtras*, and in the first three Vēdas, among the brāhmins of the Haritasa *gōtra*. We come to know also that the donees belonging to the Lōhita, Maunabhārgava, and Viṣṇuvardhana *gōtras* were adepts in the *Rig Veda*, and those of the remaining *gōtras* in the *Yajur Veda*. The primary classification of the brāhmin society was in accordance with the Vēda each individual professed to follow, in the performance of his sacrifices and ritual. This accounts for the presence of the same *gōtrins* among brāhmins following different Vēdas. The number of brāhmins belonging to the Dēvarata, Kamakayana, Maitrāvaruṇa, Maunabhārgava, Rathitara, Śuṅgabhāradvāja, Viṣṇuvardhana, Viśvāmitra and Yaska *gōtras* in the coastal Andhra country appears to have been very limited, as it is even at the present day; for, rarely do we come across names of these *gōtras* in the copper-plate records. On the other hand, brāhmins belonging to the Bhāradvāja, Hārita, Kāśyapa, Kaundinya, Kauśika and Srīvatsa *gōtras* appear to have been strong. Mention of these *gōtrins* in the grants of this period is very common.

There was yet another subdivision among brāhmins based on a territorial origin. This appears to have been in existence from a considerably early period. The age in which this subdivision came into vogue, cannot however be ascertained with precision, with the evidence at our disposal. The geographical divisions, which brought about this classification among brāhmins, are existent from about the fifth century. The Telugu country, from times immemorial, was divided into a number of divisions or districts known as *hāras* or *āhāras*, for example, Kudūrahara, Sātavāhanihara and so on. Later on, the term *hāra* changed into *rāra*, as in Pavunavāra and Gudravāra. At a still later date, the synonymous terms, *viṣaya* and *rāṣṭra* denoting a district, came into use and were suffixed to proper names; e.g., Vēṅgiṣaya, Kammaviṣaya, Pakaviṣaya, Vēṅgīraṣṭra, Pakarāṣṭra, Kammarāṣṭra and so on. *Nāḍu* or *deśa* is the Telugu equivalent to *viṣaya* or *rāṣṭra*. Like *viṣaya* and *rāṣṭra* the term *nāḍu* also was added to the name of the district. There are cases where both the synonymous terms *nāḍu* and *viṣaya* were added on to the name of the division, as in Vēṅgināṇḍuviṣaya and Velanāṇḍuviṣaya. But these instances are rare. How, why and in what manner these *nāḍus* came into being is not known. Among such *nāḍ* or *viṣayas* of the

Telugu country Vēgināḍu, Velanāḍu, Kammanāḍu, Pākanāḍu and Mulikināḍu are important to our discussion. Kammanāḍu corresponds to the area covered by the Narasaraopeta, Ongole, and Bapatla taluks, and Mulikināḍu roughly to the taluks north of the Pennār in the Cuddapah district. The brāhmanas of each *nāḍu* formed into a *kula* or a compact group of their own, which derived its name from the *nāḍu*, their original habitat. This kind of division among brāhmanas has been in existence at least from the time of the Eastern cālukyas of Vēngi; for, an inscription of Ammarāja II Vijayāditya records the grant of an *agrahāra* to a Kammakulaja brāhman, that is, a brāhman born in the Kammakula, the Kammanāḍi brāhman community, belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.⁸ By the time of the establishment of the Redḍi power, we find these groups, formed after geographical divisions, well crystallised into communities in the brāhmin society. According to a Sanskrit *cātu* verse, which has been current in the Telugu country for several centuries, Prōlaya Vēma granted in all forty-four *agrahāras* to brāhmanas, of which he gave three to the Vēgikulīnas (brāhmanas belonging to the community of Vēgināḍu), thirty six to brāhmanas of the Velanāḍikula or Velanāḍi community, and five to the Drāviḍa brāhmanas". This *cātu* ślōka clearly proves that the brāhman society was already divided into communities based on geographical divisions, even by the beginning of the Redḍi period". It appears that the brāhmanas of Kammanāḍu (the Kammanāḍi brāhmanas) merged in the brāhman community of Śaṣasahasradōṣa or Āḡuvēlanāḍu, and of Karpnāḍu or karpnāḍu.

Surnames or house-names of brāhmanas in the grants of this period reveal another interesting feature of the brāhman caste to us. There is evidence to show that the Telugu people had surnames from almost the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era". The surnames of brāhmanas do not however find mention in either the lithic or the copper-plate records before the fourteenth century. The copper-plate records of the early Redḍi period generally provide names of the *gōtras* of the *vr̥tti* holders and the Vēda or Vēdas in which they

8. *Sarada*, Vol. II (1923), p. 316.

आमीचिचनुवास्तथ्यो देवार्योदेवनन्दनः

भाद्राजान्वयः कम्मकुलजः कुलवर्धनः॥

9. See, Pt. I. p. 87, f. n. 43.

10. Of such communities that of the Teligānyas is one. These Teligānya brāhmanas derived their name from Teliṅgāṇam or Teliṅga (modern Telāṅṅanaḥ, Telāṅṅa seems to have been originally one of the districts of the Andhra country, corresponding to the territory around Manthana on the Godavari in the Hyderabad State, where their number is predominant,

were proficient, and do not give their surnames. It is only from the latter half of the Reddi period that we come to know the surnames of the brahman donees. A list of the surnames of the brahman families with their *gōtras*, known from inscriptions of the period, is appended to this chapter. The list is not exhaustive.

A study of the surnames leads us to conclude that most of them were derived from villages; and that brāhmanas who had a common surname do not necessarily belong to the same *gōtra*, but have different *gōtras*; for example, among the members of the Ākunūri family there are some who belong to the Kauśika *gōtra* and some to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Some of the members of the Jallipalli family belong to the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra* and some to the Vaiśiṣṭhasa *gōtra*. We find Haritasa *gōtrins* and Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* also among the members of Pedapūṇḍi family. Some of the members of the Rajukonḍa family belong to the Yāska *gōtra*, and some to the Kaśyapa *gōtra*. Similarly, we find Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* and Śrīvatsasa *gōtrins* among the Rāṇpallis, Kāśyapa *gōtrins* and Haritasa *gōtrins* among the Singarōmis, and Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* and Kaṇḍinya *gōtrins* among the members of the Vallūri family. These examples are enough to show that house-names are not the sure tests to determine the *gōtras* of brahmanas, and that family names do not contribute to the division of the society into communities. Followers of certain religious sets and some Drāviḍa brāhmanas also like the Kaṇṇas figure as donees in the grants of this period. The Drāviḍa brāhmanas having the surname Kaṇṇā are found even today in the East Godavari district; and the Kandālas, a Vaiṣṇava family, is known from the inscriptions of Mummaḍi Nayaka of Kōṅṅukonḍa. Devare Bhaṭṭa¹¹ of the Peṇḍē family was a Śaiva learned in Śrīrāgas.

11. Inscriptions at Buḍamanarayalapeḍu, a deserted village in the Podili taluk, Nellore district, bear testimony to this statement. These records are undated; yet, the palaeography of these inscriptions, and the very archaic language employed therein unmistakably leads us to the conclusion that they belong to the eighth century. One of the inscriptions at that place mentions a certain Komarapolu Koṇḍayya, the writer of the record. Here, Komarapolu, a corrupt form of Komaraprolu (modern Komaravolu) is certainly the surname which was derived from the village bearing the same name.
12. Devare Bhaṭṭa was a Śivarcaka, a Śaiva priest. He was well-versed in the Śaiva-*āgamas*. The Brahmanas of the Vaikhanasakula became priests in the Viṣṇu temples. The donee of the Komaragiri-varam grant of Kaṭṭaya Vema, dated Śaka 1330, was a certain Aubhāḷarya, a member of the Vaikhanasac community of the Vaiṣṇavas. Śiṅḡaya and Veṅḡala of the Vaikhanasac community were the priests of god Gōpinathadeva of Rajamahendravaram, to whom king Kumaragiri had granted the village of Anaparti in the Śaka year 1212. The custom, among the Vaiṣṇavas, of appending the suffix *ācārya* to their names, as is done at the present day, does not appear to have been in vogue during the period under review.

Brāhmins of this period were generally learned in the Vēdic lore and Śāstras, and in the Puraṇas, and Itihāsas also. Some are said to have been proficient in two and even three Vēdas. They were experts in the *avadhānas* like *jaṭā*,¹³ *dēśa*,¹⁴ and *carcā*¹⁵ relating to the Vēdas. Some were skilled in the *cirāvadhāna* in the *Yajur Vēda*, some in *krama*, some in *jaṭā* and so on. Some of these Vēdic scholars are stated to have been *sūradhyetas*,¹⁶ and some *sūradhyāpakas*.¹⁷ There were many reputed scholars who attained great proficiency in different branches of learning like Tarka, Śabda Śāstra or Vyākaraṇa, Śāddarsanas, Jyōtiṣa, Gaṇita, and the Āgamas. The qualifying phrases like *padarākyapramāṇajñāh*, *Śabdāsāna-Pāṇinīh*, *cuṭikīṭ-āpāra-gaṇbhīra-Gaṇit-ārṇavaḥ*, *Gaṇita-Brahma*, *Śabda-Śāstra-Patañjaliḥ*, *tirṇa Vyākaraṇambudhiḥ*, *Vaiyāsikamatapraudhah*, *Jyotirdṛṣṭa-jagat-vidhah*, *kṛpta-deividha-Mīmāṃsah*, *Gurutantraviśāradaḥ*¹⁸, which find mention in copper-plate records bear eloquent testimony to the high standard of their proficiency and scholarship in different Śāstras.

Agrahāra was the home of scholars devoted to learning and intellectual pursuits. A scholar who was a master in one or more Śāstras

13. "*Jaṭa* is one of the four peculiar methods of repeating the Vedic text; the other methods are *pada*, *krama*, and *ghana*. *Padas* are the different words of a *mantra* repeated separately. *Krama paṭha* is the mode of "progressing step by step." In this method the words are taken in pairs, the first word is repeated along with the second, the second with the third, the third with the fourth, and so on. In *jaṭa paṭha* each pair of words is repeated thrice. In this arrangement "the first word and the second, the second and the first, and the first, and the second again are repeated together, joined by the sandhi rules and having sandhi accents. In the same manner, the second and third, the third and the second, and the second, and the third are put together, and thus it goes on, each word in succession beginning a new *Jaṭa* arrangement, upto the end of half-*Rik* or of a *mantra*, when the last word is simply repeated, as in the *krama*." *Ghana paṭha* is more complicated and artificial one than the *jaṭa paṭha*.
14. *Dēśa* means 'place'. It appears to refer to the skill in reciting the *mantras* which include the given words.
15. *Carcā* is the repetition of a word in reciting the Vēda, especially while adding *iti* (Monier Williams). This occurs in the *krama*, *jaṭa*, and *ghana paṭhas* of the Vēda.
16. *Sūradhyetas* are champion reciters of the Vēda.
17. *Sūradhyāpakas* are champion-instructors; those who are capable of training even dullards in reciting the Vēda correctly.
18. The term *Mīmāṃsā* is used both for *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsā*. *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* is also known as *Tantra* or *Gurutantra* and *Bhāṭṭam*, a name derived from the great logician Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who expounded the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā sūtras* of Jaimini. *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* is also known as *Vēdānta*. The founder of this school is said to be *Vyāsa*, also called *Badarayana*. Because of *Vyāsa*, it also acquired the name of *Vaiyāsikamata*. The term *Tantra* is generally used to denote *Mīmāṃsā*.

or in any branch of Vēdic learning, was in the enjoyment of a whole *agrahāra* (*ekabh gam*) or had some *vittis* in it. Such learned scholars attracted, from far and wide, students who specialised in one or more Śāstras of their choice and stayed for years in their teacher's home, their *gurukula*. They maintained themselves by *mādhukaravṛtti* in the *agrahāra*, and it was the pious duty of the brahman residents therein to cater to the students ungrudgingly. The teachers spent their whole life-time in imparting knowledge to their pupils and spreading and maintaining the Vēdic culture and learning. Undisturbed by kings and their officers, teachers and students spent a peaceful life in the *agrahāras*, uncontaminated by the allurements of city life. *Agrahāras* were thus the veritable *vidyapīṭhas* of old, great educational centres and repositories of ancient culture. Poet Śrīnātha describes, in his works *Kūṣikhaṇḍam* and *Bhāmāvara Purāṇam*, the prosperous condition of brahmans in the *agrahāras* on the banks of the Gautamī, while Vēma made his brother Virabhadra rule. It is stated of course in an exaggerated way, that brāhmins residing in *agrahāras* learnt to wear rings set with rubies on their fingers, which were used to the *darbha* (*kuśa*) grass before, to make caste-marks with musk on the *gaṅgamatṭi*, river-mud worn on the forehead, to put on pearl necklaces (*ārāharamulu* and *malyūlasarnulu*) by the side of their sacred threads, and to stick, in the middle of their crests, red water-lilies delicious in odour, while gold and silver rolled in confusion in their homes. "

Generally brahmans of all communities, the Vēgināṭis, the Velanāṭis, the Mulikināṭis and the like, all endeavoured to preserve and propagate Vēdic knowledge and culture. In addition to this, some brāhmins came forward to bear the burden of the State from very

19. ధరియంప నేర్పరి వర్ణ వేక్షకు శ్రేణి

లిల మాణి కాళంగురీయకమల

కల్పింప నేర్పరి గంగావట్ట నామీదం

గమ్యక కాళండ్రకమల నొసల

నవరింప నేర్పరి నిన్నదంబుల మోలం

దారవారిమల మత్యలసరుల

చెరువంగ నేర్పరి విళల నెన్నడుమలం

గమ్యని శ్రోత్రి చెంగల్యవిలుల

భామమల పెడి పైడియం దనపడం

శ్రావ్యలోత్తమ లగిహారమలయం

శమధూనామం పమమ్యు బీధిద్రు

కాత్రి శేరి ప శోభిమిలియన ను.—Ks. Kh., I, v. 87.

early times. This additional task, voluntarily borne by them, brought a change in the brāhman community which manifested itself markedly during the Redḍi period.

Ṣaṭsahasradvītyas:

It was during this period that the cleavage, between those who were employed in State service, and those who stuck to their duties as enjoined by the Śāstras, became more marked than before. In fact, some of the brahmans accepted employment in State service from very early times, and acted as accountants, generals and advisers. Nevertheless, they maintained their brāhmanical ritual while following a *kṣatriya* career. A study of the Eastern Cālukya inscriptions makes this fact clear. Those who were appointed to a *nīyōga*, commission, charge or office, were called *nīyōgins*, officials or functionaries. The term *naiyōgikavallabha* finds mention in a grant²⁰ of the Eastern Cālukya king, Maṅgiyavarāja of the early eighth century. In this way a *laukika* sect of brāhmans came into existence. Though there is evidence to show that there were such *laukikas* from the Eastern Cālukyan times or from a still earlier date, it cannot be said that they hardened into a separate community then. The lithic and copper-plate records of the Telugu country before the thirteenth century make this point clear. The terms *amātya*, *mantrin*, and *saciva* form the only evidence to prove the existence of this *laukika* community. These terms do not find mention in inscriptions prior to the thirteenth century. If they were used anywhere, they are generally found attached only to the names of those who were actually employed by the State. Their descendants followed closely in the footsteps of their forefathers, and took to service in the State. Later on, it became conventional to affix the terms to their names, irrespective of holding any office in the State. We can distinguish *laukika* and non-*laukika* brāhmans mentioned in the records of the early mediaeval period with the aid of the suffixes noted above. The names of non-*laukika* brāhmans end in *ārya*, a common term of respect, added to the names of brāhmans in general²¹. It appears that during the middle Kakatiya period this *laukika* section gained greater influence in politics and higher social distinction, and in the early post-Kakatiya period

20. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 289, 11. 25-26.

“ग्रामेयकानले गतसर्वनैयोगिकवल्लभांश्च...”

21. The examples given in his article “*Nīyōgi-Vaidika-bhēda-kāla-nirṇayam*” (Vide, *Lakṣmanarayanaśāraṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 10-13) by the late Sri K. V. Lakshmanarao to prove that the *laukikas* existed as a separate community before the thirteenth century, are not valid. Even though the term *mantrin* is found attached to the name of Bayyana in Ananta's *Lakṣaraṇa-jīyam*, it cannot prove that this community

slowly crystallised into a separate community. The terms *amātya*, *saciva* and *mantrin*, denoting the identity of the members of this special section, are found attached to names of some brāhman donees in the grants of this period. Such donees, mentioned in the grants of Allaya Dodḍa Redḍi and Allaya Vēma Redḍi, are distinguished by special titles like *rājakāryadhurandhara*, *kirtibhūṣaṇa*, *rājamānya*, *rājavallabha*, *mantriśekhara* and *rājyakāryavicakṣaṇa*. Some of them were experts in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*. This fact may serve to indicate that they took to the fine arts and patronised them. The number of *laukikas* or *rājamānyas* in the Redḍi period was greater than in any of the previous periods. They formed into a powerful political section and held positions of *durgādhipatis* (governors of forts), *daṇḍmājakas* (generals) and *rāyasams* (writer-secretaries) besides serving as accountants of the *Sthalas* and the *Simas*.

Curiously enough, brāhmins of the Āruvēlānaḍu " or Śaṭsahasradēs'a are called *niyōgi*s at the present day. Now *niyōgi* means a brāhman of the Āruvēla community. It is difficult to say, with the

was existent then; for, the author Anantāmāya might have affixed that term to his great grandfather Bayyana in accordance with the usage of his time. The author of the Telugu work, popularly known as '*Patulūri-Gaṇitam*', was called Mallanāmāya, probably because he was an accountant of a village in the reign of the Eastern Gaḷukya king, Raja Raja. The absence of names ending in *amātya*, *mantrin*, or *saciva* in the grants of the early mediaeval period proves the correctness of the surmise made above. Those who were proficient in the *Ganita Śāstra* were merely mentioned with the term *arya* suffixed to their names, even in the grants of the 14th century. The *laukika* section of the brāhman caste appears to have hardened into a separate community by the middle of the fourteenth century.

22. Āruvēlānaḍu was the country consisting of six thousand *grāmas*. What the term *grāma* denotes is not known. It was an ancient custom in South India to attach a certain number to each territorial division; for example, Pakanaḍu, twenty one thousand (the country of twenty one thousand *grāmas*); Vēṅgi,

“అనంతరం కలవాటి ఏడవమిదే (నాల్గవం బూని ను

న్నశక్తిని జరి యేకవింశతివనా న్న నామ సంఖ్యకన్త

ధరణిం చేర్చిన పాకనాడు.....” — Kb Cr., I, v. 27.

sixteen thousand; Rēnaḍu, seven thousand etc. In a few cases the division or country was called by the number itself attached to it instead of by its actual name. Āruvēlānaḍu or Śaṭsahasradēs'a is one of such cases. Inscriptions reveal the fact that the number six thousand was attached in ancient times to two contiguous territorial divisions, namely, Velanāḍu and Kammanāḍu. According to a lithic record at Valivēru in the Guntūr district (Ep. Coll., No. 671 of 1920). Velanāḍu was a six thousand country (*‘‘Aravēla-Velanāṇṭi-nagraharam-aṇa Valivēru’’*). The records of the Kōta kings of Diānyavāṇi or Diāranikōṭa inform us that this

available data, if he was termed so, in this period. It is, however, certain that the *laukika* section comprised, among others, the Āṣuvēlu and the Pākanāḍu communities. Pākanāḍu and Āṣuvēlanāḍu were contiguous territories; for, the former, extending from the foot of Srī-sailam in the Kurnool district to the east coast, includes all the country to the south of the Brahmakuṇḍi (Guṇḍlakamma) river and to the north of the river Penna. The region to the north of the Brahmakuṇḍi as far as the Kṛṣṇa comprised two districts, each an Āṣuvēla country, one Kammanāḍu six thousand, and the other Velanāḍu six thousand. Among the Velanāṭi brāhman community there are *laukikas* as well as non-*laukikas*; while the former are known as Velanāṭi niyōgis or Āṣuvēlavāru, the latter are called Velanāṭi Vaidikis. The Telugu literature also produced during this period illustrates amply the solidifying of this *laukika* group into a separate community. Many *niyogi* brāhmanas of the present day, whose surnames end in *pregaḍa*, were the descendants of distinguished ministers, commanders and poets, like Rāmā Pregaḍa, Mantri Pregaḍa, Errā Pregaḍa, who flourished in this period. This was the age in which the surnames of brāhmanas ending in *pregaḍa*, *mantri* and *rāju* had come into vogue, in addition to those formed in other ways.

Kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and sūdras recognised the brāhmin as their religious leader in this period also, and made gifts and other endowments to him. They learnt from them their alphabet and the three R's, and *kalas* and sciences, like dance, music and archery and so on. Their relations with the brāhman were as cordial as ever.

territory lay along the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river ("Kṛṣṇavenṇanadi-dakṣiṇa-śaṭśahasraṇaṇivalabha"—C. P. No. 5 of 1915—16). The villages, which are mentioned in ancient inscriptions to have been situated in this country, are now found in the Rēpalli, Tenāli, and the northern half of the Guntur and the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli taluks in the Guntur district. Records of the fourteenth century furnish the information that the country to the east of the Tuṅgabhadra in the Guntur district is called Valanāḍu. This river is now converted into a drainage channel by the D. P. W. ("Tuṅgabhadrataraṅgiṇṇaḥ pragḍesam-Velanāḍu-iti"). From the Kopidena inscription of Ūpiliśidhi Coḍa of the Telugu Coḍa family, dated in Śaka 1146 (A. S. P. P., VIII, 5-6) we come to know that Kammanāḍu also was a six thousand country.

తన నిజవృత్తిమీఁద విడిచింబుగ నొపిరిసిద్ధి కిచ్చునీ
 ద్దనకు నమంగుదమ్ముడు ప్రతి పయనం జని కమ్మనాడు నే
 కొని గణపాచరితు దయఁ గూడి తదాజ్ఞ చహించి యేలెఁ బా
 దనమగు నాఱుకేలును నవక్రపరాక్రమవికనంబుఁడ.

From these references it can be concluded that a major portion of the Guntur district consisted of two six thousand countries in ancient times.

Kṣatriyas:

The Kṣatriyas of the Andhra country are popularly known as Rācavāru or Rājus. Alāḍa, the maternal grandfather of Māmiḍi Siṅga-mantri, minister of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma, is referred to by post Srinātha as the favourite son of Rācavāru who had the title "*peṣaṇi-Hanumanta*". The particular dynasty of kṣatriyas who had that title, is not definitely known. A certain Ayyaparāja of the Vatsavāya family of the fifteenth century had the same title *peṣaṇi-Hanumanta*. Vatsavāyas form one of the important kṣatriya families belonging to the Solar dynasty. Īṇugu Lakṣmanakavi of the 16th century describes this family in his Telugu Kavya '*Rāmavilāsa*', written under the patronage of king Vatsavāya Timmajagapati of Peddapuram. According to this work, the name of the ancient Cāgi family was, in course of time, changed into Vatsavāya. The reason for this change is given thus: Rāmarāja brother of Telugu rāja and son of Cāgi Eṣapōtārāja, made the town of Vatsavāya his permanent abode in the early post Kakatiya period, and his descendants, therefore, came to be called Vatsavāyas, instead of Cāgis.²³ Rācavāru referred to by Srinātha might or might not have been the Vatsavāyas.

There might have been other kṣatriya families having the title *peṣaṇi Hanumanta*. Besides the Vatsavāyas, the Cōlas of the Telugu country, the Cālukyas of Elamañci and Veṅgī, and the Uṇḍirājas of Sūravaraṇapattana, constituted, among others, the important kṣatriya families that flourished in the coastal region, during this period. The Rācavāru who are said to have had the afore-said title, may refer to

23. శ్రీమదీ హనుమాంశ చిరదాక్షులు రాజు

వారికి నెయ్యపు వసుసాంతు' — Sr. Nd., I, v. 12.

24. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 102.

25. "అగానుం కలగుం దాక్షిణ్యము

క్షత్రియుల నెల్లీ నాటిను

చిరదాక్షిణ్యము మా నెల్లీ నాటిను

కలకలముల నెల్లీ నాటిను

యనుకలకలము కలకలము నెల్లీ

క్షత్రియుల నెల్లీ నాటిను

చిరదాక్షిణ్యము మా నెల్లీ నాటిను

క్షత్రియుల నెల్లీ నాటిను

చిరదాక్షిణ్యము మా నెల్లీ నాటిను

క్షత్రియుల నెల్లీ నాటిను — Rm. VI., I. Introd.

any one of the above families. The Telugu Cōḷa princes of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the Uṇḍirajas of the Haritasa *gōtra*, and the Vatsavayas belong to the Solar race, and the Cāḷukya princes of Elamañci, and Vēṅgī belong to the Lunar race. It is, however, interesting to note that the Cāḷukyas of the Manavyasa *gōtra*, who ruled the coastal Andhra country for nearly four hundred years, from the seventh century A.D. and left many collateral branches behind, do not constitute one of the primary ksatriya families of the Andhra country, according to the *cāṇu* verse, called the *Kṣatriya-gōtra-sīsamālīka* in Telugu, enumerating the *gōtras* of several of the ksatriya families of the present day. According to this verse which has come down to us from generation to generation, the Rūcavāru of the Telugu country were the descendants of four major primary ksatriya houses, namely, the Kakatīyas, the Kōḷas, the Paricchēdis, and the Varṇāḱakas of the Kāśyapa, Dhanañjaya, Vasiṣṭha and Kauṇḍinya *gōtras* respectively.²⁶ Inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries confirm the fact that the Kakatīya and the Kōḷa kings belonged to the Kāśyapa and the Dhanañjaya *gōtras* and had their respective capitals at Waraṅgal and Dhanyavāḍi. They state that the former descended from Karikāla Cōḷa, and the latter from Dhanañjaya. Karikāla Cōḷa, from whom the Cōḷas of the Telugu country trace their descent, was, according to tradition, contemporaneous with his bitter enemy, Trilōcana Pallava. Besides the Kōḷa kings, the Paricchēdis, the Cāḱis, the Haihavas, and the Velanaṭis were some of the feudatory families that flourished in the centuries mentioned above. Of these, the princes of the Cāḱi family ruled on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa with Guḷimeḷḷa and Vijayavāḍa as their capitals. The later members of this family became Vatsvāyas as stated before. The dominion of the Haihavas, another feudatory family of the same period, who trace their descent from Kartavīryārjuna, was the Kōṇamaṇḍala. The territory of the Paricchēdis also, like that of the Kōḷa princes, lay in the Guntur district. Very few of their inscriptions have come to light. Even these few have not yet been published. Hence, it is difficult to say if they refer to their *gōtra* in their inscriptions. The identity of the Varṇāḱakas referred to in the *sīsamālīka*, is difficult to establish. Inscriptions of the early mediaeval Telugu country do not bring to light any family of this name. These Varṇāḱakas cannot be identified with the Velanaṭi chiefs of Dhanadaprolu (Tsandavol in the Guntur district), as suggested by some

26 “**ఓ మన్మథా పరిచ్ఛేది వర్ణాటక**

కోట కాశికంక పాటవమున

నెగడు చనిష్ఠ కాండిన్య ధనంజయ

కాశ్యప గోత్రమర్ గణన మీరు.....”

scholars, for the simple reason that they belong to the caturthakula or the fourth caste:

The District Manual of Vizagapatam furnishes the following account about the Rācavaru or the Rajus. "In a poem called *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-vijayam*, the date of which is assigned to 1540 A. D., we are told of an immigration into Teliṅgaṇa of four Rājaput tribes, the Vaśiṣṭha, Dhanañjaya²⁷, Kaundinya and Kaśyapa, under the leadership of one Madhavavarman, in the five hundred and fourteenth year of the Śalivāhana era, corresponding to 591 A. D. This Madhavavarman is claimed by the Vijayanagaram family as their ancestor, and it is certain that all the Rācavaru of the Northern Circars (that is, the coastal region of the Andhra country) look up to the Maharaja of Vijayanagaram as their head. The Rajaput colonists settled at Bejavāḍa on the Kṛṣṇa, forming in course of time a petty principality²⁸".

27. It has to be pointed out here that there was a certain Dhanañjaya of Kuśasthalapura, one of the several kings of Dakṣiṇapatha, who was defeated by the North Indian emperor, Samudragupta, during his southern campaign. (Fleet's *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 7). This Dhanañjaya of the Kuśasthalapura was, as Śrī B. V. Krishnarao states, probably the *gotrakarta*, the progenitor of the Koṭa kings, and the opponent of Samudragupta; Śrī Krishnarao identifies Kuśasthali with Kolliṭṭaka (Vide, his *History of the Early dynasties of the Andhradesa*, p. 1). This identification is not tenable; for, the Koṭa chiefs had nothing to do with Kolliṭṭaka. It was the Paricchedis who had the title *Kolliṭṭakapuravaradhivara*, lord of the city of Kolliṭṭaka. The Koṭas, on the other hand, claim to be the lords of Dhanya-vajī (*Dhanyavajīpuravaradhivara*).

28. *A Manual of the Vizagapatam district*, p. 277. As the late Śrī Lakshmanarao rightly remarks (*J. D. L.*, 1924, p. 58), much reliance cannot be placed upon the date given in the poem of the sixteenth century. It is, however, interesting to find that date almost corresponds to 591 A. D., the date assigned by him to Viṣṇukundin Madhavavarman of the Pulothburu grant (*C. P. No. 7 of 1913-14*; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff; *J. D. L.*, 1924; and *Bharati*, Vol. VII (1930, September issue).

The late Śrī K. V. Lakshmanarao identifies Madhavavarman referred to in the above passage, with his namesake of the Viṣṇukundin dynasty, the donor of the Pulothburu grant, and assigns him the date 594 A. D.

In this connection the late Śrī R. D. Banerji's remarks are worth noting. He writes, "The name Rajaput was not in existence the sixth century, and even if a migration into the Kṛṣṇa valley is admitted at that time from some unknown place in Northern India, it is not possible to connect such people with genuine Rajaputs of the divine Agnikulas of legends. The subsequent Rajaput intermarriages of the family are no proof of its descent, as, later on, all kings became ksatriyas, genealogies were provided for them as late as the 16th and 17th centuries (the Koches of Kuch Bihar and the Ahoms of Assam), and in the nineteenth century most princes became Rajaputs."—Quoted from his "*Rajaput Origins in Orissa*, in the *Modern Review*, for March 1928, p. 286.

The date given above for the immigration of Rājaput families is not a final one. If at all this immigration was true, its date has yet to be settled. There is one Mādhavavarman of Vijayavāḍa or Bejavāḍa, who figures in the Telugu and epigraphical literature as well, and about whom many traditional stories are current in the Telugu country. He is mentioned in an undated Pallava lithic record²⁹ at Bejavāḍa. This inscription records the following story about him.

"In the Kali age again, as early as the Śaka 117, there was a king famous on earth by name Madhavavarman. The son of this king having killed a child of the woman who eked out her livelihood by selling shoots of the tamarind tree, the king sentenced him to be hanged in order to meet the ends of justice. On seeing this, god Mallēśvara was pleased and rained on him a shower of gold which brought back to life the deceased prince, and the dead baby of the beggar woman. Thus, god Mallēśvara established in this world the fame of that great king (Mādhavavarman)."

In an old *cāṭu* verse³⁰ in Telugu, king Mādhavavarman of Bejavāḍa, to meet the ends of justice, is credited to have cut off the head of his own son, for having killed the son of a woman selling shoots of tamarind. This king is no doubt identical with Mādhavavarman of the Pallava inscription referred to above. It is, however, interesting to note that, whereas the inscription ascribes him to Śaka 117, the *cāṭu* verse furnishes Śaka 514 as the date of the above event, a date identical with that given by the *Kṛṣṇavijayam*, referred to in the *Manual of the Vizagapatam District*.

Another epigraphical reference to Madhavaavarman is provided by the Anumakonda inscription³¹ of Kākati Prōla II of 1117 A. D. His contemporary, Ugravādī Mēlarasa, claims to be a descendant of Mādhavavarman who possessed a great army consisting of eight thousand elephants, ten crore horse, and limitless infantry. References

29. Ep. Coll., No. 536 of 1909; Ep. Rep. 1910, para 8.

30. అమరేశ్వరి సజ్జనకులార్జుని మాధవవర్మ చింతలం
 గాయలు కోసి యమ్మకొను కట్టెలగుండ(డి) తమాజుచావుకి
 శ్రీయుతుడైనపుత్రుల చేతికి నిచ్చె బెజావ పాడెనా(?)
 పాయక నిచ్చె (19వ) వార్షిక కలిబాణక కృష్ణములైన కలమున్ ||

--Ct. Mm., II, p. 76.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 264, l. 91.

to king Madhavavarman of Bejavāḍa in other *caṭu* verses³² and in the Telugu works³³ of a later date, show that he was the same as the one mentioned in the Anumakapṇḍa record. So, whatever might be his date,³⁴ it is certain, that tradition and literature maintain that the Rācavaru or the Rājus were the descendants of the four families, the Kakatīyas, the kōṭas, the Paricchēdis, and the Varnāṭakas of the Kāśyapa, Dhanañjaya, Vasīṣṭha and Kaunṭṇiya *gōtras* respectively. Their descendants had, in the Reḍḍiperiod, probably different surnames, which it is not possible to identify with the help of the available material. The present day kṣatriya families, like the Daṭṭas, the Dantulūris, the Mandapaṭis, the Vatsavayis, the Pūsaṭis and so on claim descent from the afore-said four houses. Of these, the Daṭṭas

32. ఎరువడేల రాజుల చతుశ్శ్లోకములలో రచితము కనుక ప్రాచీనము

కావచ్చును దశలక్ష సైన్యమును నడుపుచున్నాడని

ఎనుచున్నాడు ఇట్లు చెప్పి ఘన విద్వంసజయభీక రాశక్తున

మనుచు రేణ్యుల సేనను మోచుచున్నాడు నాగవంశున

—Ct. Mm., II, p. 77.

While the number of cavalry according to the inscription is ten crore, it is only one million according to the above verse.

33. Vide, *Bharati* (1930), Vol. VII, p. for extracts relating to Madhavavarman from the Telugu works.

34. The so-called immigration of the Rajaput families must be placed before the southern campaign of Samudragupta, that is, before 350 A. D., if his adversary, Dhanañjaya, is taken to be identical with the *gotrakarta* of the Kōta chiefs. Consequently, an early date has to be assigned to Madhavavarman, the hero of the epigraphical as well as of the literary tradition. A Madhavavarman is mentioned as the progenitor of the kings of Hanumakonda, a town adjacent to Warāṇasī (in the Hyderabad State), whose descent is described in two late Telugu poems, the *Dvīpādāśavya Suddhesvaracaritram*, and its later poetical version, *Sōmadāśa-rajyam*. The former states that this Madhavavarman ascended the throne in Śaka 230 and ruled the country for a period of one hundred and sixty-eight years. This period for one reign is, no doubt, an exaggeration. In spite of the disparity in dates, Madhavavarman of the *Suddhesvaracaritram* and his namesake mentioned in the Bejavāḍa inscription, appear to have been one and the same. The date assigned to him in the *Suddhesvaracaritram* may not be correct, as many of the incidents and campaigns ascribed to him are supported neither by inscriptions nor by literature. The traditional date recorded for him in the Bejavāḍa inscription may or may not be correct. The two authorities cited above, however, confirm the fact that there was a Madhavavarman in the early period, who flourished before Samudragupta's Southern campaign. It appears likely that this Madhavavarman was the leader of the kṣatriya immigrants. We have, however, to leave this problem to be solved by future research.

trace their descent from the Kōṭa kings³⁵ of Dhānyavāti. In this connection, it may be recalled that Gannabhūpāla, who accepted dedication of the Telugu work *Dhanāñjayavijayam* from Srinātha, was a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of the Lunar race, the progenitor of the Kōṭa chiefs of Dhānyavāti, and belonged to the Dantulūri family.³⁶ Harisīma Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in a inscription³⁷ at Appāpurām (Guntūr district) dated in Śaka 1327, as having been one of the rulers of the Kōṭa *Bhūmi*. It may be interesting to note in this connection that Sūrām̐ba, wife of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu, was the daughter of Gannabhūpāla who had the titles *Dhanyavātipurādhipati* and *Kṛṣṇareṇṇājakṣīdavinōdunḍu*.³⁸ The name and the titles tempted some scholars to identify this Ganna with his name-sake who accepted dedication of *Dhanāñjayavijayam*.³⁹ But this Ganna was a kṣatriya, and there might have been another Ganna, a chief of the fourth caste, the father-in-law of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The kṣatriyas of this period in the coastal region had, in general, a chequered political career. They were unsuccessful in building a powerful kingdom and in spreading their power far and wide, like the members of the Sangama family of the Yadava clan. Probably, many of the kṣatriya families were wiped away in the battles waged to save Waraṅgal, and to protect the Kākatiya house. Many of the members of the surviving families either fled away from the country like Annamadēva, the brother of Kākati Pratāparudra, or took a long time to recover themselves from the rude shock of the fall of the Kākatiya power of the Solar line. It is likely that many of the families, in course of time, migrated to Vijayanagar, and took up service under the rising kṣatriya power of the Sangama line.

Vaiśyas.

Vaiśyas constituted the third caste in the Hindu social system. Trade was their exclusive occupation, though early in this mediaeval period some of the members of this caste distinguished themselves as

35. The Telugu poet, Maṅgalagiri Ānandakavi, of the 18th century states in his Telugu poem *Vijayanandanavilāsam* that the progenitor of the Daṭṭa princes, to whom he dedicated his work, was Kōṭa Keṭarāja, a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of the Lunar race. Members of the Mandapaṭi family are the descendants of Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal, and belong to the Kasyapa gotra and Sūryavamsa. The Solar kings of the Pūsapaṭi family of Vijayanagaram in the Vizagapatam district trace their descent from the Paricchēdis of the Vasīṣṭha gotra.

36. Vide, Dantulūri Baparaja's *Mūrtitrayopāhayanam* (A.S.P.P., Vol. V, pp. 319-20 ; Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss., (1910-11 to 1912-13) Vol. I, Pt. iii. R. No. 50, p. 169).

37. Ep. Coll., No. 402 of 1915.

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff, The Phirangipuram record.

39. Chilukuri Virābhadrarao's *Srinathakavi*, p. 149.

commanders, and won the favour of the rulers of the country. They were great merchants and bankers. Avaciṣeṭṭi was the banker of king Vōmā Redḍi and financed him for building steps to Srisailem and Patalagangā, and probably for raising armies. The Avaci family served the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu loyally and faithfully, and obtained from them many honours and privileges. Vaiśyas claimed generally to have been born in the lineage of Kubēra. However, Avaci Tippaya, "a contemporary of Kumāragiri, is described, by poet Śrinātha, as "an ornament to the lineage of the sage Maṅkana" (*"Maṅkaṇamaunivāṇika maṇimaṇḍana"*). From this it is evident that there were some vaiśya families that traced their descent from sages also. Vaiśyas claim to have been lords of Penugōṇḍa, Ayōdhyāpura, and Ahicchatra. Of these the last two are well-known; the first is in the West Godavari district in the Telugu country. The vaiśyas were the devotees of god Nagaṛēsvaradēva (*Nagaṛēsvaradēvayāśrīpādapadmārādhaka*).

The *Vaiśyavamśasudhākaram*, "a Sanskrit work purporting to be a report of a judicial character produced during this period, provides, some interesting information regarding this caste. It appears from this work that, during the reign of Praudha Dēvarāya, king of Vijayanagar, some social controversy arose regarding the social status of the vaiśyas and the vaijātiyas. To set this controversy at rest Praudha Dēvarāya entrusted this case to the *dharmāsana* or Civil court at his capital, Vijayanagar, and wanted the issue to be decided once for all, on the basis of an inscription in Kāñcī (Conjeevaram), which recorded a previous decision on the same question. This inscription, Kāñcīn which has not yet come to light, was therefore brought to Vijayanagar at the king's command. The great scholiast, Kolacala Mallinātha, appears to have either presided over the *dharmāsana*, or to have been one of its chief members. He was the author of the report referred to above. In this report Mallinātha alludes very frequently to the

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40. It is interesting to note that there is an inscription of a certain Tippiseṭṭi in the Anantapur district (Janigaravāṇḍapalli, a hamlet of Vanavolu, Hindupur taluk), dated in Śaka 1845 Śabbhakt. He seems to be a member of the Avaci family, as this record mentions Śrīyaḷaṣeṭṭi of Tiru-Kāñcināmbikula, presumably his ancestor. As he was the son of Nāgi Seṭṭi and grandson of Tanḍi Seṭṭi, he cannot be identified with Tippaya Seṭṭi, to whom Śrinātha dedicated his work *"Haravilasam"*.

In the *prasasti* given in this record, (No. 814 of 1917) these vaiśyas are stated to have been experts in the examination of the nine gems. It is further stated that "Agastya was their *purōhita*, Garuḍa, the favourite of Kamalapriya, i. e. Viṣṇu, was the banner (*dhvaja*)" of Śrīyaḷaṣeṭṭi. "The title Ayodhyapuravarīs'vara (lord of Ayōdhya, the best of towns) is applied to another member of this sect who is said to belong to the Kaṇva-Rist-gotra".

41. I. I. S., pp. 231 ff.

inscription at Kāñcī. This inscription defines the two terms vaiśya and vaijātiya, the two common names, then in vogue, of those that were engaged in trade and commerce. According to that record, the nāgaras, ūrujas and tritiya-jātiyas are vaiśyas, and one who is borne to a vaiśya through a woman of the lower caste is a vaijātiya. Vaiśyas are entitled to the privileges of svādhyāya, yajana, and dana, of marrying within their own caste, and of following the occupations of trade, agriculture and tending cattle. The Kāñcī inscription includes the vaṇik, the kōmaṭi, the vaṇivyāpāri, the vaṇijya - vaiśya and the uttarādi vaiśya under vaijātiyas, and states that only the vaiśyas, and not the vaijātiyas, had the exclusive right to trade in all commodities in the twenty-four cities, and the one hundred and eight *divya trupatis* (holy shirnes). This seems to be the privilege gained by being counted as a member of the vaiśya community. Kōmaṭis, according to the above inscription, had only the right to buy and sell paddy (*kōmaṭistu dhānya-vikrayamātre-adhikar-ōs'ti-guktam*). The *dharmāsana* in Vijayanagar subjected the verdict of the inscription to searching scrutiny again in the light of the Vēda, Smṛti, Itihāsa, Puraṇa, Kāvya and Kōśa, and their well-considered opinion is embodied in the *Vaiśyavamśa-sudhākaram*, drawn up by Mallinātha, obviously on behalf of the *dharmāsana*. A versatile scholar like Mallinātha, with a liberal outlook, proved, with the evidence at his command, that the terms vaiśya, ūruja and nāgara, and vaṇik, kōmaṭi, vaṇivyāpāri, and vaṇijya-vaiśya denoting the two sections of the trading class alluded to above, were really synonymous and refer to members of one and the same caste, the vaiśyas. Consequently, the distinction of the mercantile community into vaiśyas and vaijātiyas was once for all abolished, and all the merchants who were called by different names mentioned above, were declared to be vaiśyas, members of one and the same community.

Analogous to the subdivisions among the brāhman caste, it appears that there were, in early times, sub-divisions among the kōmaṭis also, formed on a geographical basis. We come across the term kamma-kōmaṭi⁴² in the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Telugu country. kamma-kōmaṭi, like kamma-brāhmaṇa, means a kōmaṭi of Kammanāḷu. There must have been other similar sub-divisions also, though references to them are absent in the inscriptions of this period. Evidently, by the time we come to the Redḍi period, this division into communities

42. S.I.I., Vol. V. No. 179.

Ibid, Vol. III, No. 136.

Ibid, Vol. IV, No. 1279.

formed on a geographical basis, lost its special significance owing to development in trade, and all those of the same caste who pursued trade as their profession merged together under pressure of circumstances into one corporate body or single community. According to the Telugu work *Haraviṇśam*, written by Srinātha, the vaiśya caste consisted of one thousand *gōtras* or families.⁴³ This is corroborated by the *Dharmapalacaritam*, a Telugu work in *tripada* metre, now lost, but cited as evidence in the Sanskrit work *Vaiśyamāhātmya-lakṣaṇam*. This work eulogizes the vaiśyas as the pure people of the thousand *gōtras* (*sahasra-gōtra-pavitṛin*). This number reminds us of similar communities of one thousand families, like the Telhis (the Teliki one thousand), and the Velamas (the Velamu one thousand). What the number 'one thousand' indicates is unknown. It cannot be said that the vaiśya community consisted of only one thousand families and not more. From the earliest times, vaiśyas formed into a corporate body, well organised for carrying on trade and commerce in the country. It might be that, at the time when this community turned into a corporate body, there were only one thousand families; or that the membership was restricted to only one thousand *gōtras*, and that the traditional number persisted ever since.

The number of pure *gōtras* among the vaiśyas of the Andhra country at the present day is generally stated to be one hundred and two. Originally it was six hundred and twelve. How this number decreased into one hundred and two is explained by the story of Vasavikanyakā. It is said that Raja Raja Viṣṇuvardhana of the Caṅkya family of Rājamahānagaragāra invaded Perugunḍa, the chief seat of the Andhra vaiśya community, with the object of capturing the beautiful damsel vāsavikanyakā, whose father Kusuma Setṭi had refused to give her in marriage to the king. Vāsavikanyakā immolated herself in order to save her honour and that of her family, by throwing herself into a burning pit, specially prepared for the occasion. The vaiśya elders of only one hundred and two *gōtras* followed her example, while the rest fled to different quarters to save their lives.⁴⁴ Ever

43. "వైశ్యములను నలుపు వృక్షకేళి—

శ్రీమద్రామాయణ వివరణ గా.చి. " — Hr. VI, II, v, 139.

నందనోప పంచవర్ణమును, కులధారి మంత్రసంధ్యమును, సిరిమానోజ పావనమును,
అయ్యవ్వనంది కులదీపకమును, సమాధానోద్ర పవిత్రమును "

—From the *Dharmapalacaritam*, quoted in the *Vaiśyamāhātmya-lakṣaṇam*.

44. This story which is elaborated into a Purāṇa, named the *Kanyakā* or the *Vasavi Purāṇa* by Bhaskarācharya, the guru of the vaiśya community, appears to be of a late origin. The mention of Rājaraḍa Narēndra, the ruler of the land, son of Viṣṇuvardhana in the inscriptions of private individuals of the vaiśya community in Ponnugunḍa recording gifts to local deities, casts a doubt on the veracity of the above story.

since that time Vasavikanyaka became the tutelary goddess of the vaiśya community, and vaiśyas of only those one hundred and two *gō'tras* are considered to be pure. These vaiśyas of Penugonḍa seem to have formed into a separate sect of their own in the composite vaiśya caste consisting of one thousand *gō'tras*, and were called Nāgaras or Paṭṭiṇasvāmins. The collective name of this community, as given in inscriptions, is *Nakaramu* which seems to be a corrupt form of *Nagaraṇu*. A grant made by a member of this community, to a temple at Ghaṇṭasā'a⁴⁵ (Kistna district) in Saka 1142 (1220 A. D.) was placed under the care of *Nakaramu* 102, that is, vaiśyas of the 102 *gō'tras*. This record proves the existence of the vaiśya community of one hundred and two *gō'tras*, as early as the thirteenth century.

The following *gō'tras* of the vaiśya caste were taken exclusively from inscriptions of this period. It is possible however to gather names of some more *gō'tras* from the records of the previous and later periods:

Varidāla <i>gō'tra</i>	Appanaṅgakula <i>gō'tra</i>
Puccakola <i>gō'tra</i>	Cenuśeṭṭi <i>gō'tra</i>
Yeṅaśeṭṭi <i>gō'tra</i>	Silakula <i>gō'tra</i>
Bodarakula <i>gō'tra</i>	Śenaśeṭṭa <i>gō'tra</i>
Veṇukula <i>gō'tra</i>	Punagō'sila <i>gō'tra</i>
Vivarisiṭṭa <i>gō'tra</i>	Maṇ(mai?)trēya <i>gō'tra</i>

It is worth noting here that Kaundinya *gō'tra*⁴⁶, an altogether different *gō'tra* name from the above, was the *gō'tra* of the Avacī family.

It is well known that the kōmaṭis have separate code terms of their own. They converse with one another in code language about prices of different commodities, so that they might not be understood by members of other communities, if they are present on the spot. It is, however, interesting to find in the Telugu work *Navamathacoritra* of

45. Ep. Coll. No. 851 of 1917; Ep. Rep. for 1918, para 84, pp. 174-75. Ghaṇṭasāla seems to have been a famous trading centre in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The temple of Jaladhīs'varamahadeva of that place contains many inscriptions registering gifts of vaiśyas, some of whom belonged to Nabela and Middikula *gō'tras*.

46. "కవివక్త్రపాత్రుండును, గాంధీశ్వరశ్రీపతిశ్రుండును, వసుద్ధన్వి విద్యాజనన భూమియు, వసుధాద్యానగరపావమియు..." - Hr. VI, I. Pr. 7.

Gaurana, a passage⁴⁷ consisting of a few lines in *kōmaṭi-bāsa* (in the language of the *kōmaṭis*). The meaning of this passage is not yet known. We do not know if this above passage intermingled with Telugu words, is made up of the code terms of the *kōmaṭis*, or if it represents altogether a separate language of the *kōmaṭis*, now probably extinct.

Śūdras:

The *Śūdras* representing the great mass of people formed into several endogamous groups or communities, called *jātis*, *varṇas*, *kulas*, or *saṁayas*. Including these communities the Hindu society is traditionally said to comprise altogether eighteen *jātis*. Several lists of names of these *jātis* are furnished by Sanskrit literature. They do not however agree with one another completely. Nevertheless, the traditional number is the same eighteen. Two important factors seem to have chiefly operated in giving rise to these divisions in the fourth caste—namely, occupation and trade, and geographical divisions. The corporate activity in the fields of trade and occupation manifested itself in the formation of some communities, endogamous in nature. The ancient divisions of the country were responsible for some communal divisions among the fourth caste, like Paṇṭa, Kamma, Telaga, and Velama.

Some of the members of the fourth caste distinguished themselves by their bravery and skill in the art of warfare, and became reputed generals and officers of State. Kaṭaya Vēma was one of the great generals

47. “తెక్కటిపట్టు వారినఁ బిలిపించె
 జేరి కోవటి బాసఁ జేర్చె “అట్టింపు
 భూరాము నల్లకు భూరాము లొండె
 మరెండు బోడనమ్మని నొండె ననిని
 దిరిగి గాలము ప్రాట దమ్ముల నొండె
 మలచి పు ముకునల మా నల్ల జొండె
 మలయకి కాలము మా నల్ల జొండె
 మలయల నొండెను వెనఁ జేర్చులోనఁ
 నిలకింత మనుచు బొరిగింపుచున్నాడు
 చిరులల మెట్టి జేర్చుల నొంతుకదను
 మరెగిరి చి మనము పరితలలోన నొంతు
 నునిపి జేరిము నోపు నొంతున ధీ
 నొనచు గమ్మకయుండు నునిముగా వనిన.....

and statesmen of the age. Members of the Rēvanūri, Koppunūlla, Paisāla and other families distinguished themselves as great generals and able nayakas and obtained from their over-lords parasol, umbrella, palanquin and other royal honours and privileges. The Koppunūlla chiefs had the title 'Gajarāvu', a title similar to that of 'Asvārāvu' of a later day. Almost all the States that had come into existence during this period were set up by members of the fourth caste. They bore the brunt of the struggle in the war of independence in this period, and held the reins of government after its re-establishment. Members of the Gurijala family of the fourth caste established their authority over the province of Sabbinaḍu on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari in the Hyderabad State with their capital at Rāmagiri and ruled the principality, probably as vassals of the rulers of Warāṅgal. Members of the Maṅgipūḍi family set up, as we already know, their power at Kōḡukonḍa on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvari in the East Godavari district. Koṭṭām of the Koppula chiefs was another principality of the members of the fourth caste. There is no need here to mention the kingdoms of the Musunūri chiefs, the Paṇṇa Reḍḍis and the Padma Velamas of the Rēceḡla *ḡḍṭra*, who were the chief actors on the political stage.

The main occupations of the Sūdras were agricultural labour and military service. It was in fact this fourth caste that supplied the great bulk of infantry to the rulers of the country. Some of the sects of the Sūdra caste like Onṭarlu⁴⁸ (Vaṇṭarlu) exclusively took to military service. Similarly, a great majority of the fourth caste were employed in agriculture and its allied works. Some sects like Balañjas⁴⁹ (corruption-Baliḡa) followed both trade and military service. Some others were engaged in handicrafts.

This period witnessed a change of attitude in the enforcement of the civil law, particularly with regard to the Sūdras. The injunctions of the Dharma Sāstras relating to the fourth caste were not strictly adhered to, as in days of yore. As a matter of fact, with the rise of the Sūdra communities to power, some amount of latitude was allowed to them in respect of certain civil laws and liberties. Some of the rules of conduct, and precepts of the Sāstras concerning the Sūdra caste were either overlooked or disregarded; for instance, in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, the right to make a gift of land either to the temple or to the brāhman, was according to the Sāstras, vested only in the ruling king, and not in either the commander-in-chief or even in the prime minister. Now, in the days

48. About Onṭarlu, see, pt. I, Chapter XV, 'Military Organisation And War'.

49. About Balañjas, see, pt. II Chapter VI on 'Industry And Trade'.

of sūdra political ascendancy, any one and everyone who wanted to make such a gift, did so even without the formal sanction of the king. Similarly, in olden times, the study of Sanskrit literature by the sūdras was unknown. The *Smṛtis*, in accordance with the rules of division of labour framed by them, did not allow this privilege to them. In this period the sūdras not only studied Sanskrit *nāṭakas* and *kāvyas*, written by ancient poets, but also wrote new dramas, works on rhetoric and music, and commentaries on philosophical works. This was indeed a great change. These facts attest to the changing spirit of the times. The sūdra more and more asserted himself and gained gradually more rights and privileges.

Another noteworthy factor that brought about a marked change in the religious outlook of the common man and contributed to shake his absolute faith in the scriptures was the Muslim invasion. The Muslims who destroyed the temples and defaced the idols were not visited with divine wrath, in the way that the Hindus had always implicitly believed. This impaired, to some extent, the faith of the people in general, in the efficacy and the magical powers of religious rites and ceremonies. The conversion of some of the Hindus into Islam also had the same affect. These conversions into Islam mitigated the fear of sin in the ordinary man. As a result of these factors, the moral back-bone of the society became weakened, and the ethical structure, on which the Hindu society was primarily based, suffered a heavy blow. The gradual decrease in fear of sin in the common man is clearly borne out by the comparative change in tone in imprecations, and by the increase in number and variety of such verses at the end of donative records, both lithic and copper-plate, of the early mediæval and later mediæval periods. With the shedding of this fear, there had come a change in the mental attitude of the sūdra.

Another important factor that made the common people realise their power and strength, and infused in them self-confidence, is the glorious victory they won in the war of independence, without the leadership and guidance of the princes of the ancient Solar and Lunar royal families. Virtually, all these lifted up mentally the ordinary man from his stupor and brought about a change in the society.

Courtesans:

Any account of the Hindu society of the mediæval period is not complete without the mention of *vēśyas* or the courtesan class. They were the custodians of art, specially of music and dance. They learnt these arts from brāhman teachers, and acquired high proficiency

in them. By their accomplishments and skill in the fine arts they attracted wealthy people to their houses and made their living. Though they were members of the śūdra caste, they were honoured alike by the learned and the aristocracy. The houses of well-to-do courtesans were equipped with high-class artistic furniture. It was not deemed dishonourable to have in those days a courtesan as one's mistress, besides one's lawful wife. Wealthy courtesans who were the mistresses of great nobles and kings, exercised much influence in society, and probably in the administration of the country also, and were held in high esteem.

Caṇḍālas :

Besides the traditional four castes there was another caste that of the caṇḍālas, the lowest one, formed in course of centuries as an appendage to the four castes in the Hindu society. Even the very touch and sight of a caṇḍāla was considered to pollute a member of a higher caste ⁵⁰. As such, they were called '*aṭṭarānīvāru*', untouchables. A caṇḍāla was prohibited from coming near and witnessing religious ceremonies performed in the house of *agravarnas* and in temples. It was however considered to be a pious and meritorious act to provide him with food. ⁵¹ Though he was kept out of the pale of the Hindu society, he was indispensable for its economic well-being, and was the main stay of the agrarian labour. They had their habitations at a distance from the village. They worshipped goddess Ēkavīra and sang her praises and stories to the accompaniment of dance. They adored also village goddesses like Māhuramma.

Mussalmans :

It is likely that there were small Moorish settlements in well-known seaports like Mōṛupalli, even before the Muslim invasions of the Deccan. The Arabs and the Moors engaged in coastal traffic and horse-trade, were visiting the Andhra country long before the thirteenth century. There was intercourse between the Muslim States in Northern India and the Hindu kingdoms to the south of the Tapati, ever since 'Alau-d-Dīn Khalji's first invasion of the Andhra country.

50. "స్నాన మొనర్చి భారపరిధానము లక్ ధరియించి మంట్రముగాని మనుష్యులం గనక"

—Rk. Cr., I, v. 95.

51. "కడళారివాని యాశ్రయ దీర్చిన మరందుకరమరి పల్లవలోకమున నుండు ..."

—Ibid, II, v. 77.

The Bahmanī Sultāns, the Mussalman kings of the Deccan, extended their kingdom and power with the aid of religion and religious divines. They found at first that the Hindu kings of the Deccan were stronger and more powerful than themselves. They could not overcome them by mere strength of arms. They were aware that the common Muslim soldier cared only for his wages and plunder, and was not interested in the schemes of conquest of Hindu kingdoms, and territorial aggrandisement. Hence, they knew that some thing was wanted to fire the imagination of the soldier and implant in him a firm faith in the cause. This is true not only in the case of the Muslims but also of the Hindus. Here religion came in handy for achieving the ruler's ambitions. The Sultāns proclaimed religious wars against the Hindus and infused religious fanaticism into the minds of their co-religionists. Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad writes, "Applying all his energies to the conquest of territory and reviving of the customs of religious warfare (*jehād*), he (Muḥammad Shāh I Bahmanī) in the spring time of his reign, and in the beginning of his grandeur, collected a well-equipped army and started for Bilampattam" ⁵² (Velumputtam).

During one of the campaigns of Muḥammad Shāh I against Vijayanagar, Bhōj-Mul, according to Ferishta, "commanded (on behalf of the king of Vijayanagar) the brāhmins to deliver every day, to the troops, discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, in order to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the brāhmins also to rouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy by representing them as the destroyers of temples, and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows⁵³." It is said that ten thousand brāhmins were slain by Muḥammad Shāh I in a single campaign⁵⁴. In fact, the Muslim kings had recourse to these religious wars against the Hindus ever since the inception of their power in the Deccan. According to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk*, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was advised by Shaikh Muḥammad Shīrāj Junaidi to collect an army and wage a religious war (*jehād*) till he brought the country of the unbelievers into the pale of Islām⁵⁵. It is evident from this that it was only by waging a religious war (*jehād*) that the Bahmanī Sultāns succeeded in firmly establishing their power in the Deccan and extending their kingdom. Almost all the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga declared religious wars against the Hindus.'

52. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 18.

53. Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 314.

54. *Ibid*, p. 317.

55. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 285.

Successive waves of Muslim invasions tended to the growth of Muslim colonies in all the important political centres and provincial capitals. During their first occupation of the Telugu country, the Muslims wielded great political influence as the members of the ruling caste.

The repressive policy, which the Muslim rulers unwisely adopted after the subjugation of the Andhra country, fostered discontent and resulted in rebellion. Later on, after the loss of Teliṅgāna, the Muslim rulers realised the necessity of changing their policy, and tried to be on friendly terms with the Hindus. In spite of some withdrawals, most of the Muslims became permanent settlers in the country. Consequently, after the re-establishment of Hindu supremacy, they constituted a permanent factor in the population, and became the subjects of the Hindu rulers. They lived side by side with the Hindus and both the communities learnt to tolerate and understand each other. With the progress of time, each community reacted on the other in diverse ways, and both the Hindus and the Muslims were affected by each other's social traits, customs and beliefs.

During the Muslim occupation of the country there were conversions of the Hindus to the Islāmic faith, though on a small scale. Many Hindu prisoners of war were converted to the Muslim faith, and history records that Harihara I, the founder of the Vijayanagar dynasty, and his brothers were converts, originally Hindu captives of war who purchased their liberty by embracing Islam. By their loyalty and faithfulness the Hindu converts won the favour of their lords and occupied high places in the State under Muslim rule. Shams-i-Shirāj 'Afif gives, in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, a short account of a native of Teliṅgāna by name 'Kaṭṭu' (or 'Kannu'), an officer of the last Kakatiya monarch Pratāparudra, who was taken captive by the emperor, Muḥamad bin Tughlaq, in his invasion of Waraṅgal. He earned his liberty by embracing Islam and was called Malik Maqbūl after his conversion. He gained the favour of the emperor and eventually rose to the position of the Deputy Wazir of Delhi.⁵⁶ Many classes of Muslims from North India and from the neighbouring countries in the West, came in search of service in the civil and military administration and as traders. Religious divines and fakirs also came and settled in the Andhra country. Mosques were erected in important towns like Waraṅgal and Rājamahēndravaram. Mention is made of '*Turkala masīdu*' (mosque of the Muslims) in the Telugu drama, '*Kṛiḍābhīrāmam*' written by Vallabhāmatya. The Mosque at Rājamahēndravaram was built in 1324 A. D. After the occupation of the coastal country

56. E. D., Vol. III, pp. 367-368.

the Muslim rulers converted many Hindu temples into mosques. In course of time, the Muslims settled in the Andhra country, joined the army of the Hindu rulers and held also small appointments in the State.

After the re-conquest of some of the provinces of the Andhra country by the Bahmanī Sultan, Firūz Shāh, the Muslim governors who were deputed to rule over them, were considerate and sympathetic to the Hindus. Some inscriptions⁵⁷ at Vēdātri (in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna district) show that some Muslim governors "established feeding houses and water-houses for the benefit of the public, dug many tanks, and performed many marriages by benefaction". Though it is not explicitly stated in these records, the people for whose advantage these benefactions were made, were in all probability Mussalmans.

The affect of the mutual contact between the Hindus and the Mussalmans was perceptible in the sphere of culture to some extent. The new type of Muslim dance (*Parākika-nartana*) attracted the Hindus so much that experts in *Nāṭya Śāstra*, like Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, introduced it into their treatises on dance in the name of *Mattalli-nartana* and wrote *lakṣaṇa* to it⁵⁸. Belief in Astrology and Palmistry among the Mussalmans was great, and to some extent the former was responsible for the failure of the first invasion of Muhammad bin Tughlaq against Warāṅgal. It is likely that there were some admirers of Hindu Vēdānta among the Muslims; Sūfism is believed to be much influenced by Vēdānta, and its counterpart in Islām.

57. Ep. Coll., Nos. 806 and 307 of 1944.

58. Vide, Chapter VII, (Pt. II), on Games And Amusements.

APPENDIX.

Surnames and gōtras of some brāhman donees known from some of the records of this period.

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
Ākunūri	Kauśika	Jonnalagaḍḍa	Kauṇḍinya
Ākunūri	Bhāradvāja	Jallipalli	Saṇḍilya
Aṁpada	Harita	Jallipalli	Vasiṣṭha
Anumakoṇḍa	Harita	Kalangara	Kauṇḍinya
Artanḡūri	Bhāradvāja	Kaljara	Kauṇḍinya
Ātukūri	Harita	Kaluvakka	Harita
Balajyōsya	Kauṇḍinya	Kaṇṇicarepalli	Kauṇḍinya
Beldēvi	Kāśyapa	Kandaḷa	Vadhūla
Boḍḍapalli	Harita	Kandugula	Śrīvatsa
Boggara	Kauṇḍinya	Kandukūri	Harita
Bōnagiri	Kauṇḍinya	Kappagantu	Kāśyapa
Bondalapāṭi	Śuṅga-Bhāradvāja	Karṅga	Ātrēya
Bonta	Kauṇḍinya	Kōlalapalli	Kāśyapa
Cadapalli	Kauṇḍinya	Kollūri	Bhāradvāja
Caṁṇipi	Harita	Koṇḍūri	Bharadvāja
Candalūri	Kauṇḍinya	Kondaṭi	Ātrēya
Cemakūra	Bhāradvāja	Kōrumballi	Bhāradvāja
Cenjerla	Bhāradvāja	Kōruṁgaṇṭi	Saṇḍilya
Ceguvu	Kāśyapa	Kōvūri	Kauṇḍinya
Cilipeddi	Śrīvatsa	Kramadhāṭi	Bharadvāja
Ciṭi	Harita	Krottūri	Harita
Cukkaboṭṭa	Śrīvatsa	Maddūri	Śrīvatsa
Dāsula	Kauṇḍinya	Mallala	Kāśyapa
Dēvarapu	Bharadvāja	Malraṁ	Kauṇḍinya
Dhīrāra	Bhāradvāja	Mānapuri	Ātrēya
Duṇḷigaḍa	Kāśyapa	Maṇḍapāka	Parāsara
Dvādasī	Harita	Maṇḍavalli	Kāśyapa
Elukugu	Harita	Maṇḍuṅgūri	Bhāradvāja
Gaḍḍapalli	Bhāradvāja	Maratūrita	Harita
Gannavara	Parāsara	Mare	Bharadvāja
Golapalli	Śrīvatsa	Mirtipāṭi	Saṇḍilya
Gūḍaparti	Kāśyapa	Muḍiya	Kauṇḍinya
Guḍivāḍa	Kauśika	Maṇḍjapi	Kauṇḍinya
Guṇṭūri	Kapi	Narlūri	Vadhūla
Inḡuvu	Śaunnaka	Narluvāḍa	Śrīvatsa

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
Nūntaki	Kauṇḍinya	Sarasvatī	Kauṇḍinya
Pāmalapāṭi	Kausika	Sadhu	Harita
Pannāla	Kauṇḍinya	Singarēmi	Kāśyapa
Pedapūṇi	Harita	Singarēmi	Harita
Pedapūṇi	Bharadvāja	Śrikonḍa	Harita
Peñcēṭi	Bhāradvāja	Śrikonḍa	Kaṇva
Penumballi	Harita	Subruviti	Bharadvāja
Peyyala	Kauṇḍinya	Sundila	Bhāradvāja
Ponungōṭi	Atreya	Talletata	Kauṇḍinya
Pōraṅki	Kauṇḍinya	Taṅgellapalli	Śaṇḍilya
Poṇṇūri	Śaṇḍilya	Tettira	Bharadvāja
Pōtri	Śaṇḍilya	Uṇḍrukōṇḍala	Gautama
Prēkeṭi	Atreya	Vaḍḍaṅguṇṭala	Bharadvāja
Pulupāka	Kāśyapa	Vallūri	Bharadvāja
Rajanaṁpāṭi	Srīvatsa	Vallūri	Kauṇḍinya
Rājukōṇḍa	Yaska	Varanāsi	Salāṅkāyana
Rājukōṇḍa	Kāśyapa	Vaṭṭi	Śaṇḍilya
Rali	Kauṇḍinya	Veluṁpalli	Vadhūla
Rāṁpalli	Bharadvāja	Yālavani	Kausika
Rāṁpalli	Srīvatsa	Yēḡuva	Manna-Bhārgava

CHAPTER II

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

We know very little of the fashions and modes, sartorial or otherwise, of the people in the period under review. The few references to dress and ornaments in the accounts of foreign travellers are more in the nature of generalisations, not giving any details and particulars. However, this information supplemented by literary references, gives us a general idea of the costumes and jewels which were commonly in use in this period.

Nicolo de Conti, the Venetian traveller, gives the following information about dress and ornaments of the Indians in general.

"The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this garment of linen or silk, which, with the men descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems"¹

The scanty dress of the Indians did not fail to attract the attention of foreigners. A still earlier traveller of the thirteenth century, named Friar John of Montecervino, observes thus: "Indian men wear a cloth round the loins, and the boys and girls up to eight years of age wear nothing whatever, but go naked as they came from their mother's womb."²

DRESS

Dōvati and *uttariyam* formed the general dress of elderly men. There were many varieties in the silk and cotton *dōvalis* and *uttariyams*

1. Major, Conti, pages 22-23.

2. *Foreign Notices*, p. 189

having different colours and a variety of exquisite borders. Telugu works of this period enumerate a number of such silk and cotton clothes which were available in this period.³ Even in silk there were many varieties like *dasūri paṭṭu*, *chini paṭṭu* and so on.

Ćira (saree) and *ṛaika* (bodice) was the ordinary dress worn by women. There were many varieties in sarees and the cloth used for *ṛaikas* also. *Yamunāraika*,⁴ and *bangaru-pāṇḍu ṛaika* were two varieties worn by Bondilis⁵ and rich people. Women stitched their bodices themselves at home. There were, however, tailors⁶ (*kaṭṛapaṇḍra*) also to stitch them for low class women.

Coloured cloth, either dyed or printed, found favour with the people of those times. The colours that were very fashionable and popular in those times among the aristocratic and high class people were scarlet, pink, rose, saffron and red, all different shades and varieties of the same red colour. *Nirkavi*, *ceṅgari*, *cendirakavi dōvatis* and *ciris* were liked immensely both by men and women. Cloths dyed in deep red and blue also, are mentioned in contemporary literature. Striped sarees, those with three borders, and those with printed borders of swans, squirrels, parrots, lions, elephants, horses, and peacock-tails⁷, appear to have been common. Sarees of golden border *paṣiḍi-āṇṇi*, *ciris* were worn by rich people.

Learned men and poets wore a kind of cap, called *kaḷḷā*,⁸ on head and tied *kōḷa*, long cloth round it. Poet Śrīnatha informs us that he

3. See, Chapter IX (Pt. II) on Industry And Trade. The Telugu work *Saichasanadvatrimśika* mentions not less than forty-two varieties of cloths plain, printed, and dyed with different borders and colours, and six sorts of silk cloths.

4. "...నామ శ్రీ శ్రీ సింధురేణు కడుటం గావ్వింపఁ బయ్యెటలఁకున్
యమ న్నైకయు వాఁడె" — G. Min. I, p. 121

5. A sect of people who claim to be kṣatriyas.

6. The Telugu poet Vallabhamatya gives a fine description of *kaṭṛapaṇḍu*, a tailor, in his work, *Kṛṣṇābhīraṇam*.

7. Sm. dv., I, iii, 188; Hr. VI, V. v, 38; Pu. cr. I, pp. 72 and 138.

8. It may be pointed out here that it had been an ancient custom in India for a scholar or a learned *vidvān* to wear a kind of cap. Commenting on the portrait of Dīṅṇagacārya, the Buddhist logician, which he published in his work, *the History of Indian Logic*, the late Sri Satis Candra Vidyābhāṣan writes thus :

"A peculiarity of the likeness is its cap. In the early Buddhist Church monks were not allowed to wear any head-dress With the introduction of the Mahayana in the first century A.D., by Kaniṣka, a great change was effected in the dress of monks and caps of various shapes were invented. The hat worn here (by Dīṅṇagacārya) is called *Panchaśikha-dharmar* or "*Pāṇḍita's red cap*" with a pointed peak and long,

wore *kuḷḷā*, *kōko* and *mahākūrpāsam** when he went to the court of the Vijayanagar ruler, Praudha Dēvarāya. This may well be taken as a courtier's dress of those times. *Mahākūrpāsam*, long coat, is otherwise called *niḍucaṭṭa* in Telugu. Short coat was called *aracaṭṭa*. It is likely that the *kūrpāsa* (*kūrpāsam*), whether long or short, was embroidered with silver and gold. It is needless to say that plain coats also have been in use. This form of dress worn by courtiers and nobles was in vogue in the early years of the sixteenth century also. Duarte Barbosa who visited South India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, furnishes the following description about the dress of the people.

"The men are of good height with 'physnomies' like our own : the women go very trimly clad ; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, wound very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in the front ; on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands."¹⁰

Mahākūrpāsa and *kuḷḷa* mentioned by poet Śrīnātha are, no doubt, identical with white shirts of cotton or silk, and silk or brocade caps respectively, described by Barbosa. The dress of the people in general in South India was almost the same during this period, whether they were the natives of 'the kingdom of Narsinga' proper, or of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. This is attested to by the foreign traveller, Varthema who came to South India in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was at Vijayanagar in 1504 A.D. He thus writes about the dress of the people there : "Their dress is this : the men of condition wear a short shirt, and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on the feet. The common people go quite naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle". He observed

lappets. The lappets of the cap were lengthened in proportion to the rank of the wearer."

"It is not known when the "*Paṇḍita's cap*" was first introduced. It is said to have been taken to Tibet in 749 A. D., by śānta Rakṣita....."—p. 271.

It seems likely that the custom of wearing caps by men of letters was coming without a break from the Buddhist period. It is probable that the shape of the cap might have changed a little in course of centuries.

9. "కుళ్ళ యుందిరి నోకనుట్టిరి నువ్వూర్పుననుం చొట్టిరి"

పెల్లల్లిక ... —Ct. Mm., I.

10. Barbosa, I, p. 205.

that the laws, manner of living, dress, and customs of the people of Pulicat (in Ma'bar) were the same as at Calicut."¹¹

There were rough as well as very fine cloth which was all hand-spun and hand-woven. Kings and nobles put on fine muslins, which, when worn, looked like the covering of the dew. There were some costly white muslin *dōratīs* resembling the foam of the flowing moonlight, and white sarees of the likeness of the flood of milk.¹² Kuruvas and other low class people used to cover their bodies with rugs woven of the wool of the sheep. These rugs were not generally articles of dress. They were greatly used for covering the body in the winter season.

The general form of the head-dress of men was turban. Turbans were tied by people in different fashions in and out of court. The wearing of a turban seems to have been essential for courtiers and nobles. The juggler's turban was different from that of others. He used to tie it a little to a side with a tirc, leaving the ends of the garment hanging on the back like a tassel. Some of the servants of State and wrestlers also tied their turbans in a similar fashion¹³. *Rāca lenkas* (servants of kings) covered their bodies with shawls or blankets¹⁴.

11. *Varthema*, Jones, p. 195. With regard to Calicut, *Ibid* p. 143.

12. “జలమన జలకంబు చనుకరం దీర్చి
మం చావరించిన మాడిగి-ని జీలుగు
మించిన చీరలు వచ్చుగాఁ గట్టి...”

—Nv, cr., p. 53.

“పర్రపైన వెన్నెల నునువుల బొలిక
దనరాదు ధవళ వస్త్రములు గట్టి...”

—Vs. Rm., I, v. 36.

“అలుగు పొక్కిలి యను వెలుక పల్లముఁ గప్పు
బాలవెల్గున వంటి వేలఁ గట్టి...”

—Ut. Mm., I, p. 184.

“కట్టిరి పన్నులు నమలు గావి కట్టిరి తునిగిగప్పై...”

—Vk, cr., IV, v. 160.

13. “ధిలకంబు కన్నూరి నిలకించి చొక్కెలు
చెంనులపాగతోఁ జెమ్మ మీఱఁ...”

—Sm. Dv., II, XI, v. 193

ధిలకంబు దళముగాఁ దీర్చి చెంనులపాగ
తలముడిగోఁ చొక్కె మలవరించి...”

—*Ibid*, VII, V. 45.

14. “అనిల దివియు మనుచు నయ్యద్దఱుం గప్పిన చుప్పలు
తొలంగఁజెచ్చి...”

—*Ibid*, VII, Pr. 80.

Contemporary Telugu literature furnishes descriptions of the costumes of brahmans, shepherds, wrestlers, jugglers, pilgrims etc. The brahman's and the labourer's dress was generally very simple. The former used to wear a *dōcati* and an *uttariyam*, an under garment and an upper garment respectively; while the latter had a loin cloth or *kaupīnam*, a small piece of cloth worn over the privities, and a turban on the head. Shepherds put on *pilipāgalu*, turbans adorned with peacock's tails or feathers of a thrush, a waist garment with a girdle cord of cotton or wool tied over it, and covered their head and body with a rug (*gonḡaḡi*) hanging over their backs¹³. Even in the statues representing shepherds in temples of the early and late Vijayanagar periods, we can recognise this rug which was characteristic of the shepherd's attire. They had also in their hands a long and stout bamboo staff, easily distinguishable from others. The wrestler's dress consisted of a cloth tied firmly over the loins, a girdle cord wound round it tightly, and a tasseled turban wound round over the head, combining the knot of hair as to form a tyre.¹⁴ A juggler wore an anklet on his left leg, and amulets

15. “శీలిపాగయు మొలఁ బెట్టిన నిల్లఁ
గ్రోలు మాపున నిడుకొన్న గొడ్డలియు
నొసపుగా ముసుగిచ్చ యొరగొంగడియు ...
గురిజ పూసల పేరు బొంగుఁ గోలయును
గానె దట్టియు మీఁదఁ గదియఁ బిరించి ... ” —Nu. Cr. I. p. 27.

16. The following verse gives a good picture of a wrestler of those times.

“కఱకంచు వలిపెంబు గట్టిగాఁ గాసించి
చెలిత్రాడు కాపెపైఁ బలియఁ జాట్టి
దేహంబు కప్పుగా లోపఱఁచుక లీల
జగిలిగి గల నల్ల జగు రమర్చి
వత్సస్థలంబున రత్నపూసలపేరు
దండతాయెరులును దగ ధరించి
లిలకంబు దళయ గాఁ దీర్చి చెంగుల పాగ
తలముడితోఁ జొచ్చి మలవరించి
కేతఁ బుల్లలియును నీలినూలునఁబూని
కేలిగతిఁ గటారికోల వట్టి
సంగడిలు గొల్పఁ జనుచెంచె నొకమత్త
గజముధంగి కలచుకంటకుండు” — Sm. Dv., II, VII, v. 45.

of tiger's claws, and a turban with a tyre. He had a sword and a shield with the figure of Hanumanta drawn over it in his hand. "

Both the Telugu poets, Gaurana and Palkuriki Sōmanātha, provide us with beautiful descriptions of pilgrims visiting holy places. Besides the *dōraṭi* or nether-garment and the *utlariyam* or upper garment they wore *kuppasamulu* or short coats, umbrellas and sandals. The other equipment of a pilgrim consisted in a wallet (*karatitti*), staff, and a yoke with slings attached to each end for carrying burden upon the shoulders. " Going to Kāñcī, one of the nine holy places for a pious and religious Hindu to visit, was believed to be a sacred act giving merit. Since a visit to Kāśī (Varāṇasī) was attended with risk and danger to life, some of the Hindus of those days contented themselves by visiting only Kāñcī, for, in those days when there were no good roads, conveyances and efficient central police organisation, a journey to it was comparatively less difficult and dangerous than to Kāśī, though it entailed much trial and suffering. The pilgrim visiting Kāñcī used to fetch home a pilgrim's yoke called *Kāñcī kūbaḍi* laden with, besides his personal belongings, many things purchased at that holy place. Sōmanātha describes very elaborately the pilgrim caravan visiting the holy Śrīśailam in his *Puṇḍitārādhyacaritram*. He gives in this connection a detailed description of the

17. The following verse gives a good description of a magician or juggler of the times under review.

“అయ్యోడి నొకక్రొత్తయైన మహావీరుఁ
చండితు నా కాల నమరఁబూని
బాగుగాఁ బులిగోరు పట్టుదిండుగఁ గట్టి
మనుపార మేనఁ జందన మలంది
తిలకంబు కిక్కురిఁ దిలకించి చొచ్చెంబు
చెంగఁల పాగఁగోఁ జెప్పు మీఁటి
హనుమంతుఁ నానీన యరిశెలిశ్చయు నాబుఁ
గరమఁ జ నులక్ష్మీ గడ్డలు కొనఁగ
నొకఁడు వచ్చె” —Sm. Dv., II, XI, v. 133.

18. “.....అందఱును
శ్రీయశ్రులు సేయు తెఱఁగు నటించి
కుటుంబుగొడుగులఁ గొలఁచు గావి
యఱల దోవకులు నోరచ్చు చెప్పఱను
దేవతాబలుఁ గరతియ్యలుఁ గంచి
కావర్కు మాత్రులఁ గైకొని వెడలి...” —Nv, Cr, V, p. 275.

gait, dress, and equipage of the different sections of the caravan of both the sexes."

Growing long hair was a fashion and an age-long custom among men and women in the Hindu society. They took special care in dressing and arranging it in different beautiful fashions. A study of the hair-dress of men and women in both the Amarāvati and the Nāgārjunakonda sculptures shows that there were many varieties in looping, fastening and tying the hair. Different modes of arranging the hair were in vogue in the country from the early centuries till the middle ages. The truth of this statement is borne out by sculptural representations of men and women, especially of heroes and dancing women, found in temples belonging to the early and late mediaeval period, at many of the holy places in the Andhra country. Men had their hair arranged in different kinds of knots, tight and loose, and in different loops. This kind of knot was called *krunnuḍi*. Some had these knots either on the crown of the head, or a little to its right or left above the ears. Some twisted their tresses and gathered them in a lump, or tied them in a conical fashion, or in the fashion of a semicircular fan or of a bun shaped knot. The head dress of warriors (*virapurushulu*), as represented in the statues found at Tripurāntakam, Warāṅgal, and other Śaivite holy places, gives us an idea of the different patterns then in vogue, in the coastal Andhra country as well as in Teliṅgana. Women had their tresses either plaited or arranged in loops or twisted in different knots, in accordance with their individual tastes. *Kiljaḍa* (a woman's plaited hair hanging on the back) was one of the favourite patterns popular with young women of those times. Both men and women decorated their heads profusely with scented flowers, garlands composed of flowers of different colours, and costly ornaments. Children, boys and girls, had their hair plaited, and arranged in tyres.

Sandals :

Both men and women wore comely sandals. Each and every set of foot-wear was greatly beautified with tassels and other decorations revealing great workmanship and art. Sandals were made of light wood, leather, ivory and metal". Some of

19. The passage is a very lengthy one. It extends to forty six pages in crown octavo. See, Pn. Cr., II, pp. 306-352.

20. "పాదపదు సంబువుల్ పెడంగు పసిండి

గోదరుల బావలుఁ గూడ లోహంబు

పావలు, దంతంబు పావలు, రాగి

పావలు, వాగెల పాదరత్నమును

దొడిగిరిని..... " Pn. Cr., II, V, p. 307.

the sandals (*ceppulu*) produced, while walking, great creaking sound, while some were noiseless. *Malakaralla kirru ceppulu*, the creaking shoes of the Malakas, or Mussalmans, are referred to in the Telugu work, *Kriḍābhīrāmam*". Besides these there were other patterns also producing creaking sound, adorned with tassels of gold, silver and other materials". Light wooden sandals with excellent finish having gold knobs" with pommel heads in the fore part were worn by the Sādhus, religious people and others, during religious rites and indoor work. There were jingling sandals, made of porcelain glass" also worn by rich people.

Canes :

Generally no elderly person went out without either a walking stick, a staff or a cane in hand. The staff of a religious person was called *gauribettamu*. A cane or a staff was generally an ornament to the hand, and at times a necessary requisite also. There were canes of different patterns with gold, silver, or ivory handles of high workmanship, carved out into different shapes of birds and animals, and set with precious stones. When inlaid skilfully with appropriate stones of different colours, the handles of canes were made to look exactly like birds, or animals. Generally, they were fashioned into faces of lions, *makaras*, and elephants, and profusely ornamented with precious stones. There were different varieties of canes in use, canes of brilliant hues, toothed canes, notched or dart shaped canes, bamboo canes of golden hue, and Malaka canes" and so on.

21. "శ్రీమలక వాళ్ళ కట్టె చివలు. . . " — Kd. Rm., v. 162.
22. "నిద్రమా కుచ్చల యుద్ధాలు క్లిని మ్రోయఁగా . . ." — Sm. Div., II, x. v. 83.
23. "కనకంపుగొడుగు పాగాలు . . ." — Hr. Vl., VII. v. 137.
24. "కామిం గాడి నిల్కల పావలు . . ." — Rk. Cr., IV, v. 35.
25. " వన్నె బెత్తిమర్ వరిబెత్తిములును
వలయును బెత్తిమర్ వలక బెత్తిములు
నిక్క-బెత్తిములును గోరిబెత్తిములు
జక్క-ని వెదురు పొంబాయ బెత్తిములు
పైరిణి గోలలు సందనంబులును
గైరంబు లాకులు నినుపదంబుములు
ననకుల కోలలు. " — Pn. Cr., II, V, p. 310.

Mention is made of *Malakaralla kirru ceppulu* in the Telugu works of this period. Here we have *Malaka bettamulu*. *Malakaralla kirru ceppulu* may mean

Umbrella:

Chatra, an umbrella is a dire necessity in a tropical climate. Umbrellas were in use in this country even from the pre-Christian era, as is attested to by the ancient Buddhist works. They refer to patterns with *maṇḍalabaddha* and *śalākābaddha* frames²⁶, and prepared with matting or leaves. Representations of umbrellas which were in vogue in the early Buddhist period in the Andhra country, can be seen in the bas-reliefs from Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa. The Western Calukya king, Sōmēśvara, describes in the section *Chattrabhāga* in his *Abhilaṣitarthacintamani*, white-clothed umbrellas, adorned with pearl tassels and pendants of sapphires, corals, and with a golden *kalāśa* at the top. Umbrellas with shafts of gold, silver, and ivory set with gems²⁷ and covered with gold and silk cloths, were worked out beautifully. Generally, they were of two varieties, one which is always kept open, and the other which is made to open and shut according to convenience. Both these varieties were in use in the times under review. The former, made out of palm leaves and *mōḍuga* (*Butea frondosa*) leaves, seems to have been the common variety in use in those days.

Umbrella acquired special importance by its inclusion in the royal paraphernalia. Hence, parasol was a badge of honour and distinction granted only by the ruler of the land. The wearing of special varieties of umbrellas was a privilege granted only to a few who were in the favour of the king. The use of a white silk umbrella, the State umbrella as it was called, was the exclusive privilege of the king and no one was allowed to wear it. Umbrellas covered with blue cloth were worn by kings and princes during hunting excursions. White umbrellas, umbrellas decorated with or prepared with peacock tails, pearl umbrellas, umbrellas of honour and distinction, white silk umbrellas and foldable umbrellas were some of the varieties mentioned in the *Pāṇḍitūradhyacaritra*.²⁸ Marignolli,

sandals worn by the Malaka people, probably Mussalmans. If this surmise is correct *Malaka bettanu* may be taken to mean a cane used by the Mussalmans in general. It is likely that they used canes, different in sort from those used by the Hindus. It is also possible to take the term to mean a *Malaka* cane imported from Malaca and the Far East.

26. C. Sivaramamurti—*Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 96.

27. *Abhilaṣitarthacintamani* III, xvii-xviii, vv. 1840--49, pp. 378--79.

28. “కడు సాంకమగు తెలి గొడుగులుఁ బీలి

గొడుగులు ముత్యాల గొడుగులు బిరుదు

గొడుగులు తెలిపట్టు గొడుగులు మోడ్పు

గొడుగులు.....” —Pā. Cr., II, V, p. 311.

a foreign traveller of the first half of the fourteenth century was the first among the European travellers who visited India, to notice umbrellas which are made to open and shut. He says, "But as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent roof on a cane handle, *which they open out at will* as a protection against sun and rain. This they call *chatyr*." Barbosa also observed the use of umbrella by men in 'the kingdom of Narsinga,' and remarks that, of these umbrellas, some were made of finely worked silk" with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. He further observes, "They are so made as to open and shut, and may cost three or four hundred *cruzados*"^{29a} "

29. As time went on, there seems to have come into vogue other umbrellas also. In the early days of the East India Company there were in use umbrellas called *roundells* or *arundells* and *catysols*. The latter is of "the Chinese variety of paper with a bamboo handle, carried three or four feet or more above a man's head." A good description of the former is given in the following lines by Thomas Bowrey in his *Geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal (1669-1679)* (edited by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Temple Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. XII, p. 85).

"They (*Roundells*) are very light but of exceeding Stiffness, being for the most part made of Rhinocerots hide, very decently painted and Gilded with what flowers they (people) admire. On the outside exactly in the midst thereof is fixed a Smooth handle (made of wood) by which the Roundelliers (Roundell-boy) doth carry it, holding it up, with one hand, a foot or more above his Master's head directing the Centre thereof as opposite to the *Sun* as possible he may".

Probably, this type of umbrella of distinction came into use during the rule of the Kutub Shahis of Golconda.

The editor furnishes the following interesting note in this connection.

"The use of umbrellas, especially of *roundells*, formed the subject of sumptuary regulations on the part of the Company for over a century. The allusion in the text (I omitted that portion) is to a fulmination at Masulipatam during Streynsham Master's visit, 16th Aug. 1676 (*Diary of Streynsham Master*, p. 41): "There being an ill custome in the Factory of writers having roundells carried over their heads which is not used or allowed by the Government of the Towne, but only to the Governour and three next principall officers and to two or three eminent merchants of ancient standing and by the Dutch only their Chief, Second, and Third, who are of their Councell, and at Fort St. George is allowed only to the Councell and Chaplaine. It is therefore ordered that no person in this Factory shall have a roundell carried over them but such are of Councell and the Chaplaine."

Even in the days of the East India Company such privileges and honours were so zealously guarded by its servants also, just as among the Hindus.

O R N A M E N T S

Jeweller's art was in a flourishing condition. The references to ornaments, in contemporary literature and inscriptions of the period suggest that there was a great variety of ornaments in the time of the Reddi kings than in the previous periods. The high class people had a taste for fine, and beautiful things, and went in for articles of fine workmanship. The low class people emulated their example, and bought things of beauty in different and cheap varieties. Thus, from the lowest to the highest, and from the poor to the rich, all cultivated an aesthetic taste for beautiful ornaments of some kind or other, and to enhance the charm of their person by wearing them. Foreign travellers who visited the country did not fail to notice the love of the inhabitants of the country for ornaments. Abdur Razak, who visited Vijayanagar during the reign of king Prauḍha Dévarāya says: "All the inhabitants of this country, both those of the exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artisans of the bazaar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers."³⁰ The Western Caḷukya monarch, Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara of the twelfth century A.D., gives a detailed description of different kinds of ornaments, worn by people of his times in his work *Abhilaṣitārhaḥ cintamaṇi* in the third chapter called *Upabhōgavimāti* in the section of *bhūṣabhōga*, the luxury of ornaments. Almost all the ornaments described in this work were in use in the period under review.

There were ornaments worn on the head, ears, nose, neck, hands, chest, waist, feet and fingers. Most of the ornaments were the same for both the sexes. Only a few were exclusively worn by women. Ornaments worn by women attracted the attention of Nicolo de Conti. He observes, "By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arm and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems³¹." As time rolled on, the number and variety of women's ornaments increased to such an extent that it became the fashion among the rich and the wealthy to have seven sets of ornaments, ear-marked for wearing on each of the seven days of the week.

It may be supposed that fashions also changed in respect of ornaments. Merchants and nobles were generally instrumental in introducing into the country new varieties of jewellery which

30. Major, Abdur Razak. p. 26.

31. Ibid, Conti, p. 23.

were in vogue in other countries and kingdoms. Fashions changed in accordance with the popularity of the new varieties introduced.

Ornaments were made of different materials, metals like tin, copper, silver, gold, and alloys like bronze and brass. There were gilded ornaments also of silver and gold. Kings, nobles and the rich put on very costly ornaments made of gold, set with precious stones. Friar Jordanus, who visited India in the early post-Kākatīya period, writes : " But the kings have this distinction from others, that they wear upon the arms gold and silver rings, and on the neck a gold collar with a great abundance of gems." "

People generally wore such kinds of ornaments as their purse and position permitted them to wear. The rich had even anklets made of gold, and jingling toe rings (*raṇṇi maṭṭelu*). Gold ornaments studded with precious stones were common among the rich and the royal families. While the rich wore jewelled necklaces, the poor put on necklaces of glass-beads, seeds and even grains like wheat. If the rich took pride in wearing jewelled ear-ornaments, the poor were satisfied by putting on in their ears tinted palm leaves. Whatever might be the material, each type of ornaments was made lovely to look at by beautifying it, not only by its finish and perfection, but also by every possible way by joining to it pendants, small tinkling bells, tassels with silk and golden threads and the like. Judged by the descriptions given by the Western Cālukya king, Sōmēśvara, the ornaments themselves bear eloquent testimony to the skill in workmanship and to the ingenuity of design of the ancient gold and silversmiths. Some of the costly ornaments described in Sōmēśvara's work are to be seen worn even to-day by women of the wealthy class in villages and towns also, in some parts of the Andhra country.

Head-Ornaments :

Ornaments worn on the head were of various kinds. *Cārucukka*³², otherwise called *papaṭa boṭṭu*, the *śimanta-bhūṣaṇam* was the chief ornament worn in the centre of the forehead by women at the parting of the hair. It was called *sajjatilakam* by king Sōmēśvara who gives a good description of this ornament in his work. It was a golden pearl ornament studded with precious stones. Another type worn on the head was *lālī* and *ravi*. Even to the present day they are worn by women in villages remote from towns. They are now called *candravaṅka* and *rāḡiḡi*, and resemble the crescent moon and the sun respectively.

32. *Foreign Notices*, p. 209.

33. *Pv. Cr.*, p. 72.

The ornament *ravi* is bigger than *śaṣṭi* and was elaborately worked out with gems. These two jewels are worn on either side of the *śimanta* or the parting of the hair³⁴. *Bimbamu* was another circular golden ornament set with gems, for wearing at the back on the head³⁵. "In some places," writes Conti, "they (women) twist up the hair upon the top of the head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair³⁶." This was another ornament noticed by a foreigner. On the plaited tresses women used to wear a large circular golden ornament composed with emeralds called *paccadapu-gaṇḍa*³⁷. Another ornament of women's braided hair (*koppu*) was called in Telugu *baṅgaru* - *pācceru*³⁸ or strings of golden flowers. *Kuppelu mutyāla-kucculu*³⁹ were tassels of pearls with golden knobs worn above the ears on the head on either side. Women belonging to royal and wealthy families were in the habit of covering their heads with hair-nets adorned with pearls. This was called *muktāphala-jālaka* in Sanskrit, and *mutyāla-jalli* in Telugu.⁴⁰

Necklets and Necklaces:

Many kinds of necklaces were worn both by men and women. Some of them hung down as far as the chest, and some descended still lower down as far as the navel, and some others were worn round the neck. These ornaments were called *hāras* in Sanskrit and *pērulu* and *sarālū* in Telugu. The *kara*, the last of the above-said varieties was called *kaṇṭhika* in Sanskrit, and *kaṇṭya* or *kaṇṭe* in Telugu. Generally, these *kaṇṭhikas* were pearl ornaments, composed of pearls of one, three, five or nine strings knit together like a band. It is said that *ekāraṭi*, a single string of pearls of regal excellence, was considered the best of the *kaṇṭhikas* (necklets). After the fashion of the

34. "పాదట కిరువంక ... శశి రవి ధూషణయుగము..."_Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Major Conti, p. 23.

37. "జువ్వకుచ్చులమీద.....పచ్చవపుండ్ర..." Hr. VI, II, v. 93.

38. "కొప్పుమీదను..... .. బంగారు పూచేర్లు..." Pv. Cr. p. 71.

39. Ibid.

40. Ka. Kh., IV. v. 183; Sm. Dv., I. iv. p. 74. pr. 183.

"××న లక్ష్మీలతాత్వో కబరి మీద
సంతరించిన ముత్యాల జల్లివోరె."—

41. Pv. Cr., p. 72,

mauktika kaṇṭhika, and *matijala puttada*," another neck-ornament, gold bands to be worn round the neck came into existence. This ornament was a pliable bar of gold bent round the neck in the form of a *kaṇṭhika*. Poor people who could not afford to go in for gold ornaments wore silver and brass *kaṇṭhikas*.⁴¹ There were necklets of small black glass beads also, worn by poorer classes. Copper *kaṇṭhika* also may be taken to have been in use in those times, though we do not hear about that ornament in the contemporary Telugu literature. Similar to the *mauktika kaṇṭhika* there were *ratna kaṇṭhikas* also, set with diamonds and other precious stones.

Necklaces had different distinguishing names applied to them, in accordance with the variety, number and method used in composing the different gems. There were necklaces of one string, three strings, five strings and so on. In preparing these ornaments full use was made of the nine kinds of gems. Necklaces composed of different gems, like emerald, diamond, ruby, pearl, coral, sapphire, and topaz, and those composed of any one of them exclusively, find mention in the contemporary Telugu works. The former variety with one or more strings was called *bannasarālu* in Telugu. The term *bannasaramu* appears to be a *vikṛti* of the Sanskrit word *varnasaram*. This *varnasaram* was described by Sōmēsvara in his *Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, where he says that it was a *hāra* composed of sapphires and pearls⁴². In practice, however, the necklace composed of precious stones or glass beads of different colours, was called *bannasaram*. Poor people wore necklaces of beads made of shells (*saikupūsala perlu*), and of black glass (*nallapūsala perlu*). Children put on necklaces of tiger's claws (*puli-gōrulu*) to serve as amulets.

Ear Ornaments :

There were many patterns of ear ornaments made of gold, silver, copper, ivory and probably brass also. These were either circular or square in shape, and resembled petalled flowers. Some were in the form of rings, *pōgulu* in Telugu. Ear ornaments which were composed of only four pearls were called *caukaṭlu* in Telugu. These ornaments were generally made of gold, set with pearls or precious gems. Ear

41. Pr. Cr., p. 72.

42. "രോമം മുട്ടി മരണമുണ്ടാകും..."—Hr. VI., II, v. 93

43. "तथैवनीलमयुक्तं मुक्तं पूर्वक्रमेणतु

कृनोवर्णसरोनाम दर्शनीयो मनोहरः॥"—iii, viii, v. 1125.

44. Pr. Cr., I, p. 72.

ornaments are known by the names *tāṭaṅkas*, and *kuṇḍalas* in Sanskrit, and *kammalu* and *oṇṭulu* ⁴⁵ (of one stone) in Telugu. *Mauktikataṭaṅkas* and *ratna tāṭaṅkas* were commonly in use among the well-to-do people. The latter were also called as *pañju kammalu* in Telugu. There were also *raḡi kam nalu*, ear ornaments made of copper. There was yet another variety of ear ornaments, called *rajala - kamma - geṇṭilu*.⁴⁶ These ornaments appear to have been large ear-rings attached with diamond *tāṭaṅkas*. There were other ornaments with tassels of pearls worn on the ears, called *barirelu* and *kuṇṭenakucculu* ⁴⁷ in Telugu. The former was a type of ornament worn on the tip of the ear. Jewels, called *bhramarakas*,⁴⁸ are known to us from literature. *Bavire* appears to be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit term *bhramara*. If this surmise is correct, *barirelu* may be taken to have been made after the shape of bees. *Barirelu* and *kuṇṭenakucculu*, large gold earrings with or without tassels, went together, and were twin ornaments. *Kuṇṭenakucculu* were probably *kuṇṭellu* without tassels or pendants. As their name suggests, they were large rings with tassels either of gold, silver, cotton or silk thread, or of pearls or gold chains, that hang down from the tip of the ears.

Nose Ornaments :

Nose ornaments were generally called *mukkera* and *nattu* in Telugu. *Mukkera* was a gold nose-ring, adorned with either seed-pearls or gems. *Mukkeras* with pearls (*mutyala mukkeras*), with crystals (*paṭikapu mukkeras*), and with glass piece (*addapu mukkeras*)⁴⁹, were common in those times. *Nattu*, a circular ornament adorned with precious stones, was worn by women on left nostril.

Ornaments worn on Hands :

Jewels worn on hands were many and varied. There were special circular ornaments to wear on the upper part of the arm which were called *keyūras* and *aṅgudas*. A good description of these

15. Sv. Mh., II, 61. Ear-rings of a particular pattern having a single stone worn by men, are called *Oṇṭulu*.

46. Nr. Cr., I, p. 42.

47. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

48. Sm. Dv., I, iv, p. 74.

49. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

Pn. Cr., I, p. 138-34.

ornaments⁵⁰ is found in the *Abhilaṣitarthacintamani* referred to above. *Keyūra* (armlet) was an ornament worn on the upper arm (*bahu-bhūṣaṇam*), which was made in the shape of *śiṃhavarakṛa*, lion's mouth, and decorated with different kinds of precious stones, pendants, and fringes (*sūsukair = laṇbanair = yuktam*). Similarly, the gold ornament *aṅgadam* set with diamonds and pearls, and adorned with the feathers of an owl, was also an armlet, jewel worn on the upper part of the arm. Since it is called *bahu-saṇḍhi-vibhūṣaṇam*, it may be said to have been worn above the *keyūra*. These ornaments, the common name for which is *keyūramudralu*⁵¹ and *bhujakīrtulu* in Telugu, were worn by kings. Those who could not afford to wear such costly ornaments, satisfied themselves by wearing circular armlets, made of silver, or copper, or even gilded ones,⁵² on their upper arms. They were called *daṇḍa-kaḍiyamulu* in Telugu. *Kaḍiyamu* is a general term for a bracelet. Besides these, there were *rakṣa-haḷak = alaṅkaras*, ornaments of gold in the nature of amulets, containing tigers' claws, or other things, calculated to avert harm or calamity, or to bring luck to the wearer. These adorned with gold or silk-thread or pearl tassels were tied to the upper arms. These amulets were called *daṇḍa tayettulu*.⁵³ Those who were too poor to wear any metallised amulets, put on those of herbs which were believed to possess supernatural powers.

Bracelets or ornaments worn on the wrists were called *kaṅkaṇamulu*, *valaṅgamulu* or *maruṅulu*. These were primarily made of gold, and set with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds and other precious stones. There were emerald bracelets, entirely composed of emeralds, pearl bracelets and diamond bracelets. According to the design and decoration the patterns varied and were known by distinguishing names. Very poor class of people wore bracelets of shells (*śaṅku-kaṅkaṇamulu*),⁵⁴ and glass beads of various colours. Silver, copper and even tin bracelets also were not rare in those times. In addition to these bracelets women used to wear bangles, specially, of black and blue colours (*nalla gāḍulu*, and *nīlalu gāḍulu*).⁵⁵

60. सिंहचक्रपमाकारं नानारत्नविचित्रितम्
सूसुकैलम्बनैर्युक्तं केयूरं बाहुभूषणम्
सौवर्णमणिविन्यस्तमुक्ताजालरुमङ्गदम्
पेचकापिच्छसंयुक्तं बाहुसन्धिविभूषणम् ||— iii, viii, vv. 1419-50.

51. Br. Mh., III, v. 56.

52. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

53. Ibid.

54. Vr. Vj., II, v. 168.

55. Pv. Cr., p. 73; Pn. Cr., I, pp. 183-84.

Rings worn on fingers of the hand, called *mudrikalu* and *uṅgaramulu* in Telugu, were very common. These were also made of gold in many designs and set with gems. Rings of different patterns having different names were described by Sōmēśvara. While writing about men in 'the kingdom of Narsinga', Barbosa says, "They wear many rings set with precious stones and many ear-rings set with fine pearls in their ears." About women he writes: "Their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear ear-rings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the more part of this people is very wealthy."⁵⁶

Waist Ornaments:

Girdles or ornaments worn on the waist were generally made of gold. The Sanskrit terms denoting a girdle are *kaṭi-sūtra*, *kañci mekhalā* and *rasanā*. The equivalent Telugu term is *molanūlu*, an appropriate and correct translation of the Sanskrit *kaṭi-sūtra*. Originally a cord of twisted or plaited cotton threads was worn round the waist. This became the model later for a waist ornament of gold or silver. Hence, we have *mutyāla - molanūlu*⁵⁷ and *ratnāla - kaṭi-sūtram*⁵⁸, names denoting waist ornaments set with pearls and diamonds respectively. The waist ornament, called *kāñcīdāma*, is said to be a gold ornament set with gems, and decorated with (gold) threads and pendants and with jingling bells.⁵⁹ The Telugu works mention *mekhalas* with *kanaka ghaṇṭalu* (gold bells), *māgalu* (otherwise called *māvalu* or *muvvalu*, probably those that do not clink), and *gajjelu*⁶⁰ (rattling bells). *Oddaṇam* is a gold ornament of a different pattern. It is in the shape of belt with or without screw, furnished with ornaments and pendants. It was a nice jewel of elaborate

56. Barbosa, I. pp. 207-08.

57. Hr. VI., IV, v. 11.

58. Nr. Cr., I, v. 4.

59. मौर्वर्णस्तनखचितं सूयुक्तेलम्बनैर्युतम्
हेमघर्घरघटाभि निर्मितं स्वयंयुतम्॥

काञ्चीदामेतिविरच्यतं कटिभूषणमुत्तमम्॥— Abh. Ct., iii, viii, vv. 1170-71.

60. Nr. Cr., IV, pp. 186-87.

ornamentation and high workmanship, set with all or some of the nine gems in various designs. Another pattern of waist ornament was *vajrāla-kamaru*, a type of diamond girdle. We can probably have a good idea of these waist ornaments from what Paes writes. He says that women wore "many girdles of gold and precious stones which hung in order one below the other almost as far down as half the thigh⁶¹."

Anklelets :

Anklelets also were of many patterns and varieties. Some were called *kaṭṭiyamulu* (*kaṭakas* in Sanskrit), and some, *andiyalu* or *andelu* (*andukas* in Sanskrit). There were also ornaments of a chain variety. In each of these varieties there were many patterns and designs with or without screws. It may be mentioned here that all these ornaments were also made of gold and studded with precious stones. Boys, girls and women put on these ornaments. One or more strings plaited together, or small gold bells of various sizes, some dumb, and some producing jingling sounds, were profusely used in the decoration of these ornaments. Low and poor class people wore anklelets made of tin⁶², and plaited string belts of small bells made of brass⁶³. The toes were adorned with rings of gold set with jewels. They were decorated beautifully in order to produce clinking sounds. These rings which women wore on their toes are called *maṭṭelu* or *maṭṭiyalu*, *pādamudrikalu* in Sanskrit. These were made of tin and bronze⁶⁴ also. Rings with *śikhara*s, that is, peak-decorations, were called *śikharambulu*⁶⁵. Rings worn by women on the third finger of their foot had a special name called *pillāṇḍu* (sing. *pillāṇḍi*).

All ornaments referred to in the contemporary Telugu literature were not mere figments of imagination of poets, but were real. Most of them are in use even at the present day. Gold, silver and precious stones were in abundance. There were diamond mines, as Barbosa and Nicolo de Conti inform us, in the country. Barbosa writes, "All other precious stones are brought hither (into the city of Vijayanagar) for sale from Pegu and Ceilam (Ceylon), and from Ormus and Cael they bring pearls and seed pearls. These precious stones circulate here more freely than elsewhere, because of the great esteem in which they are held (for they deck their persons with them, for which reason

61. Sewell, p. 273.

62. Pn. Cr., I, pp. 133-34.

63. Ibid. I, p. 29.

64. Pn. Cr., I, pp. 133-34.

65. Sm. Dv., I, iv, p. 74, pr. 188.

they collect here in great quantities)" ⁶⁶. While writing about Pulicat, a great emporium, a little below Nellore to its south, he informs us that traders from Pegu brought "great store of rubies and spinels, and abundance of musk [which precious stones are good cheap here, for him who knows how to buy and to choose them]". What Barbosa states of Vijayanagar, and the kingdom of Narsinga was equally true of Konḍaviḍu, the kingdom and the city. Trade and commerce made these articles of luxury brought from far and near, accessible to people. The introductory verses in Śrīnātha's *Haraviḷāsam* also bear evidence to this flourishing sea-borne trade in pearls, gold, and other articles of luxury. This affluence which marked this age, kept its level in the succeeding centuries also, as is borne out by the chronicles of Paes and Nuniz, who visited the capital of the Vijayanagar kingdom during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

66. Barbosa, I, pp. 202-03.

67. Ibid, II, p. 131.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION.

The religious history of the Redḍi period is more or less a continuation of that of the age of the Kākatiyas. The dominating cult was the Pāsupata Śaivism. It profoundly influenced the life and activity of the people of this period as no other cult then flourishing did. In fact, it was the religion of the royal family. The Redḍi kings were Śaivites and most of their vassals and dependants also professed that religion.

Śaivism was an ancient cult, and of the many schools of Śaivism flourishing in the Andhra country prior to the Redḍi period, the Pāsupata school was the most important. According to tradition current among the Śaivas of the Andhra country, the Pāsupata Śaivism was propagated by *ācāryas* beginning with Śvēta and ending with Lakulīśa of the Yōgācārya school. The latter is said to have been the last of the twenty eight *ācāryas* of that school. Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa was a historical personage who can be traced to the first century A. D. Kārōhaṇa, the modern Karwar (in the Lāṭa country), which is traditionally connected with Lakulīśa, was the chief establishment of these Lakulīśa Pāsupata Śaivas. It is said that Lakulīśa had four pupils, namely, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa and Maitrēya¹. Each one of these *ācāryas*, who had his own *maṭha* or establishment, was the founder of a branch. Kārōhaṇa, Kadāmbaguḥa, Āmardaka², and Teṅaṁbi were some of the seats of the early *ācāryas* of the Pāsupata school³. This Pāsupata Śaivism spread far and wide in the country to the south of the Vindhya from very early times.

As early as the seventh century A.D., we come to know of the existence of the *ācāryas* of this Pāsupata school in the Andhra country from the copper-plate records of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgī. There is reason to believe that the early spread of the Pāsupata Śaivism in the Andhra country was mainly, due to the efforts of the *ācāryas*

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 278.

2. "Rājendra Coḷa (the Coḷa emperor) is recorded in the Āgamanta works to have brought Brahman Śaiva teachers to the south from the Āmardaka *maṭha* on the banks of the Gōdāvari with the following result :

"An impetus was given to the spread of Śaivism and very large number of original works belonging to the Āgama school of Śaivism was written." (T. A. Gopinatha rao in E. R. E., Vol. II, part i, p. 4, S. V. Śaivism),

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 351-361.

whose pontifical seat was Teṅambi. The yet-unpublished Ellore plates of the Eastern Calukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III of the eighth century A.D., mention two *Śivācāryas*, Vama Siva and Puruṣa Siva, disciples of Brahma *Śivācārya* of Teṅambi.⁴ This village seems to be identical with Teṅambi, modern Terahi, five miles east of Ranod, more commonly called Narod in the State of Gwalior.⁵ Later on, this Pāśupata school was further strengthened and consolidated by *Śivācāryas* of the Gōḷakīmaṭha,⁶ who originally belonged to one of the branches referred to before, with the active support and personal interest taken by their royal pupils, the Kākatiya monarchs of Warāṅgal. They established their *mathas* in different parts of the country which were maintained by grants of villages.

The same Pāśupata school found ready support at the hands of the Redḍi kings who were also followers of the same order. The *Śivācāryas* were *gurus* of kings and *sthānapatis* of temples as in the previous period. Śrīsaīlam, Tripurāntakam, and Dāksharam were some of the principal strongholds of the Pāśupata school. We are unable to know clearly the manners and customs, and rites and rituals of the Pāśupata Śaivas. No contemporary work of that school which describes them, has come down to us. However, a passage in the *Tarkarahasya-dīpikā* (a Jain work), a commentary on the *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* composed by Guṇaratnasūri, pupil of Śrī Dēvasundarasūri (circa. 1363 A. D.) of the Tapāgaccha, refers to the manners and customs of the Śaivas. As this work was composed in the fourteenth century, we can rely on the information given in this work, though in some respects it is 'fantastic and incredible'. The passage is quoted below:

4. This copper-plate, which awaits publication, was discovered in a village near Ellore (West Godavari district). The passage in the grant referring to the *Śivācāryas* who were the *sthānapatis* of a Śiva temple in the village of Vasanthūrū (identical with the modern village of Vasantavada, Ellore taluk) is quoted below :—

“नेत्रविनिवामित्रद्वशिवाचार्यान्नेवा[मि वा] मशिवपुरुषशिवाम्या
 माराधनीयानान्त्रयाणां देवस्थानानां नित्यपूजावलिप्र[दानार्थं
 दत्तं (?)] घनमुषिरावनन्दवाद्यवादकगायकनटकाचार्यविलासिनी
 जनभृतये येतद्देवायतनखण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मादि कार्यकरणार्थञ्च”

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 35.

6. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII (1927), pp. 137. ff.

"Let the abstract, which will be narrated hereafter of the doctrine of the Naiyāyikas' (i. e.) of Saiva teachings, be heard. "Yaugas is another name for Naiyāyikas, (and) first their individuality constituted by special characteristics and others will be spoken of". And they bear staves (and) wear a broad piece of cloth over the privities. They cover (their upper body) with woollen blankets and bear matted hair. They smear their bodies with ashes, and put on the sacred thread. They hold water-pitchers, and take tasteless meals. They generally live in forests, bear gourds hanging from (their) shoulders, eat bulbs, roots and fruit (of trees), and take delight in the duties of hospitality. Some have wives and others not. Those without wives are the best among them. They are engaged in the performance of the five fire penances, and even bear a consecrated linga in their hands or matted hair. But those, who have attained to the perfect state of self-restraint, wander naked. After washing their mouth, feet, and so forth in the morning, they draw three stripes at a time of ashes on their body, while meditating on Siva. The lay-worshipper patron, while doing obeisance, folds his hands and utters "Om, a bow to Siva", and similarly the preceptor responds with "to Siva a bow". And they, in assemblies asseverate that even he, who, after resorting to the Saiva initiatory consecration for twelve years, gives it up, obtains absolution, be he a male or a female slave. To them Īśvara (Siva) is God, omniscient, and causing creation, destruction, and so forth. The following are his eighteen incarnations :- (1) Nakulī; (2) Saushva-Kauśika, (3) Gargya, (4) Akaurusha, (5) Maitrya, (6) Īśana, (7) Paragārgva, (8) Kapilāṇḍa, (9) Mānushyaka, (10) Kuśika, (11) Atri, (12) Piṅgala, (13) Pushyaka, (14) Bṛihadārva; (15) Agasti, (16) Santāna, (17) Rāsikara, and (18) Vidyaguru. These are their *tirthēśas* to be venerated. The mode of their worship and prayers should be cognised from their scriptures They are distinguished into four sects, such as Saiva and so forth. It has been said; "The ascetics who use a seat, ashes, cloth for privities, matted hair and sacred thread, are four-fold, in consequence of the difference of their own practices and so forth." Saivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratadharas and Kālamukhas are the four principal divisions amongst these ascetics." Their sub-divisions, again, are Bharāṭas, Bhaktas, Laiṅgikas, Tāpasas, and so forth. As regards the taking up of the religious vow in the case of Bharāṭas and others, there is no restriction about the castes, such as Brāhmaṇas and so forth. He who has devotion for Siva may become any *vratī* (taker of religious vow), such as Bharāṭa and others. But in philosophical sciences, Naiyāyikas, being devoted to Sadāśiva, are called Saivas. Vaiśeṣikas, however, are Pāśupatas. Hence, the teachings of Naiyāyikas are designated Saiva and Vaiśeṣika philosophy Pāśupata. ¹

The description given in the above passage refers to the Pāsupata Saivas in general. Hence, it may be taken to apply also to the Pāsupata Saivas in the Telugu country. The passage clearly shows that the Pāsupatas wore "a consecrated līṅga in their hands or matted hair". In fact, according to the Saiva scriptures līṅga has to be worn on *kakṣa*, *kara*, *kaṇṭha*, *uttamāṅga*, *vakṣasthala* and so on.* This is corroborated by the Telugu works, *Basava Paraṇām* and *Prabhultāṅgalīla*. Even at the present day brahmins of the Saiva sect in the Andhra country wear a consecrated līṅga on their bodies. The movement to revive Vēdic sacrifices, sponsored by the nobles and early kings of this period, was greatly responsible for averting the *auratic* influences of the cosmopolitan cult of Saivism of the Canarese country, engineered by the great Saiva reformer Basaveśvara, minister of the Kaḷacuri king Bijjaladeva, and in maintaining the Vēdic character of Saivism, the principal religion of the Andhra country. The popular Saivism seems, however, to have been encumbered by a number of religious practices and beliefs, gathered around it during its contact with other schools of Saivism, namely, the Yōgic Saiva cult of the Nātha Siddhas, and the Śakta Tantric cult which flourished in this period and had their own respective following. These two cults also left an indelible impress both on the Telugu literature and on the religious life of the people. The impress can be clearly detected from the different sets of terminology, peculiar to each of the cults, used in the contemporary Telugu literature.

The cult of the Siddhas or the Nāthas, who were adepts in the practices of four kinds of *yōgas* and were believed to have been perfect in all the *siddhis* including *kūyasiddhi*, was popular in this period. The followers of this cult are called Nāthapanthi yōgis or Siddhas

3. "गुरुणादत्तलिङ्गं शिवमत्र धारयेत् (ः)
मूर्ध्निकगटे भुजे हस्ते हृत्स्थितेनाभिमांडले
एतेषा मेकदेशे तु प्रागयेच्छिवलिङ्गकम्॥" — *Vatūlagama*.

9. "ప్రకట రుద్రాక్షసన్నుతుల వర్ధనులు
సకలంధిసితాది శాసన ధరులు
విరచిత వస్త్రోపవేష్టిత మకుటు
లరు జటాజూట విస్ఫురిత శాసనులు
కక్ష కరసల కంఠోస్త్ర మాంఠ
వక్షస్థలాదిక వరలింగధరులు
సతసం మమీశ్వరు లకుల బ్రతస్థు
లధీశుల రితరపా కాది వర్జితులు" — *Bs. Pr., II, p. 33*.

The Nātha gurus are nine in number, of whom Ādi Nātha, the first guru, is Śiva himself. Mīna Mātha alias Matsyēndra Nātha, Gōrakṣa Nātha, Caurāṅgi, Mēgha Nātha, Virūpākṣa Nātha, Siddha Nāgārjuna Khanika Nātha and Vyāḍi Siddha were the other Nāthas. It is said that Mīna Nātha heard, while in the womb of a fish, a discourse on yōga taught by Śiva to his consort Pārvatī, and after he was born, he entreated lord Śiva, the Parama Yōgin, to teach the yōga and bless him. Śiva, who was kindly disposed towards him, taught the yōga and made him an expert in all *rādas* (sciences), all *mantras* (magical formulas), all medicines, and all the *siddhis*. Svātmarama Yōgēndra in his "*Hathayōgaprādīpikā*" refers to Matsyēndra Nātha and his disciple Gōrakṣa Nātha as the first teachers who propounded the science of Haṭhayōga¹⁰.

This Nātha cult, or the Siddha cult as it is otherwise called, appears to have been closely allied to the Tantric cult; for, we come to know that the *kulacara* section of the Tantras is said to have been introduced by Mīna Nātha¹¹.

The adventures of these Nātha gurus are described in the contemporary Telugu *dvipada kāvya*, *Nava Nātha Caritra*, written by poet Gaurana. By the time he wrote this work there was already a Telugu *padya* prabandha on the same subject, written by an earlier Śaiva poet, named Śrīgiri¹². However, at the instance of Mukti Śāntarāya, the pontiff of the Bhikṣamaṭha, one of the five Śaiva maṭhas situated on the Śrīpārvata, the famous Śaiva-kṣētra (Kurnool district), Gaurana wrote this *Nava Nātha Caritra* in *dvipada* metre and dedicated it to him. Nāgārjuna Siddha, one of the Nava Nāthas, is said, in this work, to have visited the countries of Malayāla, Barbara, Magadha, Andhra, Pāṇḍya and Cōla and propagated this Siddha cult,¹³ and is referred to as *Rasayōga Sāstranirmata*,¹⁴ the originator of the science of *Rasayōga*, and as having written many works on this science. We are informed that Nāgārjuna Siddha, one of his disciples, came to Śrīsailam with the object of transforming that mountain into a lump of gold by his skill in

10. I. H. Q., Vol. XVI (1940), p. 307.

11. Ibid. Vol. VI, pp. 178 ff.

12. Vide, Chapter IX on Literature (Telugu). The work is now extinct.

13. "మరియూర్ బర్హర మగ ధాంధ్ర పాండ్య

నోళిధూమలు చనఁ జొచ్చె విజ్ఞాన

శ్రీ సాగారున నెఱుఁ దింపారి ..." —Nv. Cr., V, p. 211.

14. "రసయోగశాస్త్ర నిర్మితమై ఎహిమ

నెనఁగు సాగారున కేమఁ జెప్పుడను ..." —Ibid. V. p. 219.

Rasavūda.¹⁵ His attempt was however foiled by lord Viṣṇu, who came to him in the guise of a brāhman just at the critical moment¹⁶ and killed him.

The prevalence of the yōgic cult of the Nātha gurus in the Andhra country seems to have been responsible for the production of the literature, dealing with the adventures illustrative of their supernatural powers and spiritual attainments. Works of this kind, no doubt, must have enhanced the popularity of this cult; and stories relating to the greatness of the attainments of the Siddhas were of common currency. These Nava Nathas are alluded to in the Telugu works of the period like Jakkana's *Vikrāmārkacaritra*,¹⁷ and the influence of this cult is perceptible in some of the

15. “అటల బెంపుమీ నాగార్జున నాగుం

డిట నట ననక మహిమండలంబు

గలయఁ జరించి యొక్కనిఁ దనపేర

వలయు సిద్ధునిఁ జేసి వివిధౌషధముల

మణిమంత్రయోగాది మర్మకర్మలను

నణిమాని సిద్ధుల నాత్మప్రణీత

రసవాద సారశాస్త్రంబులఁ జెలిపి

మసలక దేహ మేమరక నీ వింకఁ

దిగుఁ బొమ్మని యంధదేశంబు కఠనిఁ

బుగ విడొల్లిపి” —Ibid, V, pp. 232 - 33

From the above passage we come to know that there was one Siddha Nagarjuna, an adept in *Rasavāda*, and a disciple of Nātha Nagarjuna specially trained by him.

16. Ibid, V, pp. 232-243.

17. “అది నాగుని యపరావతారము వూని

మత్యేంద్రనాగుని మహిమఁ దనరి

సారంగ నాగుని సామర్థ్యమును బొంది

గోరక్ష నాగుని గుణముఁ దాల్చి

సిద్ధబుధుని బుద్ధి చిత్తం బునం జేర్చి

ఖనికు విద్యాధిక ఘనతఁ జేర్చి

మేఖనాగుని మంత్ర వైఖరి వహించి

నాగార్జునునిక శాస్త్రమించి

యాచిరూపాక్షుఁ డీతఁ డని నతిశయిల్లి

యర్థి నవనాథ సిద్ధుల కైక్యమైన

మోహనాకృతి యితఁ డను మూర్తిఁ దనరి

చిన్మయస్వాంతుఁ డగు నొక్క సిద్ధవరుఁడు —Vk, Cr., V1. v., 4

stories in it. *Siddhasūrasvatamantra*, one of the numerous Siddha mantras, believed to make the practiser of that mantra proficient in all branches of learning, is referred to in the contemporary Telugu works¹⁸. Vallabhamātya, son of Tippaya and the author of the drama *Kṛidabhīramam*, is said to have been favoured with the wealth of *Siddhasarasvata* by the grace of god Bhairava¹⁹. The lore of the Nava Nāthas, as narrated by the famous Siddhas, was read to the people in public halls²⁰, like the Purāṇas and the Itihasas in these days, and explained to them. This was one of the forms of literary propaganda carried on in those days to spread a cult. Even to this day the man in the street believes that the Siddhas go at their will to any place they wish, possess magical stones (*maṇis*) yielding their possessors all that they wish, know the art of alchemy (turning everything into gold) and all medicines and mantras that endow invulnerability and longevity and supernatural powers. As these Siddhas were adepts in *Rasarada* (science of Chemistry), experiments in medicinal preparations using *rasa* (Mercury), and *gandhaka* (sulphur), were made, during this period, and *rasavidya* was greatly improved in the Andhra country. This yōgic cult of the Siddhas was responsible for producing Vēmana, a hāṭhayōgin and an alchemist, towards the end of this period.

The prevalence of the Tāntric cult in the Andhra country during this period is suggested by the terms used in contemporary Telugu literature, like *Bhairavi cakra*,²¹ *Bhairavayōgi*, *Yōginicakra* and the like. Terms like these creep into the literature and language of the country, only when the cult to which they belong is prevalent there. In this way both the Telugu language and literature were enriched by the terminology of the respective creeds and philosophies that once flourished in the Andhra country. The Tantras enunciate the worship of Śakti, the female energy of Śiva, chiefly devoted to Ānanda Bhairavi.

18. "సిద్ధ సారస్వతమంత్రిం బుడదేలింప నలెం నదశ్చక్రావళిశేషంబునకు కారద ప్రత్యక్షంబు యరివి సమచిత విద్యా వికారము గావించె —Vk, Cr., V, Pr. 163.
19. "ప్రత్యక్ష మొరించె క్షణకన్యామితే
సిద్ధ సారస్వతి శ్రీరసించె"—Kd. Rm., V, 23.
20. "ప్రసిద్ధ సిద్ధ జన కళత నరనాథచిత్ర సరిత్రగ్లని ప్రమాదహృదయ సామాజిక
విరాజనాన మణి మండపంబుల వలనను ... —Vk, Cr., 11, Pr. 51, p. 35.
21. "In the *Bhairavi cakra*, or the circle of Bhairavi, where Kaulas gathered to worship Śakti, all castes were admitted, meat of every sort excepting perhaps beef was allowed, and every worshipper was required to contract a marriage which was to last to the end of the gathering—*Maha-Parinirvāṇa Tantra*, VIII, 177; IX, 268-9—J.I.H., Vol. IX, p. 121.

This worship, being centred chiefly in mystic circles, is known as *Bhairavatantra* or *Cakrapāja*, in which there was free use of liquor (*madya*), eating of meat (*māṃsa*) and fish (*matsya*), communion with women (*māithuna*) and eating a kind of food (*mudrā*) (generally known as *Pañca-Makaras*). Followers of this form of worship were called *kaulas* and the custom they practised was known as *kulācāra*. The *kulācāra* section of the Tantras is said to have been brought down to earth by the Siddha Mīna Nātha.²² *Bhairavatantra* is alluded to in the contemporary Telugu work, *Kṛṣṇābhīramam*.²³ Bhairava yōgini is referred to in a story in Jakkana's *Vikramakacaritra*.²⁴ Self-immolation was a Tantric practice and the existence of *Campūdu-guḍi*, a temple to commit suicide, was indicative of the prevalence of the Tāntric cult in the country. *Yōginicakra* is referred to in one of the stories in the contemporary Telugu work, *Siṃhāsanaadvatrimśika*.²⁵ *Rāyamukūḍupu*, a rite observed in this period to satisfy Bhūtas and Prētas by an offering of food soaked in blood in the field of battle at night, is said to have been a Tāntric rite.²⁶ In the contemporary Sanskrit work, *Vemabhūpalacaritam* written by Vamanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, we find a passage describing the worship of the goddess Ādi Bhairavi in the temple of Caṇḍi (*Caṇḍikayātana*) in the Vindhyan forest by king Peda Kōmati Vēma during one of his campaigns.²⁷ This worship, which was conducted according to the *kulācāra* rites, included the offering of *sura*, (liquor) also. All these instances unmistakably point to the fact that the Tāntric cult also spread in the Andhra country during the period under review. However, the extent of its popularity or of its following cannot be ascertained with the evidence available.

The influence of the gurus or *acaryas* of these cults on the people of those times was very great. Members of the Ghōḍarāya family were the Śaiva gurus of the Redḍi royal families of Koṇḍaviḍu, Rājamahēndravaram and Kandukūru. Some of the members of this Ghōḍarāya family are known to us from inscriptions and Telugu literature. Ghōḍarāya Gaṅgayadēva was the guru of Prōlaya Vēma

22. J.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XXIX (1933), p. 75.

23. “ప్రతిభానాథుని విమలీయోగమునకుఁ బ్రవేశించునట్లుగా నొకప్పుడు నీయింక నట్టిది దీనితోఁగలసి ‘భైరవ తంత్రము’ దీర్చి పెచ్చిపా ధాటమునకుఁ బోయె నఖరాక్షరభంగిఁ జెనుంగు బద్ధమున బుట్టువు పేరనాగరము భోగము భాగ్యము ప్రసన్నులంబుగఁ” —Kd. Rm., v. 240.

24. VK. Cr., VII, v. 15; Also see Hr. VI., II, v. 109.

25. Sm. Dv., II, vii, v. 98.

26. VV., Cr., p. 26, f. n.

27. *Vemabhūpalacaritam*, pp. 187-189.

Next to Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism was the most important religion of the period. Vaiṣṇavism underwent a great change after the death of Śrī Rāmanujācārya. He brought into his religion a cosmopolitan outlook. There were other ācāryas who differed from him to a certain extent and interpreted their scriptures according to their own light. However, there was not a dominant personality who could stand comparison with that great ācārya and make his co-religionists follow him implicitly and accept his interpretation. Hence, the differences silently accelerated a cleavage in Vaiṣṇavism into two distinct schools, one consisting of the followers of Śrī Rāmanuja and the other comprising those who were averse to his cosmopolitan outlook and love of reform.³² This acceleration of differences seems not a little due to the revival of Vēdism. The Reḍḍi kings, after the establishment of a kingdom in the East, revived Vēdic sacrifices and patronised scholars who were proficient in Vēdic lore. There was a big movement in Vijayanagar also to resuscitate Vēdism, sponsored by Harihara I. and his brother Bukka I, under the able guidance of their guru Vidyaranya. These attempts indirectly resulted not only in preserving, as has previously been stated, the Vēdic character of Śaivism in the Andhra country, but also accelerated the progress of the revivalist movement in the Vaiṣṇava religion. This schism, which was dormant in the Vaiṣṇava Church for a long time, became more explicit during this period. Some of the Vaiṣṇava ācāryas were desirous of maintaining their hold on the people, and yet, of preserving the brāhman supremacy, and the purity and Vēdic character of their religion. Venkaṭanātha, or Vēdānta Dēśika as he is popularly called, and Pillai Lōkācārya and his brother Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Perumāḷ Nainār became the leaders of the two parties into which the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were divided. Through the efforts of these ācāryas and their teachings, the two opposite schools of Vaiṣṇavism which were till then hazy, soon crystallised into two well-defined sects, the Vāḍagalai, or the Northern school, and the Teṅgalai, or the Southern school. Vēdānta Dēśika³² was the leader of the Vāḍagalai school, and Pillai Lōkācārya and his brother, of the Teṅgalai school. The social and religious conditions prevailing in the early post-Kakatiya period in the Deccan country, were indirectly responsible

32, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 126-136; 277 ff.

"An impersonation of orthodoxy and a doughty champion of Brahmanical supremacy, the sole authority on the Bhaṣyas and the most profound living scholar and writer in Sanskrit, he (Vedānta Dēśika) represented all that was traditional and conservative in Vaiṣṇavism, and all that was obnoxious in the eyes of the new party (?) (Teṅgalaism). They (the leaders of Teṅgalaism) looked upon him, therefore, with a sullen and grim hatred. They considered him narrow and fanatical, reactionary and unsympathetic." — Ibid, "The life and times of Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika," by Śrī V. Rangachari, M. A.

to a great extent for hastening this change in the Vaiṣṇavism, and this was one of the momentous periods in the history of Vaiṣṇavism both in the Tamil and the Andhra countries.

Though Vaiṣṇavism penetrated into the Andhra country long before the Reḍḍi period, and had, for its strongholds famous holy places, like Śrīkūrmam, Śimhāchalām, Sarpavaram and Bapaṭṭa, it really began to capture the hearts of the princes and the people alike, only during this period. Though *Vedamārga-praṭiṣṭhācāryas*, like Mārgam Paṇḍimukkula Vira Tiruveṅkaḷakumāra, were able to secure the patronage of some of the local feudal chiefs of the Telugu Cōḷa dynasty³³, in the southern coastal region, the progress of Vaiṣṇavism in the Andhra country till this period was very slow, and the efforts of the earlier ācāryas to spread that religion on a large scale bore fruit only during this period. The many illustrious Vaiṣṇava families, like the Bhaṭṭars, the Kandāḷais, and the Tirumalais, came and settled in the coastal Andhra country, and propagated the Vaiṣṇava faith.

The Bhaṭṭars were an illustrious family of scholars of Śrīraṅgam. Śrīvatsācīhnaguru, or Śrīvatsācīhnamisra as he was generally called, was the first and foremost disciple of Śrī Rāmaṇuja, and the founder of the family of Bhaṭṭars. He is better known in the Śrīvaiṣṇava chronicles by the name of Kūrattālvān. He was born in the village of Kūram near Chingleput, and belonged to the Haritasagōtra and Āpastamba Sūtra. His son was Parāśara Bhaṭṭa I who was nominated to the pontifical seat at Śrīraṅgam by Rāmaṇuja. In this family, was born Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the seventh in descent, who went on a tour to the Andhra country, where many kings and nobles became his disciples. Mummaḍi Nāyaka whose capital was Kōḷukonḍa, near Rājamahēndravaram, was one of them, and he made a grant of the village of Kottāḷlapaḡḡu to his guru as *guru-dakṣiṇa*. He was also called Śrīraṅga-vardhana, a title which he probably assumed, as Gōpinātharao thinks, after he became the disciple of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa.³⁴ It is probable that Parāśara finally settled at Kōḷukonḍa, for, from the Kōḷukonḍa pillar

N. I. D., Kr. Nos. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 and 66.

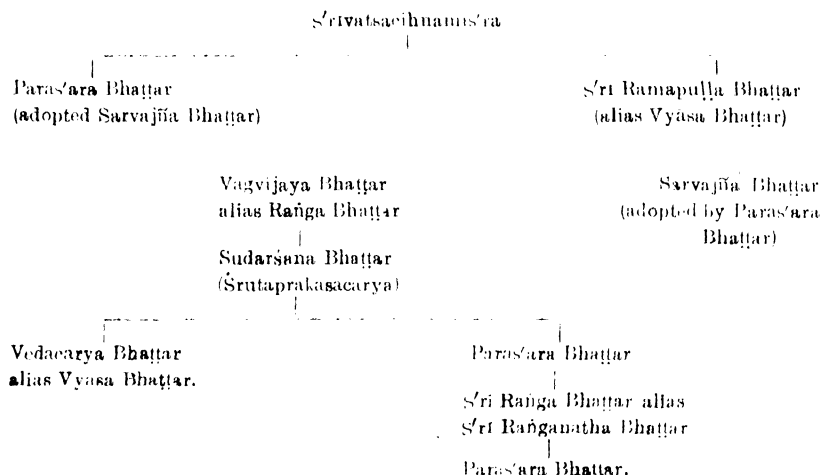
Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 85-88; Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka, vv. 34-42, pp. 92-93. "The village granted to Parāśara Bhaṭṭa VII was evidently enjoyed by him for some time before he died. His mother, who survived him (v. 49), seems to have thought of allowing the relatives of the deceased to inherit the village; but in the meanwhile she changed her mind and gave it away to the god Rāṅganātha, taking Him, as she says, as the greatest of all relatives. Most likely the relatives began to trouble her and perhaps also to question her rights to the property, which must have goaded her to take the course which she chose."—p. 84. Verses 34-42 mention Śrīvatsācīhnamisra, the founder of the Bhaṭṭar family of Śrīraṅgam, his son Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, another Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, the seventh person in descent from the founder (?), one of his illustrious relatives Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭa,

inscription³⁵ of Mummaḍi Nāyaka we come to know that Parāśara died at that place.

After the death of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, Mummaḍi Nāyaka seems to have become the disciple of the Kandaḍais. An inscription³⁶ at Simhāchalam dated in Śaka 1286, mentions Mummaḍi Nāyaka as the disciple of Kandaḍa Ayyaṅgār. We do not know if this Kandaḍa Ayyaṅgar had any thing to do with Kandaḍai Āṇḍan, a disciple of Brahmatantra Svatantrajiyar, who was contemporaneous with Vēdānta Dēśika.

and later on another Parāśara Bhaṭṭa. However, the genealogy given here, seems to be somewhat confused. According to the Śrivaishṇava chronicles, Vēdacārya Bhaṭṭa, son of Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa, alias, Śrūtaprakasācārya, was the eldest brother of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, and his son was Śrīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭa. "In all probability the Bhaṭṭa Parāśara of our document was identical with the Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, the son of Śrīraṅganatha Bhaṭṭa, and the grandson of Vēdacārya Bhaṭṭa" (p. 88, f. n. 1).

There is a Telugu manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, by name *Śrīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭaru vaiṣaṇālī* (S. 5. 2. 33) which furnishes an account of the Bhaṭṭars of Śrīraṅgam. The Bhaṭṭar families that settled in the Andhra country, find special mention in it. According to this work the genealogy of the Bhaṭṭars is given as shown under.



The work states that it was Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, younger brother of Vēdacārya Bhaṭṭar, and son of Sudarśana Bhaṭṭar who came and settled at Kogukonda. In that case he must be the fifth in descent and not the seventh (*ṭadadi Sapta puruṣam kulam*) from the founder of the family as the grant says. The statements made in this *vaiṣaṇālī* and the genealogy given there seem to be incorrect.

35. Ep. Coll., No. 44 of 1912. Ep. Rep. 1912, para 68, p. 87.

36. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 841. See also 1084, and 1090, and J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XI, pp. 212-213.

Another illustrious family of the Vaiṣṇava teachers was that of the Tirumalais. The Srivaiṣṇava teacher Tirumala Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, also called Nallānu Cakravarti, came and settled in the Andhra country. He had five sons, Tirveṅḡala Cakravarti, Aḷaghari Cakravarti, Aubaḷa Cakravarti, Sridēva Cakravarti and Gōvinda Cakravarti.³⁷ This family seems to have belonged to the Guntur district. A record at Rompicherla³⁸ (Guntur district) mentions a certain Rāmadāsu, a disciple of Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti. Another record at Kāreṃpūḍi³⁹ (Guntur district) dated in Saka 1318, records the decision of his son Nallānu Gōvinda Cakravarti in a certain dispute.

Besides these there were other ācāryas also of the Drāviḍādēśa who toured the Andhra country and propagated their religion. During the tour, they visited many a royal court and had religious disputations with the teachers of other faiths there. Each ācārya who was successful in such wrangles, was assured of a big following of converts to his faith, besides innumerable presents in the form of jewels, land, etc. One of such ācāryas was Vēdāntādēśika's son and disciple Varadācārya, also known as Nainārācārya. In a Vaiṣṇava sectarian work called *Guruparaṃparaṇḍīprabhava*, he is said to have gone to the court of a certain Sarvajña Siṅḡama Nāyaka, son of Mādhava Nāyaka, and defeated Śākalya Mallu Bhaṭṭa and established the Vaiṣṇava religion. Thereafter the same chief became his disciple and honoured him with the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia.⁴⁰ Nainārācārya's father, Vēdāntādēśika, is also stated to have composed three works, the *Subhāṣitanīvi*, *Tattvasandēśa* and the *Rahasyasandēśa* for the delectation of the same chief.⁴¹ However, the identity of that chief still remains a puzzle, though he seems to be one of the Rēceḡla kings (Padma Velamas) of Rajukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa.

Though the earlier Redḍi kings, like Prōlaya Vēma, Anavōta, and Anavēma, and the rulers of Rājamahēndravaram, were staunch Saivites, Kumārāgiri Redḍi, Kaḷaya Vēmā Redḍi, and the later rulers of Kandukūru, were followers of Vaiṣṇavism. Their conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, however, did not affect their attitude to other sects. They were tolerant of other faiths and extended to them their patronage without any partiality.

37. B.J. Rj., I, v. 11.

38. Ep. Coll., No. 300 of 1915.

39. Ibid., No. 556 of 1909.

40. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 222; and Vol. XXV, pp. 323-24.

41. Ibid.

These Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava teachers were great scholars in Sanskrit and Telugu, and several Telugu poets of this period were the pupils of either the Śaiva gurus or Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. Many Telugu poets flourished during this period as a result of the interest created, and taste developed, in Telugu literature by these religious preceptors.

One notable development in the religious life of the people, which affected brāhmins as well as the other castes during this period, was the cleavage between the Saivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Vēdism or the religion of Vēdic sacrifice and ritual, though popular for a time at the beginning of the age, gradually lost its hold, yielding place to cults, like Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism, which were growing more and more popular and attaining great importance. Those were the times when Vaiṣṇavism strove hard to capture the hearts of the public and reign supreme. These two cults changed altogether the aspect of religion till then in vogue. The Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava teachers vied with one another, the former in maintaining the hold which they already had on the common people, the latter in spreading their religion all over the country. They both zealously tried to convert to their respective faiths the kings, and nobles the country and their subjects, and make them their disciples. They became the custodians of this neo-Hinduism of cults, the law-givers, and the interpreters of *dharma*. The teachers of each cult gathered around them as many disciples as possible, and revived the drooping spirits of the nation, which suffered greatly owing to foreign aggression and oppressive rule, and maintained their preeminent position as the accredited teachers of religion and leaders of society. With this new turn the religion had taken, the emphasis in this age shifted from caste to cult, and from sacrificial Vēdism to a popular religion of creeds and *vratas*. Members of the Hindu society, whatever the caste to which they originally belonged, became divided chiefly into the two important sectarian groups, the Saivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Teachers of these two *samayas* had their respective *maṭhas* or monasteries at different places in the country, with their regional pontiffs.

The Smārta brāhmins who belonged to neither of the two sects, were not unified like the Saivas and the Vaiṣṇavas under one or more religious heads. No doubt, it is true that there were *maṭhas*, founded by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya centuries before. The pontiffs of these *maṭhas* were, however, unable to make any headway, or to exert their influence on the brāhman society in general. This was probably due to the several political and dynastic changes, religious conflicts, and, above all, to the rise and expansion of Saivism, which had been flourishing under royal patronage in the country south of the Vindhya, for some centuries before the Reḍḍi period. The lack of royal patronage to the

premier *maṭha* at Śrīngēri is borne out by the absence of inscriptions recording grants of land or *agrharas* to it. In fact, inscriptions give us to understand that that *maṭha* became a religious and social power only from the middle of the fourteenth century, under the patronage of the first Vijayanagar dynasty.⁴² The weakness and the disunion of the Smārta community, and brāhmanism in general, was recognised by some of the thinking section of the people, and the result was the revival of the religious and social power and influence of Śrī Sāṅkarācārya, 'the high-priest of the Smārta brāhmanas'.

On the east coast in the Reddi kingdom there was no such move. The Reddi kings were Śaivas and had Śivācāryas as their gurus and guides. They patronised Śaivism. However, after the downfall of Koṇḍa-vīḍu, the influence of the Jagadguru of the Śrīngēri *maṭha* spread over the eastern Andhra country which formed part of the Vijayanagar dominion. With the revival of the power of the pontiffs of the Śrīngēri *maṭha* and the spread of their influence, the Smārta brāhman community also fell in line with the other sectarian communities.

The temple and the *maṭha* were the two prime religious institutions which exercised, as before, their beneficial influence, in strengthening the purity of the religious life of the people in general, and promoted some of the traditional arts and crafts. Both these institutions were maintained by royal as well as public patronage.

The temple in this period was a full-fledged institution with its elaborate service and office establishments. It was more or less a state within a state with its full administrative machinery of police, accountants, supervisors, treasurers and servants. The temple was the nucleus around which the ancient village developed. Hence, there was hardly any village without a temple. Towns grew, and commerce developed around famous religious centres, holy *tirthas* and temples. The number of temples generally grew in proportion to the size and extent of the village, and in accordance with the intensity of the charitable and religious zeal among the public. The number of

42. "There are over 30 inscriptions recording grants made by or under gurus of the Śrīngēri Maṭha ranging in date from 1392 to 1758 A.D. The Śrīngēri dharmapīṭha or religious throne was established, as mentioned above, by Śaṅkarācārya, the great Śaiva reformer of the 8th century. The celebrated scholar Mādhava or Vidyarāya (forest of learning), author of the Vedābhashya who was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagar empire in 1336, was the head of the establishment at that time. By his aid and advice, Hukka and Bukka, the first and third sons of Saṅgama, succeeded in establishing the new state and Hukka, the first king assumed the name Harihara In gratitude for Vidyarāya's services, Harihara established the maṭha at Śrīngēri in 1346 and he and his brothers richly endowed it " — *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. V, pp. 1176-77.

temples in towns and capital cities was great. Rāghavēśvara, Mūla-sthānam Mailārādēva, Nagarēśvara and Aṅgaḍi Gōpinātha, were some of the temples at Koṇḍaviḍu, the capital of the Redḍi kings, that find mention in inscriptions.

In its conception, the temple was a sectarian religious institution. Śaivas worshipped in Śiva temples, and Vaiṣṇavas in Viṣṇu temples. The popular forms of Śiva worshipped during this period were Svayāmbhū Śrī Mahādēva, Tripurāntaka, Kalyāṇa Candra-sēkhara, Iṣṭakāmēśvara, Mallēśvara or Mallinātha, Mailārādēva, Vīrabhadra, Kāla-Bhairava and so on. The aspects of god Viṣṇu known from inscriptions to have been worshipped during this age were many, and they are Gōpinātha (Ananta Gōpinātha, Varada Gōpinātha, Prasanna Gōpinātha, Bhuvanamaṅgaḷa Gōpinātha), Kēśava (Cenna Kēśava, Prasanna Kēśava, Prasanna Cenna Kēśava), Nṛsiṃha (Sānta Nara-siṃha, Lakṣmī Narasiṃha, Yōgananda Nṛsiṃha) and Rāma (Ghaṇṭala Rāmanātha, Rāghavēśvara), and Janardana. Śrīsaillam, Tripurāntakam, Dakṣharam, Palakollu (Kṣīraramam), Bhīmavaram (near Sāmalkōḷ), Guḍipūḍi and Amravati, were the reputed Śaiva *kṣetras*, of which the last five were renowned as Pañcāramas. Śrīkūrmam, Siṃhāchalam, Sarpavaram, Śrīkākuḷam, Bāpaḷla, and Ahōbalam were the principal Vaisnava *kṣetras* of this period.

Besides these Śiva and Viṣṇu temples, there were some others which were special to some communities. The Vaiśyas had their temple of goddess Kanyakāparamēśvari or Vāsavi kanyakā, their tutelary deity. Some of the trading communities had their own special temples to patronise and worship, like those of Nagarēśvara and Gaurēśvara. The horse-dealers worshipped the goddess, Guḡḡalaparamēśvari⁴³. The members of the Viśvakarmakula also seem to have had their own temple for worship. Bāṇāla Līngana, a member of the Viśvakarma family, built in Śaka 1327 a temple of Cenna Mallikārjuna (Śiva), and endowed it with a grant of land.⁴⁴

Another interesting feature of this period was the growth of *parivāradēvatās* in the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. It was a prevalent custom of those days to get the images of Ālwārs (twelve in number), and Hanumān consecrated in Viṣṇu temples. One other feature was to consecrate līngas in the name of deceased persons, and set them up in temples and worship them. A certain brāhman Mañcīrāja brought two līngas from Śrīparvata, after the death of his

43. Ep. Coll., No. 205 of 1936.

44. N.I.D., Vol. III, O. 83, pp. 1050 ff.

eldest brother Mallinātha who was honoured by king Anavōtā Reddi and set up one of them in the temple of god Maṇḍūka Śaṁbbhu of the village of Maṇikēśvaram, designating it Rāvinūtūla Parvata Mallinātha līṅga in Śaka 1275. " Pinna Bhūpāla's servant, Nāra Bhūpāla, Allāḍa Reddi's commander, constructed a stone temple, and consecrated there-in a līṅga called Allāḍēśvara līṅga, presumably after the death of his master, Allāḍa Reddi, and granted some lands for worship to the temple. " The charities made to temples in the form of lands, villages and otherwise, were placed formally under the charge of the respective communities to which the temples belonged.

Maṭha was the other religious institution which played an important role in diffusing knowledge among the common people. The pontiffs of the Saiva and Vaiṣṇava *maṭhas* were highly learned and cultured personages, proficient in their respective scriptural lore. They encouraged learning and patronised scholars and poets. Of the five Saiva *maṭhas* of the Kakatiya period, which were situated on the holy Śrīparvata, only Arasa *maṭha* and Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* find mention in the scriptures of this period. We do not know the pontiff of the Arasa *maṭha*. The head of the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* during the period under review was Mukti Śanta Bhikṣāvṛttirāya. He encouraged the Telugu poet, Gaurana, to write *Nava Nātha Caritra*, an account of the Nava Nāthas as a dvipada kāvya in Telugu. At the instance of this same Sivayōgēśvara, poet Śrīnātha wrote his *Śivarātri-māhātmyam* in Telugu, and dedicated it to his devoted disciple and attendant, Mummaḍi Santayya. In this way, the pontiffs of Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* not only imparted religious education to their folk but also advanced the cause of Telugu learning by patronising men of letters. Gōlakī *maṭha* "whose spiritual influence extended over three lakhs of villages" was a famous institution that flourished during the Kakatiya period, and had its branches at Mandāram (present Mandadam in the Guntur district), Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district), and Puṣpagiri (Cuddapah district). We find no references in the records of the post-Kakatiya period to the famous Gōlakī *maṭha* established by Viśvōśvara Sivācārya in Śaka 1183 at Mandāram⁴⁵. Only the *maṭha* at Tripurāntakam and Puṣpagiri⁴⁶ find mention in the inscriptions, though nothing is known about them.

45. Ibid., O. 78, pp. 1087 ff.

46. S.I.I., V, No. 185.

47. The five *maṭhas* situated on the Śrīśailam Hill were Arasa *maṭha* (also mentioned as Arasi~~maṭha~~ in inscriptions), Bhikṣa *maṭha*, Gaṇa *maṭha*, Kalu *maṭha* (or Śīlā *maṭha*) and Sarāṅga *maṭha*.

48. Ep. Coll., Nos. 380, and 309 of 1915.

49. Ep. Coll., No. 91 of 1917. Ep. Rsp. 1917, para 33, p. 123.

50. Ep. Coll., Nos. 323 of 1906; No. 372 of 1905.

We have no evidence of any of the Vaiṣṇava *mathas* that flourished during this period, either from literature or from inscriptions.

Popular religion consisted in the periodical worship of gods Śiva and Viṣṇu according to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *Āgamas* respectively by Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, observing *vratas*, and worshipping village goddesses, and other religious practices, like the performance of *japa* and *tapa*. Śaivas worshipped their god Śiva six times⁵⁰ a day at fixed periods. The chanting of *Tiruvṛymoḷi* and *Tiruppāvu* in the Vaiṣṇava temples of the Andhra country was in practice from long before the Redḍi period⁵¹, and *vr̥ttis* in temples were granted for this service.

The worship of heroes, and hero stones also became part and parcel of popular religion. There are references in contemporary literature⁵² to the worship of heroes with flowers and other offerings. Every year festivals were held in honour of local heroes in different localities and ballads⁵³ commemorating their deeds of heroism were sung to

50 a. “अमृणाद्यधरायन्तु षट्कालाः परिकीर्तिताः

तेषु कालेषु कुर्वीत षट्कालाष्टविधार्चनम्॥

भूत्यागन्धाक्षतापुष्पैः सप्तैः फलदायकैः

धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यैर्वीट्पूजाचाष्टविधार्चनम् (१)॥”

51. S. I. I., Vol. V, 82, 66.

52. “నిరవధికభక్తి రహితము ప్రణవోపహర సమర్పణ మహాపీఠ

వరశీలా ప్రతికూపంబుఁ వలనను ... —Vk. Cr., II, prose 51, p. 85.

53. The singing of some of these ballads which roused the enthusiasm of common people and infused and nurtured heroic spirit in them, was made into a regular profession and some communities lived by them. In this way, some communities were exclusively entrusted with the task of perpetuating these ballads; for instance, the heroic ballad of *Kaṭamaraju-katha* relating to Kaṭamaraju of the Yadava (Golla-shepherd) clan who gained a victory in his fight with Nallasiddhi, the Telugu Cōḷa king of Nellore, was entrusted to the charge of Kommu people, a community of the cobbler caste, who made it their profession to sing only that ballad and chiefly subsist by gifts and *varṇanas* given to them by the members of that clan. The Yadavas respect the Kommu people greatly, in as much as they preserved and propagated the ballads glorifying them. It has been an age-long custom observed by the Yadavas not to take food without offering it beforehand to a member of the Kommu community, whenever he comes to his house. Some of the Pikilis (పికిలివారము—one of the communities of the Gollas) also made it their profession to sing this *Kaṭamaraju katha*. These professional ballad singers of the Pikilis and the Kommus attend the annual festivals of the goddess Gaṅgā, the tutelary deity of the Yadava clan. On such occasions, it has been the time-honoured custom among the Pikilis not to sing the *Kaṭamaraju* ballad unless and until it was first sung by

the accompaniment of music and dance. The Annual festival of the heroes was a solemn and grand festive occasion, which not only served to perpetuate the memory of the departed heroes but also to sustain and cultivate heroic spirit among people. This worship developed into a regular cult, called *Viracūtram* in the Telugu country, with some following.

the traditional singers, the Kommu people. In this way, this cult of the heroes gave rise to some communities of professional ballad singers who were experts in the art of singing ballads.

The ballad of the heroes of Palnadu also was sung to the accompaniment of music and dance. This is referred to in Vallabhamatya's *Kṛīḍābhīranam*.

“దురతాశేషున వీరగుంభేతికి ధుం ధుం కిటాత్య-రసం
 గతి వాయుంపుదు వాంతిరాశికయతి గ్రామాభిరామంబుగా
 యతిగూఢం ద్వపద ప్రబంధమున వీరానీకముం బాడె నొ
 క్క-తే ప్రతిష్ఠాకరముం గుమాంతులు క్కీట్య-రంబునం దూలచిన్.”

“గల్గించి యగి నీ జంఘాకండయుగంబు
 కిరవంబెటకోల కేయు నొకడు
 అరీధి పాదవివ్యాస మొప్పుగ వ్రాసె
 కుంతాభినయముఁ గైకొను నొకడు
 దిగువు గన్నుల నుబ్బు దెదరు చాపులతోడ
 క్కీట్య-ర మొనరించుఁ బెలుచు నొకడు
 పాదభ్రాజనవంధ పరిపాటి కుటియుల
 ధరిటి యానెక్కిటించి దాఁచు నొకడు
 ఉద్గి ప్రకటింప నొక్కఁడు డోలనాఁడు
 బయలు నుల్లంఘ భంజకృ బలపు నొకడు
 కొమ్ములు చాటింపుచును తెదె క్కీట్యపుతోడ
 బులి పల్నాటి మీలఁ బాడునపుడు.”

From the above verses it is clear that the ballad of the Palnati heroes was sung by a female, and that men playing the roles of different characters, danced expressing emotion and sentiment by gestures and movements in accordance with the spirit of the ballad sung, as in Kathakali, and that the *dupada* pratandhas were sung and not merely recited, in olden days.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS, RITES AND FESTIVALS

The Hindu is not free to perform any ceremony, purely domestic or public (civil), according to his own will at any time. His whole life, from birth to death and from morn to eve, is regulated by strict discipline. The course of each and every function he has to perform, as a *gṛhastha* and as a member of the society at large, was all chalked out, and strict rules of conduct were laid down in the Smṛtis and Dharma Śāstras with their three-fold division of the *ācārakaṇḍa*, *vijarahūra kaṇḍa*, and *prāyaścittakāṇḍa*. Even a slight deviation from these rules of conduct, swerving even a little from the ordained path and strict discipline enjoined on him, was not appreciated, nay, tolerated. If the conduct of any Hindu was such that it affected the dignity of society and polluted it with irreligious actions, his guru, the religious head of his order, gave notice to the head of his family, and brought round the wrong-doer and his elders with a fine or punishment. Politics and judicature were the domain of the king. In religious life and ethics, the guru of each Samaya, and the religious pontiff of the Śrīgṛhi *maṭha*, ruled the people of the respective sects. The Dharma Śāstras laid down the rules of conduct to be observed for the first three *varṇas*, and the members of the fourth caste had to regulate their life, in accordance with the precepts of the elders belonging to the *agravārṇas*, and in consonance with the dharmas enunciated by the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas.

There was a new orientation in religion during this period, which saved the Hindu society from disruption, following the rude and severe shock it received from the Muslim invasions. There was a gradual decrease in the performance of *yāgas* and *yajñas* by brāhmins and a great increase in the tendency to observe diverse *vratas* and the innumerable *dānas* (as codified in the *Caturvarṇacintamani* by Hēmadri). The new turn religion had taken in this period, tended to mitigate the divergence between the members of the first three *varṇas* and knit them together more closely than before. The several *vratas* or religious observances, whether Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, were thrown open to all Hindus irrespective of caste; and this nurtured a sort of fraternity and unity among them, which greatly contributed to the consolidation of the Hindu society, and the cohesion of its ingredient *aṅgas*. The members of the fourth caste were made to feel, for the first time in the course of their history, that the Hindu religion was as much

theirs as it was of the higher castes, and almost all the ceremonies to be performed, became common to all the members of the society. The feasts, the festivals, the religious observances, the *dānas*, *vratas*, and *parvas* or auspicious occasions, all became the common legacy of the Hindu folk in general.

Pañcāṅgam :

The *pañcāṅgam*¹ played an important role in the daily routine of the people of all communities. Their domestic and social activities were guided by a consideration of the auspicious moments for commencing them. From the brahman who projected an important *yajña* down to the farmer who was eager to commence the agricultural operations in the new year, a reference to the *pañcāṅgam* for the correct time and the propitious moment was necessary. From times of yore the Hindus have been trained to do a thing at the auspicious moment. For the performance of each and every one of the ceremonies, the auspicious month, fortnight, week-day, *muhūrtam*, and the precise *lagna*, had to be ascertained and fixed correctly. The king, according to the *Nīti Śāstras* (works on Polity), had to perform and attend to many duties. Diverse rites and rituals had to be arranged in temples according to *Āgamas* at fixed intervals of the day. For this purpose, the Hindus in general divided the civil day from sunrise to sunrise into thirty *muhurtams* (the day into fifteen, and the night into fifteen), and gave each *muhūrtam* a different name.^{1a} As sixty *ghaṭikas* (*gaḍiyas*) make one full day, each *muhūrtam* is made up of two *ghaṭikas* of time, that is, forty eight minutes. The kings also were enjoined to divide the day and night alike into eight half-watches or *ardha-gṛāmas*, each half-watch coming to $3\frac{3}{4}$ *ghaṭikas*, or one and a half-hour, and spend each half-watch as directed by the *Nīti Śāstras*. It was believed that, to produce the desired effect and to achieve success and merit, correct moment for the commencement of the ceremony, rite or ritual, either social or religious, had to be ascertained. Even the slightest variation in the correct *muhūrtam* and the precise *lagna*, fixed by the *jyōtirjñās*, did not produce the desired result, but was also believed to do harm to the *yajamāna*.

Gaḍiyāram :

This over-emphasis on time in fixing the *muhūrtam* and the moment correctly, and announce it to the king, the priest and also to

1. The *Pañcāṅgam* or the Hindu almanack contains the five *aṅgas* or elements, namely, the *tithi*, *vāra*, *nakṣatra*, *yōga* and *karāṇa*, which are determined by the disposition of the *grahas* and the *nakṣatras*. It has been the thesis of the Hindus that human destiny is inseparably connected with the movements of the stellar bodies which are part and parcel of the Universe.

1a. F. E. Pargitar - *The Telling of Time in Ancient India* - J. R. A. S. 1915.

the people, necessitated the Hindus to devise an arrangement to measure time. This device was called *gaḍiyāram*. The Telugu poets of this period, like Anantāmatya, Koravi Gōparāja, Śrīnātha, Vallabhāmatya, and Pōtana, all refer to *gaḍiyāram* in their works.

Gaḍiyāram seems to be the Prakṛit form of *Ghaṭikāgāra*² (*gaḍiya*, the *tadbhava* of *ghaṭi* or *ghaṭikā*, and *āra*, that of *agāra*). In Sanskrit this device is called *ghaṭikāyantra* or *ghaṭīyantra*. *Gaḍiyāram* therefore means a clock tower or a room or building containing this contrivance. In course of time this term came to be applied to the contrivance itself without reference to the room or building.

The common device to measure time that had been in vogue from ancient times is the water-clock. The Buddhist work, *Divyavadāna*, Kautīlya's *Arthasāstra*, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahma Purāṇas* and some astronomical works, describe this clock. The antiquity of this contrivance to measure time is proved from the fact that the *Jyōtiṣa Vedāṅga* of the *Rig* recension, contains its description. This contrivance of water-clock was very simple and consisted of a big vessel filled with water, and a small jar or bowl with a hole at the bottom. This bowl is called *patra* in Sanskrit and *kuḍuka* in Telugu. The astronomer, Lalla, of the seventh century of the Christian era describes this bowl as "a vessel shaped like the lower half of a water-pot (*kalāśa*) made of ten palas in weight of copper, with a diameter of half a cubit (9 inches) at the top and a height of half of that, and having a hole made with a wire fashioned from $3\frac{1}{3}$ maṣas of gold drawn out to a length of four angulas (3 inches).³ Time could be observed in using this bowl in two different ways. The time taken by the bowl, for draining in, and sinking in water while floating in a large receptacle filled with water, and also the time for emptying itself when filled with water, was considered as a *ghaṭi*, *ghaṭikā*, *nāḍi*, *nāṭikā* or *naḍikā* of time, that is, twenty four minutes. The more ancient form of this Hindu water-clock worked in the latter way, that is, by emptying itself in the course of a *ghaṭikā* (*gaḍiya*) of time.

2. Cf. Bhaṇḍagara-Bhaṇḍara; Kṣīragara-Kīlāra and so on. Vide-Sri V. Suryanarayana Sastri's—*Gaḍiyāram*—A. S. P. P., XXXII, pp. 9 ff.
3. Dr. J. F. Fleet - *The ancient water-clock*; J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 213 ff., "In this variety, but in other sizes and materials," Dr. J. F. Fleet says, "the appliance has survived to the present day, and seems to be fairly well-known to people who have lived in Northern India where it appears to be still used sometimes by police guards in out-of-the-way villages." There is a water-clock in the Raja's palace at Venkatagiri in the Nellore district, where time is announced to the Public in *gaḍiyas* even at the present day.

The water-clock that was in use in the Andhra country during the period under review, was a late device that worked by drawing in water. The *ghaṭikā-pātra* or the bowl, which draws in water and sinks in the water in the big receptacle within a *ghaṭikā* of time, was called *gaḍḍiya-kuduka* in Telugu. Koravi Gōparāja compares very aptly the sun setting in the ocean with a *gaḍḍiya-kuduka*, sinking in the sheet of water in the big receptacle. That this appliance operated in this way is further made clear by the passages in the *Bhōjarājīyam*⁵ and the *Vīrabhadra-rājīyam*⁶, written by Anantāmātya and Pōtana respectively. They refer to the sinking of the eagerly watched *tāmra-ghaṭika-pātra* or the copper-bowl. The passage in the latter work referred to above, suggests that this appliance was also set up temporarily at the time of marriages⁷ and other auspicious occasions, to ascertain and announce the precise auspicious *lagna* or moment. No sooner than the bowl sank in water than the time was announced* to the public, by either striking a gong with a rod (called *koḍupu* in Telugu), just as it is being done now in towns, in Thānas, Taluk offices, Collectorates and Police stations, or by the blowing of conches. Time was calculated and announced in *ghaṭikas* of time beginning from the sunrise to the sunset, and probably from the sunset to sunrise. Vallabhāmātya, the author of the Telugu drama *Kṛiḍābhīramam*, refers to the *gaḍḍiyāram* in the *māsāla* (entrance hall) of the Andhra monarch at Waraṅgal. Hearing the *gaḍḍiyāram* strike sixteen (*reṇḍ=enimudul*), indicating thereby that

4. “గడియ కుడుక భరి గ్రహ రాజు జలధిలో నాశం....” —Sm. Dv., I, IV, v. 238.

5. “జలంబులందు మునుగు తామ్రపుటి కాపాత్ర నిరీక్షించి నక్షత్రల చల్లిన...” —Bh. Rj., IV, pr. 92-93.

6. “శుభలగ్నో రయ మూచకంబగును జలంబులందు మునుగు తామ్ర పుటి కాపాత్ర నిరీక్షించి...” —Vr., Vj., III, pr. 123.

7. “అటు పెద్దింటి యగుండుమాన గణేశ ధాన్యంబుపై టెండ్లిల గ్నముసాధింప జేసింది పెంపున నభిగంగానదీ తోయమన్ రమణం బోసి కులంకిరించి గడియారం బొప్ప గట్టించి...” —Ibid. v. 24.

8. “కరున గంటపై గొడుగు గ్రుక్క వ వైచదు...” —Bh. Rj., IV, vv. 92-3.
“మునుగడియారంబున గట్టిన పెనుకగంట రమము శయనమె...”

—Sm. Dv., I, ii, v. 5.

“గ్రహబలంబు గలుగు శేఖ్ర ప్లాష్టుటి కంఠనాదంబు చెవుల సోకితర...”

—Ibid. v. 60.

“శ్రీగడియారమున మించె శంఖరవము

విబాధ లోకంబునందలి కేగులబోడి ” —Hr. VI., VII, v. 131.

sixteen *ghaṭikas* of time elapsed till then from the sunrise, Gōvinda Mañcana Sarma, one of the characters of the play, suggests to his friend Tiṭṭibha Seṭṭi, another character, that it was a little past midday and time to go to dinner to a hotel," as they felt very hungry.

Gaḍḍiyāram or water-clock was put in charge of learned brāhmanas, who were probably proficient in astronomical calculations. They were remunerated by land grants. An inscription¹⁰ at Sarpavaram (Cocanada taluk, East Godavari district) informs us that a certain Gōli Sōmā Reḍḍi, after instituting *gaḍḍiyāram* in the Bhavanārāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple at that place in Saka 1326, Tārāṇa, entrusted it to the charge of two brāhmanas Aubhaḷōjhu and Singa-ojhu, and paid one hundred *ṭaṅkas* as the price of two fields, five *kha* (that is, five *putṭis* of land) in extent, which were granted to them free of tax as *māṇyam* to cover their salaries.

Different Ceremonies and Samskāras :

Every auspicious ceremony, rite and ritual was commenced precisely just at the *lagna* fixed by the *manuhūrtikas*. The Smṛtis and some of the digests on Hindu law furnish a list of sacraments that a Hindu householder had to observe. Hēmadri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*¹¹ provides a complete list of all the *vratas*, *dānas*, and the like, that the Hindus had to perform.

9. “ఉడువీధికి శిఖరావలంబియగు నుద్రోర్వీకు మోసాలపై
 గడియారమున ప్రాస రెండేనిమదుల్ ఘంటాఘాతాగ్రముల్
 నడరై భానుడు పశ్చిమంబునకు వెళ్ళి పూటకుటింటికి
 నుడువం బోద నె లెక్క యిచ్చి? తిడునాకొన్నారె మిప్పట్లునె ”

—Kd. Rm.

10. S.I.L., Vol. V, No. 10.

11. R. G. Bhandarkar—*Early History of the Dekkan* (3rd edition), pp. 203-04 – The celebrated author Hemadri served the Yadava kings Mahadeva and his successor Ramadeva or Ramacandra of Devagiri, and flourished in the latter-half of the thirteenth century. He codified all the religious practices and observances that had been in vogue till his time, and that had come down from times immemorial in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* which consisted of four parts, namely, “(1) *Vratakhanda*, containing an exposition of the religious feasts and observances, (2) *Danakhanda*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained; (3) *Tirthakhanda*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places, and (4) *Mokṣakhanda*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth.” Besides these “there is a fifth *khaṇḍa* or part which is called *Parisāṣakhanda* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Srāddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prāyascitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information.”

The important ceremony which every Hindu performed with great eclat and rejoicing was the marriage. Among brāhmanas it appears to have been the custom to celebrate the marriage of a girl at the early age of eight years.¹² The difference in age between the bridegroom and the bride was, when compared with the present custom, considerably great. In those days the brāhman youth spent the early years of his life exclusively in learning the Vēdas and acquiring proficiency in one or more Śāstras. He married only after finishing his studies, by which time he was nearly twenty five or thirty years of age or even more. The *Manu Smṛti*, the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* and other similar works, lay down the marriageable age of girls in accordance with the age of the would-be-bridegroom. Of the two Smṛtis mentioned above, the *Manu Smṛti* states that a man of thirty years should marry a maiden of twelve years of age, and one of twenty four years, a girl of eight years of age. Bṛhaspati lays down that a person of twenty one years of age should marry a girl of seven years of age¹³. For want of definite and positive evidence, it cannot be asserted that the Smṛtis referred to above, were followed by the Andhras in the period under review. Nor do we know definitely the Smṛti or the Dharma Śāstra that was in use in the Andhra country at this period. It is not therefore possible to say how far the Smṛtis referred to above, bear testimony to the practice then in vogue. There is however reason to believe that the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* was probably followed during this period; for, a junior contemporary of Tikkana Sōmayāji, named Kētana who flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, rendered freely into Telugu verse Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣara*, the most famous of the many commentaries on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, under the name of *Vijñānēśvarīyam*. This translation itself establishes the fact that the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* was followed in the Andhra country about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Because it was then in use, Kētana was probably tempted to render it into Telugu, for the benefit of the Andhras. Even this *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* does not lay any hard and fast rules as those of the *Manu* and the *Bṛhaspati Smṛtis* regarding the marriageable age of girls. We may be however nearer the truth if we say that the girls of those days were married very early between seven and ten years of age, and that the difference in age between the bridegroom and the bride was greater than what we observe at the present day. There were instances, though probably rare, of *grāsthas* giving their daughters in marriage to old men with the desire of getting large sums of money from them¹⁴.

12. Sm. Dv., II, VI, 74.

13. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Tr. by Rao Bahadur Śrīśa Candra Vidyāranya, BK. I., Ch. III, Marriage, p. 101.

14. Bh., Rj., VI, v. 18.

Before settling a marriage the bride-groom's relatives used to go and visit the bride's father and other elders, and if the match was to their satisfaction, the *uākuva*, that is, the money to be given to the parents of the bride as bride-price, was fixed, and then the match settled. This betrothal ceremony was a small function, of which the mounting of the wedding ring (*muṭṭārāḍhaṇam*) (to the bride's finger) formed the important part. It ended with a small feast given by the bride's parents to the bridegroom's party. The technical name of this feast was called *pālu-kūḷlu kuḍucuṭa*,¹⁵ that is, partaking of milk dishes. Among marriages in royal families, the brides' father offered to his daughter many elephants, horses, milch-cows, men and maid-servants besides much jewellery, and at times gave villages¹⁶ aslo, according to his status, when she was going to her husband's house. The nobles and vassals followed in the footsteps of their overlords. At the time of marriage, encomiums in *gadya* and *padya* befitting the occasion, were recited.¹⁷ Ceremonies like '*kranta*', *saptapadulu* (seven steps) observed in the marriages of this time, are in vogue even to-day. Remarriage of widows was not allowed. John of Montecervino observes: "Their marriages take place only at one time of the year; and when the husband dies the wife cannot marry again."¹⁸

Generally one had to marry, according to the Sāstras, a girl belonging to one's own *varṇa*, and not to a different one. But some of the marriage alliances, contracted by some of the ruling families during this period, were not in consonance with the general rule laid down by them. There were mixed marriages; for example, the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara II of the Lunar dynasty belonging to the Yādava Kṣatriya family of Saṅgama, gave his daughter in marriage to a member of the fourth caste, namely, Kāṭaya Vēmā Redḍi, prime minister of Kumāragiri Redḍi, king of Koṇḍaviḍu; the Ēḡuva prince Cōḍa Bhīma, son of king Cōḍa Bhakti Raja of the Solar dynasty, and belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, took to his wife a daughter of king Anavēmā Redḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu; the Gaṅga monarch of Kaṭiṅga, Vīra Naraśimhadēva, belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra* and the Lunar dynasty, gave his daughter to the Rōcerla prince, Kumārānnavōta of Rājukoṇḍa belonging to the Caturthakula. These matrimonial alliances were, no doubt, actuated by political expediency. It was the prevailing general custom for the vanquished kings to offer their daughters in marriage

15. Vb. Vj. III, v. 55.

16. NK, II, v. 221.

17. Hr. VI., IV, v. 99.

18. *Foreign Notices*, p. 188.

to the victors in battle, along with many gifts of jewels, elephants, horses etc. These political marriages form by themselves a separate category of their own. They raise the doubt if the Smṛtis or the Dharma Śāstras allowed such inter-caste marriages in this period of Hindu religious revival. Though the examples cited above were political marriages and stand on a different footing altogether, Dharma Śāstras allowed some *anulōma* marriages. According to them the members of the first two orders of the Hindu society might marry a girl from any of the remaining orders, besides a girl of his own caste; that is, a brahman may marry, a kṣatriya girl, a vaiśya girl, or a sūdra girl, and a kṣatriya, a vaiśya girl or a sūdra girl, and a vaiśya a sūdra girl. The sūdra had to marry a girl of his own caste.¹⁹ Some of the marriages cited above might have been *anulōma* marriages, and hence, the seeming inter-caste marriages referred to above, might not have been really such. The outlook of the different castes and communities in this period was more conservative than before, and every community and sect tried to preserve its purity and pristine glory. In fact, this also seems to have been one of the main motives behind the controversy regarding the status of the vaiśyas and the vaijāṭīyas, which made a decision with a royal decree necessary from the *dharmāsana* at Vijayanagar, alluded to in one of the previous chapters. The Muslim invasions appear to have been greatly responsible for fostering this kind of exclusiveness and narrow outlook. The respective castes and their internal sub-divisions moved within a limited social orbit and hardened into *kulas* in this period, each *kula* tending to become endogamous rather than exogamous. When such was the state of society and the tendencies that moulded its form, there was hardly any scope for inter-caste marriages.

The following were the Samskāras that were generally observed in those days as they are done even to-day: (1) jātakarma, (2) namakarana, (3) annaprāśana, (4) caulam, (5) upanayana (6) vivāha, (7) garbhādhana, (8) puṁsavana, and (9) simnatōṇnyana. From the date of conception to the date of birth many customary rites, that had come down to that day from very early times, were observed with the same solemnity as those that were sanctioned by the Śāstras, in order that no calamity might befall to the pregnant woman, and that she might have an easy delivery, and that the child might be healthy. These rites consisted in making offerings of cakes and the like, to the tutelary gollēs of the village and other

famous local goddesses, in the third, fifth and seventh months of pregnancy.²⁰

As soon as a child was born, it was customary to observe some popular ceremonies, which had no religious sanction behind them, as is even now the case in villages devoid of medical aid. Some of these customary ceremonies, which were observed in a wealthy or royal family at the birth of a child, are recorded in the Telugu literature of the period. Of these, some observances survive even to day. It was an ancient custom, observed during the period under review, to place a gold coin on the navel of the new-born baby and cut the umbilical cord, and dip the baby in the winnowing fan filled with pearls. The baby was then sprinkled with water in which rice had been washed (*kali dōci*), and it was gently rubbed on the crown with fingers dipped in sesamum oil, and besmeared with ghee. After being washed in warm water, collyrium was applied to the baby's eyes and *tilakam* or ornamental mark was put on its forehead. On either side in the corners (*padigilū*) of the gate outside the room, wherein the baby slept, were placed bran (*tanuḍu*), live embers (*nippulu*) and cotton seeds. Disenchanted bran was poured across the gateway outside it. Water pots or *apikas* (small pots with broad mouths), in which were placed some margosa sprigs (*cepu remmalu*), were put probably in the room near the baby's cot or outside the door of the baby's room. Other similar precautions for the safety of the baby were taken. After all this was done, married women were invited, and after receiving the gifts they brought, they were served with *vāḡanam*s (presents of sweets and other things) and betel with pieces of camphor.²¹

20. “నెళిదముగ నడిగి యారా

జశిఖానణి కఱుంగఁ జెప్పి సఖు లింపగు స

ర్వి సెధింయిల గూరిచితి

చ్చిశువునకు నీదఁ జీకుచేచి కాకుండనె.”

మారుడు నెలలఁ జూలు ముద్దలు వెట్టిరి

యలరుఁ గుడుము నైదు నెలలఁ బెట్టి

రేడు నెలలఁ బ్రొక్కి ర్నఱ్ఱ పోలమ్మకు

నలికఁ జూడు నెళ్ళ జశువుకొనుచు.”—Sm. Div., I, iii, vv. 32-33.

21. “నెళువుబాడువారఁగ బసిడిలుఁగఁ బిడి

యొక్క నాభి నాచి మత్తరిచి

మాన్తయమలచేట నుంచి యుం దిడి కను

దమ్మలందు నమ్మదమ్మకొనుట

Generally in the eighth year after conception, or in the eighth year of birth according to Yājñavalkya, the upanayana ceremony of the brāhman boy was performed. The investiture with the sacred thread of the kṣātriya boy took place in the eleventh and of the vaiśya boy in the twelfth year. After investing the boy with the sacred thread and initiating him into *brahmacharya* the guru instructed him in the Vēdas and the Sāstras. The pupil remained a bachelor until he finished his studies. After completing his education, he married a girl of his own caste and led the life of a *gṛhastha* (house-holder), performing the various duties enjoined on him by the Smṛtis or the Dharma Śāstras. A youth of those days was expected to learn a Śāstra sitting at the feet of an *acārya* or guru, to acquire good instruction from elders, to fulfil his vows with daring, and to win a victory over his kinsmen. He who failed to do these was not considered to be a man at all.²²

It was the pious aspiration of the brāhman *gṛhasthas* of those days to construct a lotus tank²³ (*kamala kūśāra*), to rear a grove of *tulasi* plants, to worship *peratāṇḍru*, that is, women who committed sati, to set up a *salila satra*, that is, water pandal for offering drinking water to the thirsty in the summer season, and to go on a pilgrimage. When the brāhman went on a pilgrimage to any

“కలిం దోచి మానె శ్రవణి

తలఘోయియందు నేర్పితై బును జొ

త్తల రోచి మత్తె గాఁ బొదు

గలరొచి కమాను ననిచి రానాదు అటన్”

“శ్రమము న దాను లక్కదను ముప్పటిలిసె

నలకింబుఁ దీర్చి యాచలక సుతుని

కొనిరెగాఁ గానకయును, జొక్కబొలును

గాటించి యాగదపకు వెలపటఁ

బొదికిళ్ళఁ దవుడు నిప్పులుఁ బ్రత్తినింజలు

నిదీ యిట్లమాఁగఁ జిట్లు ఒడిసి న్నిచి

నీత రమ్మలు నీళ్ళ వెగలలోపల నించి

కొప్పులు పురింటింబ గట్టిచేసి

నాయనముల కల్ల వని తల నిప్పించి

నాగు నొచ్చిన యచి వరుస నంది

సచ్చక్రపురంపుఁ బలుకులు పెట్టి చి

డిసెము లిచ్చి రెంపు నయముఁ గలుగ” — Sm. Dv., I. iii, vv. 42-45.

22. Ka. Kh., I, v. 107.

23. Ka. Kh., III, v. 81.

holy place like Kāśī or to a sacred *tīrtha* like the Ganges, he fasted the whole day and kept holy vigil (*jāgarraṇu*) during night at that *kṣētra* or *tīrtha*. In the early morning he bathed in the river, performed *pīṭṭarpana* and *piṇḍapradāna*, that is, worshipped the manes with libations, and the god of the *kṣētra*, and then took his meals." He performed many *dānas* and *dharmas* in the course of his pilgrimage, which brought home to his mind the rigours, hardships, and realities of life, gave him opportunities to come into contact with the outside world, and broadened his outlook on life and polished his mind.

The conduct and behaviour of some of the brahman youths, however, was not satisfactory in the light of the ethics of that age. Some of them did not take much care and interest in the performance of *sandhyāvandana* and the sacrificial rites and ceremonies. They spent their time in a jolly way, taking to music, vocal and instrumental, and associating with gamblers. There were also some who stole jewels and vessels from their own house and staked them in gambling. Decorum of speech was not observed. Some youths went after alchemists to win their favour and learn the art. Some made friends with atheists and treated *naṭas* and *pīṭhamardas* with respect, and felt glad to be with *viṭas*. There were some youths who did acts like these which were totally condemned as unbecoming and unworthy of true brāhmins.²⁵

Dānas:

Dāna or gift acquired fresh importance during this age of Hindu revival. Hemadri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*, which elaborately treats of innumerable gifts of a religious character, inspired the public to make gifts to acquire eternal merit, and to ensure wealth and happiness in the future birth. It roused the charitable instinct in men and women, holding out before them the attraction of the acquisition of merit and happiness for mere giving away of something of his own, ungrudgingly with a pure heart. Every member of the Hindu society, man and woman, generally made some gift or other according to his ability and status. The Reḍḍi kings are stated to have made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmadri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa* which was a popular treatise on the subject. Their chief credit lies in their having made not only the minor *dānas* but also the *mahādānas* which were sixteen in number. There is reason to believe that the number of *mahādānas* was not constant, and that it had increased with the advance of time; for, a passage in the Pasumarggu grant of the Eastern Calukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III of the eighth century, extols the king as having made *tuḷā* and other *daśavidha mahādānas* in the

24. Ibid, v. 121.

25. Ks. Kh. IV, vv. 81 and 100.

country extending between Kañcī and the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Sagara ("Ā-Kāñcī-Gaṅgā-Sāgara-madhyā - paripaka (*ṭkalpita*) *tulādānādi-daśanidha-mahādāna-manādika dānabuddhiḥ*)²⁶. From this it is evident that at the time of Viṣṇuvardhana III, that is, by the middle of the eighth century, the number of *māhādānas* was only ten. If it were greater, certainly, it would have found mention in the grant itself. It is, therefore, obvious that, from the eighth century to the fourteenth century, the number of *mahādānas* increased from ten to sixteen.

Among the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, Anavēma Redḍi, the third king, is expressly stated in one²⁷ of his records to have made the *dānas* namely (1) *brahmaṇḍa dāna*, (2) *Kanakatharū dāna*, (3) *Gōśahasra dana* and (4) *Kaḷpataru dāna* etc. His Pedaceṇḍukūru record²⁸ also refers to the *Kanakatharū mahādāna* made by him. The express mention of these gifts should not lead us to think that Anavēma did not make other gifts. As a matter of fact, the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, Rājamahāndravaram and Kandukūru are credited in their records to have made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmadri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa*. We cannot, however, authoritatively maintain that this claim is true of every king belonging to the three houses, though it might be true in case of some of the kings like Anavēma Redḍi. Kumaragiri Redḍi also made *mahādānas* like *Tulāpuruṣa*²⁹ *dāna*. His Anaparti grant³⁰ states that he made this *Tulāpuruṣa dāna* at Daksharam after the completion of his victorious eastern campaign.

Annadeva Coḍa, son of Bhaktirāja of the Ēruva family, is said to have made *Gōśahasra dana* in the vicinity of the temple of Virbhadrā at the holy place of Paṭṭesam, an island in the river Godavari, and also the *Saptasāgara* and *Hiraṇyameṇu dānas*.³¹

26. C. P. No., 9 of 1913-14.

27. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

28. Elliot's Collection; No. 15-6-26.

29. *Redḍi Ravi*, II, No. 1, Oct. 1924 - Vide, his Kumaragiri-patnam grant.

30. J.A.H.R.S., XI, p. 91.

31. Ep. Ind. XXVI, pp. 11 ff.

³¹ The *Saptasāgara* is the fourteenth *mahādāna* in the list of the sixteen *mahādānas* described by Hēmadri. The ritual connected with the performance of this *dāna* may be briefly described thus; Brahmans must be invited on an auspicious day and requested to perform the *pūṅghavacana* or purificatory ceremony. In a *maṇḍapa* which is specially erected for the purpose, the images of some deities must be installed on a *vedi* or platform. This must be followed by the performance of *Vṛddhisradāha*, or the *śradāha* for ensuring prosperity. Seven golden *kuṇḍas* (vessels) 21" X 21" or 10" X 10" in dimensions (height and width) and weighing from seven to one thousand *palas*, according to the means of the donor, must be secured.

Aśva dāna is yet another *dāna*, referred to in the inscriptions of this period. *Aśvadinadīksāguru* was one of the titles of Uṇḍirāja, surnamed Uṇḍiśa of the Solar race, who ruled from Sūravaraṇaṭṭaṇa.³²

Allaya Vēmā Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram was also reputed for his liberality. He is stated in his Vēmavaram grant³³ as having given away to brahmans thousands of kine (*gōśahasrāṇi*) in the Daksharamabhūmi, before god Bhīmēśvara. This is no doubt a reference to the *gōśahasra mahādāna*. He is also extolled in inscriptions³⁴ as the *gōcarma-mahagrahāra-pradātā*, one who granted to brāhmans many *agrahāras*, each of the extent of a *gōcarma*.³⁵ Besides these

They should be placed first on sesamum and then on the skin of an antelope. Next, each of the seven pots should be filled with salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curds, sugar and water respectively, to symbolise the seven oceans of the Hindu mythology, and the images in gold respectively of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Surya, Indra, Lakṣmī and Parvatī, and gems and grains of different varieties must be added to them. Twenty five brahmans (8 Kṛtviks, 8 dvārapalakas, 8 japa-brahmans and one guru) have to be engaged, and *hōmas* for all the gods installed in the maṇḍapa must be performed. When the *hōma* for Varuna is completed, the Yajamana has to bathe and go around the *vedi* three times chanting *mantras*. On the second day the *hōma* has to be performed a thousand times; and finally the *kuṇḍas* must be given away as a gift to the brahmans." Hemadri's *Caturvargacintamaṇi*, *Danakhanda* (Bibl. Ind., Ch. V, pp. 337—339).

"*Hiraṇyameru* or *Suvarṇameru* comes under *Meru danas*. The representation of the *Meru* mountain can be made in any kind of metal or grain. In case if it is made of grain, it is called *Dhanyameru*. If it is *suvarṇa* or gold the representation of the *Meru* must have three ridges weighing three *palas*. When the representation of the *Meru* is ready, worship is offered to it in the prescribed manner. And then on occasions like eclipses, it is presented as a gift to a brahman for the purpose. This *dana* is given to propitiate the god Varaha (Ibid. pp. 391—392)". Quoted from the paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Telugu Coḍa, Annadeva by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 38, f. note 5).

32. C.P. No. 16 of 1917—18, dated in Śaka 1304, Hemadri's *Caturvargacintamaṇi*, *Danakhanda* (Bibl. Ind.) Vol. I, pp. 589-90.

33. Ep. Ind., XIII, pp. 237 ff.

34. S.I.L., Vol. IV, No. 1382.

35. Ep. Ind., XIII, V, p. 242.

The Sāraṅgapuram grant (N.D.I., Vol. I, C.P. 17, p. 137) of Sāraṅgaṭhara, dated in Śaka 1176 gives the definition of a *gōcarma* in the following verse :

दशहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डा निर्वर्तनम्
तायैवदशगोचर्म तद्दानादच्युतं पदम् ॥ v. 28.

Ten *hastas* make one *danḍa*; thirty *danḍas* make one *nivartana*; and ten *nivartanas* make one *gōcarma*.

"*Gōcarma*-A place thirty *danḍas* long by one *danḍa* and seven *hastas* broad—Bṛhasp. [M. Bh., XIII, 3121 Sch.].—Monier Williams, p. 364.

dānas he presented to god Mārkaṇḍēyēsvara at Rājamahēndravaram a bronze bell weighing twelve thousand *palikas* (*dvādaśasahasra-palikā-pramāṇa sukāmēya-nirmatam* *navaghaṇṭam*³⁶). Ordinary offerings or gift of things suitable to and much needed in the season in which it was made, like drinking water (*salila-dāna*), and fans in the summer season, and *kanibala dāna* or gift of blankets in the winter season, acquired fresh importance. Above all these gifts, *anna dāna*, or the offering of food to the Hindus irrespective of caste or community, and particularly to the brāhman on particular days and occasions, was considered to be the greatest of all the *dānas*. Offering of food acquired fresh importance during this period and was considered to be a very meritorious act. There were some brāhman in this period who observed the gift of offering food as a *vrata*, and were eulogised by people as *diṇyānnadātas* and *annapradātas*. Some such brāhman with these titles figure as shareholders in the *agrahāra* grants given by the Reddi kings of Rājamahēndravaram³⁷.

There were special auspicious occasions for making gifts. It is stated in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* that gifts made on such occasions brought to the giver inestimable merit. The moment of Sun's progress to the north and the south (*Uṭṭarāyaṇa-puṇyakāla* and *Dakṣiṇāyaṇa-puṇyakāla*), the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse, the *Arthodaya* and the *Mahodaya* occasions, and the *Puṣkaram* festivals, were, even as in the present day, considered to be very auspicious occasions, for making gifts. In fact, most of the grants, both private and public, recording gifts, were generally made on the occasions of the Sun's progress either to the north or to the south, and at the time of eclipses either lunar or solar. The grant of the village of Gūmpini recorded in the Konkuduru plates of Prince Allya Doḍḍa Reddi of Rājamahēndravaram was made on the occasion of *Arthodaya-puṇyakāla*, which is an astronomical combination of the nakṣatra Śrāvaṇam, the yōga Vyatīpāta, and the week day Sunday on the new moon Pauṣya, i. e., this *parram* "takes place on the new moon *thithi* of the Amānta Pauṣa, provided this *thithi* falls on a Sunday, when during the day time the nakṣatra is Śrāvaṇam and yōga Vyatīpāta".³⁸ "The *tithi* (Pauṣa bahuḷa 15) is called *Mahodaya* when any one of the aforesaid special features is wanting and others

36. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242, vv. 19 and 20.

37. Ep. Ind., XIII, pp. 254-55.

Annadāta Vennayārya.

Annadāta Liṅgaya Bhaṭṭa.

Annadāta Lakṣmanarya etc.

The title *annadāta* became almost a surname of the above families.

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 55.

are present." Other auspicious occasions are the *tithis* Śivarātri, i. e., the 14th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha, and the Ēkādaśī, the 11th day of the bright half of the months of Vaiśākha, Āṣāḍha, Bhādrapada, Kārtika, Pauṣa, and Phālguna, which have special names, viz., Mōhinī Ēkādaśī, Sayana Ēkādaśī, Parivartana Ēkādaśī, Bōdhana Ēkādaśī, Vaikuṇṭha Ēkādaśī, and Āmalakī Ēkādaśī respectively.

Vratas :

Many of the *vratas* described by Hōmādri in the *Vrata khaṇḍa* of his *Caturvargacinūmaṇi*, were performed by people in the age of the Redḍi period. Most of these *vratas* have survived even to the present day. Of these, some were exclusively Saivite in character, some Vaiṣṇavite and some, common to all sects, the Śmārtas, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. *Śivarātrivrata* and *Ēkādaśivrata* were very important *vratas* to the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas respectively. Observing holy vigil during night on the day of the *vrata*, spending the whole time in the singing the glory of the deity dancing *lilas*, hearing the *puṇya kathas* and Purāṇas and praising the glory of the God of the respective persuasions, were important items to be observed in the performance of the *vrata*. The way in which the Śaivas of those days spent the day of the Śivarātri, and the stories illustrating the merit accruing to the performer of this *Śivarātrivrata*, are well described in the *Paṇḍitarādhyacaritra* and *Śivarātri Māhātmyam* written by Pālkuriki Sōmanātha and Śrinātha respectively. *Ēkādaśivrata* is described in a general way (not its ceremonial aspect) in the works *Śrīraṅga Māhātmyam* and *Rukmāṅgadacaritra* written by Bhairavakavi and Praudhakavi Mallana. In fact, the latter work was particularly written to popularise *Ēkādaśivrata* and to drive home, to the mind of the people at large, the invaluable fruits one would derive both on this earth in his life-time and in heaven in his life after death, placing before them the concrete example of king Rukmāṅgada of yore who, in spite of many allurements, temptations and difficulties, did not fail to observe this *vrata*. Consequently, we are told that he went to Vaikuṇṭha, the permanent abode of god Viṣṇu. The *Dvādaśivrata* is another *vrata* supplementary to the *Ēkādaśivrata*. Those who observed the *Ēkādaśivrata* had necessarily to perform duly *dvādaśiparaṇa*, that is, breaking fast on the Dvādaśī day, the next lunar day to Ēkādaśī, of the light fortnight, very early in the morning by giving a feast to brāhmins. Many brāhmins of this period observed this *Ēkādaśivrata* and gave the *dvādaśī* feast. Because of the religious observance of this *dvādaśī* feast, the term *dvādaśī* itself became the surname of some families in this period; for example, a certain scholar Allāḍa Bhaṭṭa, one of the

donees of the Vēmavaram grant of king Allaya Vēmā Redḍi, had the surname Dvādaśī.³⁹ These two *vratas*, Ēkādaśī and the Dvādaśī, though very important to the Vaiṣṇavas, were generally observed by the Smārtas also. Another *vrata* of the same category referred to in the Telugu work *Kriḍābhīrāman* is the *Kāmeśvarivrata*. It mainly relates to the worship of seven married women who go by the general name of Akkalu. The song *Akkla-pāṭa* relating to this *vrata* is still current in the Telugu country. This Śaivite *vrata* is observed even to the present day in the Telugu country in some families. Owing to the impact of Western culture, the development of science and the change that has come over the outlook of the Andhras, the religious fervour and belief in *vratas* have been gradually dying out, and many of the *vratas*, which were in vogue during the Redḍi period, have been forgotten. The two main *vratas* alluded to above, namely *Sivarātri* and *Ēkādaśī* have however still a hold over people unlike many of the other *vratas* described by Hēmadri.

Peculiar customs and rites :

The different ceremonies and *vratas* whether Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, brought in their train several peculiar customs, like keeping holy vigil on special and sacred days, fasting the whole day and breaking on the following day very early in the morning, and taking meal only once in the day (*ekabhuktam*), either in the afternoon or during night time and so on.

As in the previous period the dominating religion at this time was Śaivism which gave rise to some peculiar customs and rites, some of which took such deep root in the country that they are observed by the Saivas even at the present day. Taking food only once a day during nights in the month of Kārtika, and on some days which were considered to be sacred to god Śiva, was and is one of the customs observed by the Saivas. The special term by which this custom is known in Telugu is *naktam*⁴⁰ which literally means night. *Bharitabhōjanam* is another custom among the Saivas which survives till this day. According to this custom the Saivas do not eat or partake of anything, without first offering it to the god whose emblem (*liṅga*) they wear

39. Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 254, and p. 245.

"Divyānadata dvadas'gam

Veda-s'astra-paṭus-suddhiḥ

Dvadas'y-Allaḍa-Bhaṭṭaḥ"—v. 56.

40. "ఒక భోజనము నడి రాతమున, ఆచరియులు..."—Sm. Dv., II, viii, v. 141.

41. Vr. Pr., XII, v. 55.

which they call *prāṇa-līṅga*, and not a particle of whatever that was served, was left behind uneaten. Once the offering was made to the *prāṇa-līṅga*, no dish offered subsequent to it, was accepted. This kind of meal goes by the technical name of *bharita-bhōjanam*.⁴²

These *vratas* served as a means to educate the common man in soul-culture, and to train him in disciplining his conduct of life. The sanctity and greatness of each *vrata* and the inestimable fruits one would reap by performing it, are illustrated by means of mythical or semi-mythical stories, the central figure of which was either king Yudhiṣṭhira, or some other hero, who is generally stated to have observed this *vrata* in days of yore. In this way, these *vratas* indirectly contributed to the growth of popular traditional literature, which exercised great influence on the mind of the common man, sharpened his religious outlook, and inspired him to pursue the objects he cherished with faith and devotion. In addition to this literature, the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahabhārata* which were daily read to the public in *agrahāras*, temples and *mathas* by efficient *paurāṇikas*, stamped on the mind of the common man the fundamental principles of neo-Hinduism and trained him in the *dharma* of the land. The *vratas* the ancients observed, the literature they produced, the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihasas* they heard, the *geyas* and the folk-songs they sang, the puppet shows they exhibited, the dramas they put on boards, the stories they recited, the sculptures in temples they represented, the pictures they painted, all had only one aim and object, namely, to educate and train the common man in Hindu culture, and to disseminate spiritual knowledge to one and all, irrespective of age, sect, caste, creed or religion, to enable them to face the realities of life with composure, and finally to attain *mokṣa*, the fourth *puruṣārtha*. Principles were enunciated, *dharma* was defined, and all the forces were set in motion; the State, the society and religion, all worked together as one unit with perfect harmony without any rift to achieve the common object and reach the goal.

Self Immolation:

Saivism by nature, was a martial religion. It turned out to be more martial in the mediaeval period than in the previous one, and put in vogue certain rites, at once audacious and brave, which were either rare or unpopular till then. The Tantric cult one phase of Saivism, which found its way into the Telugu country during the mediaeval period, was greatly responsible for popularising these rites and firmly implanting them in the land. The most important of these rites was, of course, self-immolation by offering one's own head either to a god

42. Hr. VI, II, pr. 125.

or goddess. In order to propitiate a deity, whose wrath was believed to have been manifested either in the form of a pestilence or calamity, or in order to fulfil a vow taken by him to get his cherished desire or earthly object coveted, it seems to have been an ancient custom in South India for a devotee to offer his head and immolate himself. This rite was called *miṭi-tala* in Telugu, and *talai-bali* in Tamil. This rite of *talai-bali* is referred to in the early Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*, wherein we read of warriors who "cut off their dark-haired heads containing such fierce red eyes as seemed to burn those upon whom they looked, and willingly offered them upon the sacrificial altar (of the guardian deity) with the prayer that the conquering king might be ever victorious."⁴³ Sculptural representations of the offering of the head of the early period are not entirely absent in South India, though rare. We thus come to know from the *Śilappadikāram* and the sculptural representations that the rite of offering one's own head had been in vogue in South India from very early times. The Tantric cult of the early mediaeval period, and the Paśupata Śaivism which had been an active and dominating

43. *Śilappadikāram*, Tr. by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 113; Vide also, the author's note on p. 113.

44. They are found at Mahabalipuram, Trichinopoly, Pullamangai (ten miles to the south of Tanjore), and Mallam (in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district). In the sculptures found in the Drupadivatha and the Varaha cave at Mahabalipuram we find two male figures kneeling on the side of a four armed goddess who can be easily identified as Durga or Mahiṣasuramardani. It was Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who has first drawn our attention to this rite of head-offering by publishing his paper entitled "*The head-offering to the Goddess in the Pallava sculptures*," (Vide, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 539 ff.). The cult of Durga and Bhairava appears to have come into vogue during the period of rule of the so-called Greater Pallavas of Kāñci, that is, the descendants of Mahendravarman I Pallava. The representation of Durga killing Mahiṣasura at Mahabalipuram is one of the gems of the Pallava sculpture. In the sculptures at Trichinopoly and Pullamangai the devotee who was offering his head is represented as holding up his tuft of hair by his left hand and applying the sword which he held in his right hand to his neck. A similar representation is found sculptured on a hero-stone set up at Mallam in the 20th year of the Pallava king, Kampavarman. The hero is here represented as holding his severed head by the tuft in his left hand, while the right-hand grasp a sword. (S. I. I. Vol. xii, p. 50, Pl. vi). Sculptural representations of this head-offering are not wanting in Northern India during the pre-mediaeval period. While identifying a sculptural representation on a terra-cotta plaque, excavated at Paharpur, Bengal, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph.D. writes a very revealing article, wherein he gives a number of quotations from the *Markandeya Purāṇa*, the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, the *Tantrasara* and other works, to prove that this was a rite belonging to the Śakta cult. He however observes that "it is most often associated with the Śakta cult, though some examples of its connection with the cult of Śiva and other deities also occur."—Vide, his article on "*the oldest representation of the Śakta cult in Bengal art*," in I. H. Q., XVI, 489 ff.

force during the Kākatiya period, no doubt, gave fresh impetus to this rite of self-immolation,⁴⁵ and imparted to the hero a sanctity all his own.

This self-immolation by a devotee in his excessive devotion to his tutelary deity was the best offering he could make on earth. This dominating desire to sacrifice his all, in a frantic religious devotion, made the devotee spill his own blood on the altar of his deity, by cutting open his heart, his belly, or any part of his body, or pluck out and offer his eyes, whenever necessary. He gave his precious life which was the best and the highest offering he could make. The zeal, enthusiasm, and unflinching faith in the ideals made the offering appear to the devotee a very easy, simple, and an ordinary affair, unworthy even to get elated in making it. This was the spirit that dominated the latter part of the Kākatiya period, and the period under review as well. This spirit was cultivated greatly about the period of Muslim invasions, and served as a powerful antidote to the religious fanaticism of the Muslims in their aim to destroy the fabric of Hindu religion and culture. This force developed by the virile Śaiva cult of the Kākatiya period, was employed in defending the Hindu religion. It arrested the Islamic aggression and held it at bay during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, making it possible for the Hindus to reorganise and resuscitate their religion and culture. It may be probably regarded as an answer given by the Hindus to the challenge thrown against them by the aggressive Muslims.

Heroes :

It was the belief of the people of those times that the goddess Durgā granted the desires of all those who worshipped the Aṣṭa Bhairavas of the eight quarters with the blood of their *aṣṭaṅgas*, eight limbs of the body, and made an offering of head soaked in blood.⁴⁶

45. This rite of self-immolation seems to have originally spread from the Coḷa country to the Andhra country during the Kākatiya period; for, from the Malkapuram inscription (J A H R S., Vol. iv. p. 160) of queen Rudramadevi, daughter of Kākatiya Gaṇapati-deva, dated in Śaka 1163, that is, 1261 A. D., we come to know that the great Śaiva saint Viśveśvara Śiva, the recipient of the village of Mandaram from the queen, subsequent to the establishment of a Śaiva *maṭha*, known as *Golakimaṭha* at that village, appointed as guards of the village and the *maṭha* Virabhadras, who are said to have been born in the Coḷa country (*Coḷaśaṣajāh*), and to have been drawn from the four caste (*Caturvarṇya-samudbhūtaḥ*). This shows that these Virabhadras came there from the Coḷa country. They were no, doubt the devotees of god Virabhadra, a terrific aspect of Śiva. These village guards Virabhadras, are said to have done heroic deeds such as the cutting of their scrotum, stomach or head, for the protection of the village". Offering one's life for a cause, a faith, or to one's own deity was a marked feature of the latter Kākatiya period.

46. “అష్ట భక్తులను అష్ట భైరవులు

ఋష్యాం దుధరంబు లర్పించు

జీవీ శరణక నిక్రంబు బలి యచ్చు

ఋషల తోయక చెల్ల శక్తియచ్చు”

—Sm. Dv., II, X, v. 155.

The worship of Bhairava, and Virabhadra, the fearful and terrific aspects of god Siva, and of Siva's Śakti, Durgā, of Bhadrakālī, the consort of Virabhadra, and of Vēṭāla, a prince among goblins, prevalent in the Andhra country during the Reddi period, inspired the Śaiva devotees as well as the common people, and kept up the level of the high watermark of heroic spirit reached in the Kakatiya times. Gradually, any one who voluntarily gave up his life for the sake of Hindu *dharma* or of a noble cause, or performed any heroic deed risking his life in the interests of either one's own community or of the entire Hindu society, was dubbed as a hero, and his family was duly rewarded. Such heroes sprang up from every caste. The value and nature of the cause, object or ideal for which a person gave up his life, decided the place of honour to be given to him in the hierarchy of heroes.

Self-immolation developed into an institution altogether, and there were special temples of Bhairava, Virabhadra and Kālī, which went by the name of *Campudu-guḷḷu* "in Telugu, where the heroes or devotees immolated themselves in fulfilment of vows. During the Reddi period, this rite of self-immolation grew in popularity, and the number of persons, who killed themselves by offering their heads to Siva, was greater than in the previous period. They were not allowed to practise this gruesome rite at each and every place and at each and every temple. Since they believed that they would go to heaven or to the presence of the deity by performing this rite on an auspicious occasion, specially sacred to the Śaivas, in the presence of Bhairava, Virabhadra, Bhadrakālī or Durgā, they had to go in search of such temples. So, to relieve their difficulty king, Anavāma Reddi, the third king who sat on the throne of Koṅḷaviḍu, built, for the merit of his paternal uncle Annaya, a stone pavilion called *Viraśiṁśanaṅḍapa*, the hall of the heads of heroes, on the hill of Srisailam, in the court-yard of god Mallikārjuna. His officer, who was entrusted with the construction of this building, was a certain Mallana, son of Pañcabhikṣam Rāmanatha or Rāmayya," who supervised the work of building steps to the Pataḷagaṅgā under king Vēma Reddi." Mallana is described as *Śaṅkar-āgama-mantra-dikṣa-vibhūt-yudāñcilacararuḍu*, that is, one following the course of conduct of the divine excellence of the *mantra-dikṣa*,

47. *Campudu-guḷḷu* is the plural of *Campudu-guḍi* which term finds mention in the Telugu literature of this period.

“చంపుడుగిడి యది యని యా

దంపతుల కి శివమూలఁ దలఁచి నిది...” — Sm. Dv., I, IV, v. 17.

The temple referred to in these lines is said to have been consecrated to god Bhairava.

enunciated by the *Śaiva Āgamas*. The above facts are known from the Srīśailam record "of Anavēma Redḍi, dated in Saka 1299, that is, 1378 A. D. This record which was inscribed on the pillars of the maṇṭapa adjoining the Nandi-maṇṭapa in the Mallikāṛjuna temple, gives a description of this maṇṭapa. It was a thirty eight-pillared, pavilion consisting of a broad central hall paved with stones (slabs), the ceiling of which was decorated with sculptures of fresh lotuses, and a fine arched gateway (*mukḥabhadra-tōraṇa-gūṭam*) containing the images of *dhāraṇāḥlakas* on either side. Each of the pillars is said to have consisted of five limbs (*aṅga-pancaka-gūṭaiḥ*). The several varieties of maṇṭapas mentioned in the *Śilpa Śāstras* were named in accordance with the kinds of pillars employed. Of such maṇṭapas one is the *Rudrakānta maṇṭapa*, each of the pillars of which consisted of five *upastambhas*." Since the pillars of the *Vīraśīrōmaṇṭapa* built by Anavēma are said to have consisted of five limbs, probably five *upastambhas*, this seems to have been a *Rudrakānta maṇṭapa*. The term *bhadra* in *bhadrāṅkam*, the qualifying adjective of the maṇṭapa and in *mukḥabhadratōraṇa* denoting the frontal arched gateway, is suggestive of double meaning. The term may also signify Vīrabhadra or his consort Bhadrakālī. It is not unlikely that an image or images either of Vīrabhadra or of Bhadrakālī or both were sculptured in the hall and on the arched gateway. The inscription further states: "How wonderful it is that here in this maṇṭapa hosts of Ēkāṅgavīras, who proudly make a votive offering of their eyes, hands, heads, and tongues, by cutting them, attain instantaneously a brilliant body of blessed limbs. The next moment, endowed with three eyes, ten arms, five faces (heads), and five tongues, they shine as if they were *aṣṭamūrtis* (eight-bodied Sivas)." The construction of a separate pavilion by Anavēma Redḍi for the sake of those who immolated themselves, bears testimony to the popularity of this rite in the times of the Redḍi kings.

Miḍi-tala or offering of head was also known as *gaṇḍa-tala*.⁴⁸ Any kind of hindrance to the normal observance of the *vrata* or worship in any way, by reason either of loss of any one of the materials daily used in the ceremonial worship, or of not getting hold of the required *pūjā dranyas* essential for worship according to the vow taken, was at times the cause of this self immolation. In the full belief that this was god-sent to test the depth of sincerity of his vow, the devotee chipped off his head unflinchingly with the 'shears of destiny',

48. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

49. In. Ar., I, p. 219.

50. "మన బాపములందు లిమ్ముల నఁచికకు నంద

నల లిమ్ము . 77-Bh Rj. V, v. 249,

called *gandiyaterra* in Teiugu. It was a broad circular sharp-edged iron-instrument which, besides the dagger and the sword, was largely used for cutting the head by applying it to the neck.

Nicolo de Conti who witnessed such self immolation in the city of Cambait, which remains yet unidentifiable, describes the way in which the hero chipped off his head with large shears. "Many present themselves," writes Conti, "who have determined upon self immolation, having on their neck a broad circular piece of iron, the fore part of which is round and the hinder part extremely sharp. A chain attached to the forepart hangs suspended upon the breast, into which the victims, sitting down with their legs drawn up and their neck bent, insert their feet. Then they suddenly stretch out their legs and at the same time drawing their neck, cut off their own head, yielding up their lives as a sacrifice to their idols. These men are regarded as saints".⁵¹ Besides Conti, other foreign travellers, like Friar Odoric (1321-22 A. D.) and Friar Jordanus (1323-1330 A. D.) who visited South India earlier than Conti, refer to this rite of self immolation, and describe the manner in which it was done. Writing about Ma'bar (the Coromandel region) Odoric says: "And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God." And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God," he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And many other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written".⁵² Again Friar Jordanus writing about Greater India⁵³ states thus about self immolation. "In this Greater India many sacrifice themselves to idols in this way. When they are sick, or involved in any grave mischance, they vow themselves to the idol if they should happen to be delivered. Then, when they have recovered, they fatten themselves for one or two years continually, eating and drinking fat things, etc. And when another festival comes round, they cover themselves with flowers and perfumes, and

51. Major., Conti, pp. 27-28.

52. *Foreign Notices*, p. 197.

53. Greater India of Jordanus included many kingdoms of which Telene (Telenga or the Telugu country) was one (Vida, *Ibid* p. 212).

crown themselves with white garlands, and go with singing and playing before the idol when it is carried through the land (like the image of the Virgin Mary here among us at the Rogation tides); and those men who are sacrificing themselves to the idol carry a sword with two handles, like those (knives) which are used in currying leather; and, after they have shown off a great deal, they put the sword to the back of the neck, cutting strongly with a vigorous exertion of both hands, and so cut off their own heads before the idol." ⁵⁴

Another way of self immolation was by throwing oneself under the wheel of a car carrying an idol in procession in reputed holy places and get crushed to death. This seems to have been in vogue in South India during this period. Telugu literature does not furnish any references to this custom; but the foreign travellers who visited this country noted this. Friar Odoric observes thus: "Many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God. And the car passes over them, and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot... And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God." ⁵⁵ Nicolo de Conti also saw this custom at Vijayanagar. "In Bizenegalia (Vijayanagar) also", he observes, "at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death, - a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their God." ⁵⁶

In fact, some Śaiva communities like Virabhadras, Viramuṣṭis, and Mailāra Virabhaṭas practised these rites and customs to an excess and made them part and parcel of their daily life. Viramuṣṭis are mentioned in a Kākatīya record of S. 1183⁵⁷, and the daring deeds of the Mailāra Virabhaṭas are described in *Kṛiṭābhīrāmam*. Both the Viramuṣṭis and the Mailāras are Līṅgāyats now. The former are professional acrobats and mendicants, who are now attached to Dēvaṅgas and Kōmaṭis. They perform acrobatic feats with swords and daggers. We are informed by Edgar Thurston that "they correspond to the Virabhadra Kāyakams of the Canarese Līṅgāyats, like whom they dress

54. Ibid, p. 209.

55. *Foreign Notices*, p. 196.

56. Major, Conti, p. 28.

up and adorn themselves with small *liṅgas*, the figure of *Virabhadra*, a sword, a plate bearing a star, and the heads of *Asuras* (demons). Every important *Saivite* temple has one or two *Viramuṣṭis* attached to it, and they are supposed to be servants of god, *Siva*. One of their chief duties is to guard the idol during processions, and on other occasions. If, during a car procession, the car does not move, the *Viramuṣṭis* cut themselves with their swords until it is set in motion" ⁵⁷. The following are some of the heroic feats performed in this period by *Mailāra Virabhaṭas*, the devotees of god *Mailāra*. The heroic servants of *Mailāra* used to jump down, from a considerable height above, into the pit of sharp iron spikes below (that is, into the pit wherein were planted these sharp iron spikes), cutting off the cords of the fibrous network sling, *uṭṭi* as it is called in *Telugu*, which they held, while hanging in the air. Another feat was the swallowing of an iron tube (*ayṇṇāḷambu*) applying 'shears of destiny' to the neck without any fear or hesitation. Piercing *nārasas*, sharp thin pin-like iron pieces, into their body, on their chest, lips, tongue etc., they used to light *āratulu* in the naked palms of their right and left hands ⁵⁸ and wave them before the deity.

Hero-Stones :

Such heroes of the period who laid down their lives for a sacred, noble, or public cause, were revered as saints. Even the brahman and the cow, the two symbols signifying the spiritual wealth and the material prosperity of the nation, were considered to be fit objects for the sacrifice of one's life, in their protection ⁵⁹ or liberation. These

57. Ep. Coll. No. 91 of 1917; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 53.

58. Edgar Thurston - *Castles and Tribes of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. VII, p. 410.

59. "కరవాడి యలగుల ననపహర్షద్రోహ
నుట్టిచేతులు కోసి యులుకువారు
కటి కయోహారంబు నడచిన ప్రతి వట్టి
మిసిమింతులను నాకీ మింగువారు
నగులను నారినంబులు నలుపువారు
ఎవడు నుడిచేతి వారకు శిష్యునాను" —Kd. Rm., v. 112.

60. "నగుల మయ్య గాదు బ్రహ్మణుల మేల గాదు
నన్ను పీరిననుకాదు ప్రతిమ కాదు
నాకీ పీరిము నాని యే కాంగిదోహవం
జచ్చువాని కేమి స్వర్గహూనె. —Sm. Dv., II, vii, v. 51.

This verse indirectly, but clearly, enunciates the objects for which it was customary in those times to offer life, namely, in the protection of cattle (especially of cows), in the liberation of a brahman from captivity, in the interest of one's master, and in fulfilment of one's vow.

martyrs were honoured by the commemoration of their sculptural representations in their act of trying to kill themselves, or fighting for their master or country. Stones containing representations of *vīras* or heroes are called *vīrakals* or hero-stones (*kal* or *kallu* means a stone). These stone representations of heroes were made either by the public, by their master, or by their near relations. Many such *vīrakals* are found in some of the Śaiva *keṭtras* in the Andhra country (for example, Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district, Mōpūru in the Cuddapah district, and Kārempūdi and Macerla in the Guntur district). These hero-stones are seen in the Telinganā also, particularly at Śaivite centres, like Waraṅgal, the seat of the Pāśupata Śaivism of the Kākatiya period. As this had been a wide-spread custom it is still possible to discover such hero-stones in many places of the Andhra country. Regarding the hero-stones found at Tripurāntakam, the Superintendent of Epigraphy writes as follows :

“Within the court-yard, and in front of the central shrine (of the Tripurasundari temple) are arranged in a line a number of *vīrakals* representing human figures in various postures some with a dagger thrust into their necks or abdomen, and some driving their daggers into the left thigh with one hand, and raising a weapon with the other, in order to stab themselves in the chest. One peculiar feature of these figures is the long braided hair⁶¹ which is gracefully allowed to hang right up to the knee ... A large number of similar stones were seen by me on the hill at Mōpūru⁶² in the Pulivendla taluk of the Cuddapah district ...” An inscription on one of the *vīrakals* in the Tripurasundari temple which may, on palaeographical grounds, be referred to the thirteenth century A. D., seems, however, to explain the real situation. It runs: “*Svasti Śrīmatu Sōmasīvagurudevāru Allā(ḍa) Vīramall-an vīrunivārīki mēlu-kavalenani tana tala Tripurādēviki icce*”. “Hail! The glorious Sōmasīvagurudēva offered to Tripurādēvī his (own) head so that good may befall to the hero called Allā(ḍa) Vīramallu⁶³. Another record (not completely preserved) states about the end; “(this is) the head to the goddess.” From these it looks as if the figures were meant

61. There are also figures of heroes represented with different types of beautiful *keśapāsas*, modes of arranging the hair in the form of a loop, and not let loose hanging down on the back.

62. The temple on the hill at Mopūru is dedicated to god Bhairava.

63. It is interesting to note here that there were instances where *Śivacaryas* also offered their heads in the interests of the heroes for whom they cherished great affection. Such instances as these must have been however very rare.

to represent cases of either suicide or human sacrifice⁶⁴ to which people in those days must have had free recourse in the belief that by so propitiating the deity they would ward off evil⁶⁵.

Hero-Cult:

These hero-stones were worshipped with devotion and vows were made to them. These customs developed into a religious order (*Viracūta*), the cult of heroes, which found ready patronage at the hands of nobles and kings of the country. They granted *virṭis* or land-grants for conducting *pūja* to these *virakals*. This cult of heroes seems to have come into existence towards the end of the Kakatiya rule; for, a record⁶⁶ of Śaka 1236 at Mācherla, inscribed on a stone in front of three small temples dedicated probably to heroes, on the bank of the local stream Candravāṅkā, of the time of Kākati Pratāparudra, registers a grant of wet land as *sarvaṃaṅga* to *virapurūṣulu* (for conducting worship) by the king's officer Dēvari Nāyanimṅāru. It appears that only during the period under review that the popularity of the hero-cult and hero-worship reached its climax. During this age, the heroes of Palnāḍu⁶⁷ were much venerated and stories about them became very popular. It was at the end of the Redḍi period that a tower (*māḍa*),

64. These were neither cases of human sacrifice, as supposed by the Epigraphist, nor the cutting of heads and stomachs 'were punishments' as was wrongly imagined by the late Śrī J. Ramayya Pantulu. He writes about this custom of the Virabhadras while editing the Malkapuram record of Rudramadevi as follows: (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 58) "I imagine that these were punishments prescribed by law in those days for certain heinous offences and that particular class of persons were appointed to carry out those punishments."

65. Ep. Rep. 1909, para 78, page 119.

66. Ep. Coll., No. 586 of 1909.

67. The Chiefs of Palnāḍu (Guntur district), namely, Nala Gamarāja and his step-brothers, sons of Anuṅgumaṇḍales'vara, and their respective ministers, who fought a deadly battle amongst themselves for the sake of the kingdom, were all extolled as heroes. These heroes of Palnāḍu, *Palnāḍu virulu*, as they are popularly called, flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. Nala Gamarāja, son of Anuṅgumaṇḍales'vara and Mailaladevi, is also known as Kamarāja or Anuṅguṇa Gamarāja. He ruled from Śaka 1056 (1134 A. D.) to Śaka 1085 (1163 A. D.), the earliest and the latest dates of his records, so far discovered. These inscriptions of Nala Gamarāja definitely settle the time of the heroes of Palnāḍu. A certain Anuṅgu maṇḍales'vara is mentioned in a record at Kārempuḍi (Guntur district), which states that a merchant built a temple for *virakoṭi* in Śaka 1346, corresponding to the cyclic year Krodhi (Ep. Coll. No. 557 of 1909; Ep. Rep. 1909, para 49, page 99). There was no chief by name Anuṅgumaṇḍales'vara ruling over Palnāḍu in Śaka 1346, as stated by the Government Epigraphist.

called Nāyaḍu-maṇḍapa, evidently dedicated to the heroes of Palnāḍu in the middle of the village of Kāreṃpūḍi, was erected by a certain Jivarakṣa Timmana.⁶⁸ Though stories illustrating the epic heroism of these chiefs were already current in the country during the latter Kākatiya period, and were narrated by *Virakathakas* on special occasions dedicated to their honour, this was the period in which heroic ballads composed to preserve the memory of the departed heroes came into existence. This was the age which produced the now popular Telugu ballad, the *Heroes of Palnāḍ*. This hero-worship or the cult of the heroes turned out to be one of the chief aspects of popular religion during this period.

Sahagamana :

Sahagamana or sati was another custom. Some of the Telugu works, like *Rukmāṅgadacaritra* and *Kaṭikhaṇḍam*, which were produced in this period, describe the custom of *sahagamana*, or following one's husband to the other world by immolating oneself on his funeral pyre. The latter work states that she who jumps into fire gladly without any fear or timidity, acquires as much *phala* as one would get by the performance of an *aśvamedhayaga*, that is, the horse sacrifice. The exuberant praise, lavished on this custom in the Telugu works referred to above, and the enumeration of different kinds of merit, which a married woman would reap by performing this rite, suggest that there was a conscious effort to popularise this custom. It seems probable that the Muslim invasions were, to some extent, indirectly responsible in inducing the leaders of the Hindu society to mobilise opinion to enforce this custom, if it was already in vogue. The atmosphere, which was surcharged with the spirit of self-sacrifice, and the social and political conditions then prevailing, added strength to this custom.

There is no denying the fact that this custom was in vogue in the period under review. "When any man dies", observes Friar Odoric, "they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But if the woman have sons by her husband she may abide with them, as she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there

68. An inscription (Ep. Coll. No. 555 of 1909) at that place, dated in Śaka 1367 Raktakṣi, that is, 1445-46 A. D. recording its construction, states that it was the spot where Silama Nayaḍu, one of the heroes of Palnāḍu, had planted his spear. "Quaint figures of Pina Mallidevarāja, Cilama Nayaḍu, Jivarakṣa Timmana, Pada Mallidevarāja, Mācerla Timmana, Ōbinēni (Ōbinēri is wrong; It is the accusative singular of Ōbinēḍu), and his family are all incised on the beam of the maṇḍapa (either as holding spears in their hands or standing in a worshipping posture)." — Ep. Rep. 1909, p. 99, para. 49.

is no law to impose the like on him; but he, if he likes, can take another wife" ⁶⁹. Friar Jordanus writes: "In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance, their bodies are burned; and ~~oke~~ their wives follow them alive to the fire, and, for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands, and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded; and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful! I have sometimes seen, for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead" ⁷⁰. "One who committed sati was revered as *pēraṅṭūlu* or *mahāsati* and occasionally her image was made in stone and worshipped.

Other Customs and Beliefs :

Hook-swinging also was a religious custom prevalent in this period. Mailāra Vīrabhaṭas or the servants of the god Mailāra referred to above, are said to have specially practised this custom. It is said that, piercing an iron-hook of a long spike to pass through the skin covering the breast-bone (*kaṅkāḷacarma* or through the fleshy part of the back) they used to swing round a may-pole in mid air.⁷¹ Nicolode Conti who witnessed this custom, describes it thus: "Others (other people making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot (in which the idol of God was placed, that is, in the *rathayatra* *mahāḍtsava* of God), by way of ornament and thus suspended and half dead, accompany their idol."⁷²

Fire-walking was another custom in vogue in this period. This was also practised by the servants of god Mailāra, who rushed into pits filled with live-embers and walked across them⁷³.

Practices of people of the Reddi times based on belief in luck, were varied and legion. Koravi Gōparāju gives a long list of bad omens⁷⁴. Before doing any act, the people of this age

69. *Foreign Notices*, p. 195.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

71. "కాలంపుచొంకిఁ గంకాళ్ నర్కము గ్రుచ్చి
యుడువీధి నయ్యెల్లలూరవారు..." —Kd. Rm., v. 142.

72. Major, Conti, p. 28.

73. "అవలంబముండు నెలవి చచ్చుమల్లెల
కోద్యువు నుండా చొచ్చువారు..." —Kd. Rm., v. 142.

74. Sm. Dv. I, i, v. 140; v. 281.

consulted omens. It was their belief that a thing could not be achieved and an attempt could not be successful without the *śakunabala*, strength of the omen. People consulted śakunikas, who were experts in the science of omens for everything they did. Vallabhamātya also mentions in his *Kṛṣṇābhīrāmam* some auspicious omens which are conducive to success⁷⁵. The list of omens mentioned in the works referred to before, shows that belief regarding omens had already taken a deep root in the country. Talismans also were commonly used for warding off evil. Belief in devils and goblins was common. Professional sorcerers were requisitioned to exercise the ghosts from possessed persons and haunted houses. Belief in witchcraft was strong among the people. It was the common belief in this age that one could be destroyed or killed by *abhicāra-hōmas*. Some of the ills or misfortunes one would get, were attributed to black magic, practised by an enemy agency.

The faith of the people of this age may be better understood by the following account of how the temple of god Narasimhasvāmin of Kōṅgukonda came into existence.

"A Vaiṣṇava teacher, Bhaṭṭari, of whom Mummaḍi Nayaka was the devoted disciple, told the chief one day that he had reached the last of his human births, and as soon as the existing mortal frame was given up, he would appear in the form of god Lakṣmī Narasimha on the hill at Kōṅgukonda. Soon after this revelation the teacher died and all about his rebirth as god Narasimha was, apparently, forgotten. A dancing girl of the village called Lakṣmīdāsi saw the teacher in a dream and was told by him of his manifestation on the Parāśaraśaila (the hill of Kōṅgukonda). The king being informed of this was at once reminded of what the teacher had told him, and permitted the dancing girl to build a temple. She wandered about in rags begging for money, pledged her daughter, earned the amount required, built a temple and consecrated therein Parāśara Nṛsimha, presenting, at the time of consecration, two villages^{76 77}.

People of those days believed that ardently religious people like saints and gurus incarnated themselves as gods. Another instance of this type may be cited. Cokkana Siṅgaṇaṅgāru, governor of Taṅgeḍa sīma in the reign of king Kumāragiri Redḍi, had a vision similar to that narrated above. As a result of that vision Siṅgaṇaṅgāru constructed a temple for god Narasimha at Anantagiri (Guntur district) and consecrated therein the image of that deity."

75. Kd. Rm.

76. Ep. Rep. p. 87, para 68.

77. Ep. Coll., No. 310 of 1926.

People believed in the efficacy of *mantras*, that is, magical formulas, and *japas*, in warding off evil, and in the acquisition of merit, when properly repeated and performed according to the sastric injunctions. Belief in supernatural powers of gods and *mantras*, and in the efficacy of *vratas* and other religious practices and ceremonies for the fulfilment of desires and ambitions was common. *Siddha-sarasvatī-mantra-japa*, *Śrī Rāma-mantra-japa*, *Gōpālā-mūtra-japa*, *Narasimha-mantra-japa* and *Pavamāni-mantra-japa* were in vogue. For averting bad days and ill-luck, *grahas* or planets were propitiated by religious rites and brahmans were fed sumptuously. In times of drought the idol of god Śiva in Śaiva temples was bathed in water poured from one thousand pots chanting *Varuṇa matras*. This ceremony was believed to bring down rain.⁷⁸ Brāhmans in general began to develop a sort of conservative outlook. To cross big rivers like the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā was believed to be harmful, like enmity with the members (judges) of the *dharmāsana*,⁷⁹ and crossing over the image of a god.

It was an age of miracles. People believed in the supernatural powers of the Siddhas and in their Siddhis, that is, acquisition of supernatural powers by magical means which were eight in number, namely, *anima*, *garima*, *mahima*, *laghima*, *prapti*, *prakāmya*, *iṣṭva* and *vasīṭva*. The magical sandals, magical staff, and the magical quail of the Siddhas were great wonders round which many romantic stories were woven.

Belief in alchemy was at its height. People regarded the Siddhas as adepts in alchemy. They had profound faith in *sparsāvedha* (*parusavēdi* in Telugu), and *dhūmavedha*, the two processes by which metals were converted into gold. Prōlaya Reddi, father of Vēma Reddi, the founder of the Konḍavīḍu kingdom, is credited to have known alchemy (*sparsākara-prasiddhiṁ labdhvā*). *Dhūmavedha* is alluded to in the work *Bhōjaraṅgam* by Anantāmātya. It is stated therein that the

78. “వరుణలింగంబునకుఁ దీర్చివారిధారి

వేయిపుటనూల నభిషేచి విధి యొనర్చు

వలపు వోనంబు వాయుల వాన నిరియుఁ

నిండ్రిలం బందు వారబోలు లెల్ల”... — Bh.Pr. III, v. 142.

79. “విశము మహానది దాఁలుట

యును నిరుచిప్రార్థనంకయును భర్తృవభౌ

జనవైరము జైవరలం

ఘనమును ఒరింప హని కార్తముల సుమి...” — Sm. Dr., I, III, v. 102.

assembly hall (*koluvu-cavike*) of king Bhōja, which was made of five *dhātus* (*pañca-lōhas*) in the palace called Anugumōḍa, was converted into gold by the process of *dhūmavedha*. A siddha was believed to have told a *vēiya*, who served him for a long time, the names of chemicals to be used, the way to mix them, and the process by which to turn metals into gold by the smoke of the compound⁸⁰. Another article was *anjanam* or the magical ointment that makes the treasures hidden in earth or those that were lost, visible⁸¹.

Vows to visit sacred shrines were much in vogue. People used to make vows to the deity of a particular shrine that, if by the grace of the deity they recovered from sickness, or obtained success in any undertaking or fulfilment of any desire, they would sacrifice an animal, make a votive offering, or take part in the next festival. Those who were blessed with children subsequent to the vow, were named after the deity they had vowed to.

It was common custom to sacrifice animals, like goats or sheep, in order to satisfy both gods and demons, when unearthing a treasure.⁸²

It was one of the interesting customs of those days to celebrate the marriage of the mango plant and the creeper *mādhari* with due pomp and ceremony.

Festivals:

Of all the festivals celebrated during this period *Vasantōtsava* or the spring festival was the most important. It was one of the major festivals of the age. In fact, this festival was observed by Hindus from very early centuries of the Christian era. It finds mention in *Kathasaritsāgara*. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras* refers to this festival as *Surasantaka*. Jayamaṅgala, the commentator of the *Kāmasūtras*, calls this festival *Madanamahōtsava*, an occasion marked by merry making with music and dance. There are references to this festival in the Sanskrit

80. “శౌపథముఁ చెప్పి యవి గూర్చుంధమును

శెప్పి దీపకహ్ని శిఖలమొండ

వైవ ధూమవేధలన లోహంబుఁ

హేమ మగు తెఱఁగఁ గెఱుంగఁజెప్పి...” — Bh. Rj. II, v. 180.

81. “... ఆంజన మచ్చి నవానికెన్ ధరా

కాంతమైనపెచ్చి ధూమ వన్నులకున్ బొడచూపుకొరదెన్” — V. Cr., I. v. 192.

82. Sm. Dv., I. i, v. 189.

dramas, *Maṇikāgnimitram* of Kalidasa and *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa. In fact, the latter drama opens with the *Vasantamahōtsava* celebrations. These references are enough to prove the antiquity of this festival.

This ancient festival acquired fresh importance in the Andhra country only during this period of Hindu revival. It became popular like the *crātas* and the *dānas*. Inscriptions of this period refer to *Vasantamahōtsava* celebrations of local gods. Some of the Sanskrit dramas, also of this period, are said to have been produced to be put on boards during the festival celebrations. All these attest to the great popularity of this festival.

Vasantamahōtsava was a seasonal festival celebrated at the approach of the vernal equinox. This is a festival devoted to Madana or Kāma, god of Love, and his friend and ally Vasanta, the presiding deity of the spring. This *Vasantamahōtsava* was also called *Madanamahōtsava*. It was primarily a romantic festival involving fun and frolic, music and dance, song and play, swinging, and swimming and all kinds of amusements. It was a festival for one and all, during which every one put on a gay dress, decorated oneself gaily and spent one's time in mirth and merriment. It was formerly held, according to Monier Williams, on the full moon of the month of Caitra, but now of Phālguna. The celebrations appear to have begun from the Vasanta-pañcami and lasted for nine days. These nine days were called *Vasantanavarātras*, the nine bright nights of the spring season. Both men and women, young and old took part in this festival and marched in procession in streets, singing love songs and dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music. Generally dancing girls and their paramours took an active part in these frolics.

This festival of *Madanamahōtsava* is described by Hēmadri in his *Vratakhanda*, wherein he narrates the following story about its origin. After marrying Gaurī, Siva, observing *Paśupatavṛata*, lost himself in meditation. Gaurī's desire for maternity remained unfulfilled. Brahma and other gods held consultations and sent Madana to disturb Siva's meditation, with the hope that he alone could divert Siva's attention. Madana accompanied by Vasanta, went in front of Siva who was then in deep contemplation, and having drawn his sugarcane-bow, discharged his missiles of flowers on Siva which disturbed his deep meditation and caused *madanōnmāda* or love madness. Siva burst into a rage and opened his third eye of fire reducing Madana to ashes. Madana's wife, Ratī, seeing her husband burnt to ashes, was stricken with great grief. Then with a heart softened by seeing her pitiable condition, Gaurī said to Siva, "you have burnt up Kāma who had come here for my sake. Pray, take pity

on his wife Ratī, and bring Madana, her husband, back to life." Siva replied, "How could Madana, once burnt to death by me, come to life again? However, I shall grant your request. In the spring season, on the thirteenth day of the light half of the month, he would reassume his bodily form." Having granted this boon, Siva is said to have gone to Kailāsa.⁸³ So the lunar thirteenth day of the bright fortnight was the day of Madana coming to life again. Hēmadri does not specify the month; but simply states that it is in the springtime. It is evident that it is the lunar thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. This spring carnival is therefore called *Madan mahōtsava* or *Vasantōtsava*.

The *pūjavidhāna* or the mode of worshipping Madana is also described by Hēmadri. It is said that, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright half, a representation of the *Āśoka* tree should be made after taking a bath, and the floor should be decorated with *kōlams*. Images of Kāmadēva, Vighnēśvara, Siva and Vasanta and *Apsarāganas* made either of gold or of any other metal or material, should be worshipped with incense, sandal paste, and flowers at midday by the king, along with his ministers, ladies and others. After the completion of worship, offerings of cakes of different kinds should be made to them and betel should be distributed among the brāhman couples with *dakṣiṇa*. It is further stated that, on this day, a wife should worship her husband by offering new clothes, flowers and ornaments. Those who observe this *Madanamahōtsava* are enjoined to keep holy vigil that night, and perform *rūsa-mahōtsava* or love-dance. Lamps should be lit, and wine should be offered to *sūdras*, and camphor, kuṅkuma powder, sandal paste and other perfumes and betel should be distributed.

Beautiful descriptions of this spring festival are furnished by the Telugu works *Simhasanadvāitīmālika*, *Bhīmeśvara Parāyaṇam* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* produced in this age. These works give us a clear idea of the celebration of the festival and the different ceremonies practised on this occasion. As the authors of these works lived in this age when the spring festival was at its zenith of popularity, we may be certain that, much influenced by the realistic grandeur of this carnival, they introduced it into their works, and provided us a good picture of the festival, as it was in vogue in their time.⁸⁴

83. Bibl. Ind., Vol. 1. Hemadri's *Vratakhanda*.

84. We gather from *Simhasanadvāitīmālika* the following account of the spring festival.

The ministers of State keep ready everything required for the celebration of the festival. A beautiful pavilion fit for the occasion is erected and elaborately decorated with golden arches and awning, under which a number of altars decorated with precious stones, are constructed for gods, like Kama, Vasanta and

The descriptions of the spring festival given in the works cited above, enable one to picture to one's self the manner in which it was celebrated in the period under review. It was customary for a king to go to a park adjoining the town with his queens, princes, nobles, poets, jesters and other common people in state, accompanied by his army. In this connection, it may be interesting to mention that there were different kinds of groves in the neighbourhood of each and every important town in the Andhra country during this period, as the planting of a garden was considered to be one of the seven meritorious acts. The king rested in a place specially arranged for him under a big shady tree in the garden, and spent some time in the company of poets, artists and jesters. Then his vassals and other

others. Every altar is beautified with plantain trees and plastered with musk. The floor of the *vedi* is ornamented with camphor *kolam* or lines in various designs, and adorned with *purṇa-kalasas*, that is, vessels filled with water, the symbols for plenty. The *vedi* is enclosed by the plant sweet marjoram. The king then starts in procession, and goes out of the city gate in state on horse-back to an adjoining park followed by his army, poets, dancers, buffoons, heroes, beautiful damsels (wearing rich apparel and jewels), who are veritable ornaments of the festival, and others, amidst the sounding of conches, kettle-drums, and other musical instruments. Poets and musicians chant the king's praises.

While the king takes a stroll in the park, a jester (*vidūṣaka*) writes a verse on a (mango) leaf and presents it to the king. The purport of this verse is this: whoever takes recourse to the *rasūla* (sweet mango tree) it becomes the root of the wealth of victory over Kama, the god of Love. The king thereafter spends some time in the company of jesters and poets. While the king is thus engaged, the damsels go round the garden to have a look at creepers and trees and to pluck flowers. Some play hide and seek behind the flower-bushes, swing on swings made of creepers singing *clatu*, a variety of songs. The lovers, their paramour and the courtesans are engaged in fun and frolic, and in plucking flowers. While the king rests in a place specially arranged for him, beautiful damsels make a present of flowers and flower garlands. Then the *samantas* and *maṇḍalikas* or vassals bring in their tribute to the king in the form of girls, horses, precious stones and other jewels. The minister introduces different chiefs and nobles to the king, whereupon the king enquires about their welfare.

After the completion of the function, the king enters the pavilion surrounded by young damsels, and worships with 'sixteen acts of civility' (*Ṣoḍaśōpacaras*), god^s Madana and his consort Ratī, Vasanta, Lakṣmī and her husband Upēndra, Gaurī and her lord Śiva, and Śacī and her husband Surēndra. During the period of worship *pañca-mahās'abhas*, the five great musical instruments are played, and lovely maidens sing and dance to the accompaniment of music.

After the worship is over, the king sports with beautiful damsels. They sling on one another camphor, sandal-paste, and other perfumed articles as in frolic. Other citizens also follow their example and do the same. Later on, the king and his ladies go to a lotus-tank and swim in water for a time. After finishing the bath the king with his queens gives audience to the public in the same park under a tree.

subordinates came to him and paid tribute. After this ceremony is over, the king went along with his queens to the pavilion in the park, containing different well decorated altars to different gods, specially constructed for the occasion, and worshipped Madana, god of Love, and Ratī, his consort, Vasanta, the ally of Madana, Lakṣmī and Acyuta, Śiva and Parvatī, Śacī and Indra, and Vighnēśvara, with incense, sandal, flowers and other things. Images of these gods were made of either gold, silver or any other material. The worship of gods came to a close with the distribution of betel and camphor with *dakṣiṇa* among brāhman couples. The king then scattered, among people who gathered there for the occasion, perfumes, such as camphor, musk, civet, saffron, sandal, and gave sanction for the spring sports. Men and women, boys and girls, the young and the old, husbands and wives, paramours and prostitutes, peasants and labourers, all joined in the great carnival. They freely indulged in sprinkling rosewater, water mixed with turmeric and

The *Bhīmaśvara Purāṇam* furnishes some more details about the festival, and the description of the festival therein is a complete one. Śrinatha, the author of that work, makes god Bhīmanatha of Dakṣharam or Dakṣavati celebrate this festival at the beginning of the spring season, attended by gods, *Apsarasas* and *Gandharvas*, and the village goddesses of Dakṣharam. Taking this occasion, Śrinatha gives a realistic account of the spring festival of his day. According to a hyperbole in this work, the *Dēvas* and the *Gandharvas* erect fortifications with camphor-pieces and musk, battlements with *kunkumadrava*, gate-ways with coral-tenders, large-doors with lotus-petals, arrange a moat with *agaru*-mud and rose water, *kōlams* with *raṭnankuras*, flags with silk-clothes, beautifully decorate the park attached to the temple of Bhīmanatha, and worship the mango trees. The *Apsaras* play on *kanaka vīṇas* sitting on the alurs in the Dakṣhavaṭika and sing *jadara* songs on Bhīmanatha. After a time, they got into cars and hit him with flower arrows. Then god Bhīmanatha distributes among the *Dēvas* *Gandharvas* and *Apsarasas*, sandal, musk, camphor and other perfumed substances in abundance, gives them, by a signal, sanction for sport and play. Then the sports begin.

One lady sprinkles the dust of flowers on Kumbhōdara, another damsel applies sandal and turmeric powder on the forehead of Bhṛīgūgiri. Another woman hits Virabhadra with a lump of sandal, on his chest. A beautiful girl squirted rose-water into the ears of Kala Bhairava. Another girl applied civet-paste to the head of Kumarasvamin. Another girl filling a jewelled vessel with civet, poured it on the pot-belly of Vighnēśvara. The village deities Gogu, Nuka, Maṇḍamadevī and Ghagṇatalli sported with *Bhūtakoṭi*, demons, by squirting ghee, oil, turmeric water, *kunkuma* and vermilion on one another, in the streets of Dakṣharam with joy and glee. Malavidevī sprinkled fragrant turmeric powder on Bhadrakālī, and Karmamott ejected musk-water filled in glass bottles. The *Dēva-vēśas* Raṁble, Menaka, Mañjughosī, Tilottama and others sprinkled sandal, rose-water, saffron-mud, civet, *saṅkunnada*, *javai*, and camphor pieces on Moon. During these spring sports water mixed with sandal, camphor and musk was showered on Acyuta by Lakṣmī, on Brahma by Sarasvatī, and on Mahendra by Śacī. After the termination of these spring sports and pastimes, god Bhīmadeva rewards the *Dēvas* and others with presents.

kumkum, and other things. For this they used bamboo syringes. The sport included sprinkling and scattering of various powders, coloured and un-coloured, perfumed and non-perfumed, and sandal paste. Camphor pieces and powder were showered on the crowds. Occasionally oily substances, like ghee, and oil, pure or mixed, were also freely squirted over one another.

After the termination of the sports, the king with his queens went to a lotus pond nearby and sported in water for a while. Returning from the lotus tank he gave audience to the public and rewarded poets and artists according to merit. Dramas were put on boards; dance recitals were given; musicians, showed their skill in music, both vocal and instrumental; and magicians and others proficient in other *kalas* or *vidyas*, came there in search of patronage, and displayed their feats of strength, skill and sleights of hand. It was a grand occasion for patronising Arts and Letters. In this way *Vasantamahōtsava* was the major festival of those days, which exercised great influence on the people culturally and socially. It was occasions like this that advanced the knowledge and culture of the common people. Every gifted person desirous of seeking royal patronage and approbation of the general public, showed his dexterity and skill in Arts and Letters, tried to excel the standards previously set up, and to win laurels from the king.

It was the Reddi kings of Kondavīḍu, who by their participation in the festival, imparted to it some royal grandeur, and converted it into a country-wide national festival. The first Reddi king known to us to have taken an active part in this *Vasantōtsava* was king Anavēma. Many verses in his copper-plate records attest to his ardour and activities in the *Vasantōtsava* celebrations. His *Drujjavaram*⁸⁵ grant states that Anavēma successfully celebrated the spring festival every year with musk, saffron, sandal, rose-water, camphor and other articles. It poetically describes that the rose-water, mixed with particles of musk and showered during the spring festivities, resembled a heavy downpour of rain, and the scattering of camphor pieces among the people a hail-storm. One of the verses in his *Naḍupūru* grant⁸⁶ describes him as having "caused not only the earth but also the sky scented with musk, camphor, and sandal scattered in the spring festival". The composer of this grant shows in another verse his poetical skill by asking the question: "Did the three worlds become white through the copious camphor powder scattered at the spring festival, or through his fame"⁸⁷?

85. *Reddi Rāgi*, Vol. III, p. 139 (1926); C. P. No. 15 of 1922-23.

86. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 289, v. 13.

87. *Ibid*, v. 14.

Anavōma was also called Vasantarāya and Karpūra Vasantarāya, a name he richly deserves by the celebration of this spring festival with plenty of camphor. He is eulogised in his Śrīśailam record⁸⁸ as *ghanasāra-kastūrik-ādi-eastu-risāra-tiracit-āpūrvavaribhava*, he who had the extraordinary glory caused by the abundance of sandal, musk and other articles. In the time of the Redḍi kings this festival was annually celebrated at Koṇḍaviḍu with great pomp. Anavōma's successor, king Kumāragiri had also the titles Vasantarāya and Karpūra-vasantarāya. He named his work on *Nāṭya Śāstra Vasantarājīyam* after his surname Vasantarāya. His brother-in-law and prime minister, Kāṭaya Vōma, says, in his commentary *Kumāragirirājīyam*, that Kumāragiri Redḍi took part in new dances, in the company of beautiful damsels and in spring festivals." The policy adopted by king Anavōtā Redḍi regarding sea-borne trade, and the charter he granted to the merchants of Mōṭupalli who traded with distant islands and coastal towns, "was fruitful of beneficial results", and increased the wealth of the country. The extensive sea-borne trade carried on by merchants, ever since the granting of the charter, by Anavōtā made camphor, sandal, musk and other articles of merchandise of distant countries and islands, available to the people in the Redḍi kingdom in plenty. They imparted a solemn grandeur to the spring festival, and a pleasing fragrance to the social life of the age. Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi, the merchant-prince contemporaneous with king Kumāragiri Redḍi, supplied to the king all the musk, saffron, camphor, civet, rose-water, eaglewood, sandal, and other aromatic substances required for the great spring festival. We come to know from the *Haravilasam* that he used to open a perfumery emporium at Koṇḍaviḍu during the period of festivities. The following observations of Nicolo de Conti seem to apply to this spring festival. "There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passersby even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water, placed for the purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter."⁹⁰

Conti enumerates some more festivals. He writes, "thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity. On one of these occasions, the males and females of all ages having bathed in the river or in the sea, clad themselves in new garments and spend three entire days in singing dancing and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples and on the outside on the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of susimanni, which are kept burning day and night. On the third which

88. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

89. A. S. P. P., Vol. X; Ep. Ind., IV, p. 226.

90. Major, Conti, pp. 28-29, 89.

lasts nine days they set up in all high ways, large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams, is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people who pelt them with oranges, lemons and other odoriferous fruits all which they bear most patiently"⁹¹.

It is difficult to say what these festivals were. The festival of lamps which he refers to as the second one, seems to be the *deepāvalī* festival that occurs on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Āśvīja. However, we come to know some more festivals which were then in vogue from inscriptions and literature. It is needless to say that the new year's day was one of the chief festivals of the Andhras, even though it does not find mention in the records of the period. There were three chief *pūrṇimas* (*purnami* days, full moon days) which were regarded as festive occasions, namely *Davana-Purnama*, the full moon day or the fifteenth day of the light half of the month of Caitra, *Nūli-Purnama*, the fifteenth day of the light half of the month of Srāvaṇa, and *Kartika-Pūrṇima*, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārtika. *Davana-Pūrṇima* seems to have been associated with the festival of *Dolōtsava*". The spring festivities probably came to a close with this *Davana-Purnama*. It seems to have been the custom, particularly among *vēśyas*, or courtesans in the Telugu country to revere their gurus or teachers of Arts on this day, and offer them *kaṇams*,⁹² that is, fees or presents. The *Paṇḍitarādhyacaritra* tells us that a certain *vēśya* paid *kaṇam* to her guru on this day of *Davana Purnama* pledging her chain (*saṇipēṇa*). The annual festival of god Teluṅgu Rāya of Kākulāṁ Srikā-kulāṁ, Kistna district) used to be celebrated on this *Davana Purnama*.⁹³ *Nūli Purnama*, Srāvaṇa Pūrṇamī, as it is otherwise called, was another festive occasion. The ceremony of renewing or wearing new sacred thread or *gaṇḍāṇḍī* is performed on this day every year; hence, the

91. Ibid.

92. Two inscriptions at Daksharam dated in Śaka 1197 and Śaka 1209 register grants for *haribalyarcana*s to god Bhīmaśvara on the occasion of *Dolōtsava* on *davana Purnama*— Vide — S. I. I. IV, No. 1373, and No. 1368.

93. "తెలంగాల మండలి దళపతులను

సరిపాసి నోయిడి కట్టు కుప్పె". . . Pn. Cr., II, P. 360.

94. "దళపతులను గానకాధ్యక్షులైన

తెలంగాలరాజులు దళపాదీశ్వరుండు

భువనహితముగ నుత్సవం జరుగరింప

నందు బోయితి మీ బోయినట్టియెడు . . ."

— Kd. Rm., v, 204.

name, *nūli punnāma*. On this day it was the custom to give a feast to boy devotees⁹⁵ (*bāla bhaktas*) and young *brahmachārin*s. *Kārtika pūrṇimā* is a day sacred to god Siva. We are told in the *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam* that the sage, Agastya, with his wife entered the fire arch *jvalā* (*tīrṇa*) on the full moon day of the month of Kārtika at Dākshāram.⁹⁶ This act is believed to wash off all sins.

Śrījayanti, a popular festival, even to-day, is referred to in a record⁹⁷ at Mādala in the Guntur district. *Lakṣmī-utsavamulu*, or *Mahālakṣmī paṇḍugulu* as they are also called, constituted the autumnal festival, the counter-part of the spring festival. This festival comes in Śarat, the fourth of the six seasons of the luni-solar year, and lasts for nine days like the spring festival. Hence, these days of festivity are called *Śaran-navarātras*. This festival also had the same cultural value as the spring one; for, it is said that, on occasions like this, kings and nobles of the country used to reward poets, spiritual preceptors, musicians, and dancers.⁹⁸ Besides these, there were the Gautamī and the Kṛṣṇa *puṣkaram* festivals which come once in every twelve years, when Brhaspati (Jupiter) enters the two signs of Zodiac, the Simha (Leo), and the Kanyā (Virgo) respectively. The period of *puṣkaram* is a sacred occasion, when people from different parts of the country make a pilgrimage to the nearest *tīrtha* or holy place situated on their banks, to have a bath in the holy waters and acquire merit. The festival of Gautamī *puṣkaram* is referred to in an inscription⁹⁹ at Palivela (East Godavari district) dated in Śaka 1345, and in the *Paṇḍitārādhyaacaritra* also. Similarly, the festival of the Kṛṣṇa-*puṣkaram* is alluded to in a record¹⁰⁰ at Kētavaram (Guntur district). In addition to these, there were other sacred occasions, like the *Arthodaya-puṇyakāla* and the *Mahodaya-puṇyakāla*, on which a bath in the sea or in a river was considered to be meritorious.

95. “నగోపున్న సునాడు నూపురం బిచ్చి
బాలభక్తుల కొప్పల బండుచేసేసె...” —Pn. Cr., II. P. 361.

96. “కార్తిక శర భిషకంకనని నగర
వింధ్యసగస్తంభయిరి దూతె విమలబాధి
తొయ్యోయుఁ దాను జిచ్చునొరణంబు
కలుషసంహతి సఁహర కారణంబు...” —Ks. Kh., III, v, 21.

97. Ep. Coll., No. 312 of 1932-33; Ep. Rep., 1913, 77, Para 57.

98. “అవని నవంతి భూవరుఁ డాదిగఁ బాగిపు నెల్ల లక్ష్మీయు
త్సవములుమున్ను గాఁ గనుఁ బ్రశస్తమునై సమయంబులందు స
త్కృతులను బాకొత్తముల గాయకుల వృటుల న్విత్తీర్తి చే
ధములఁదన్నఁజొచ్చిరి ప్రభావసమృద్ధుల నిందుపుట్టెన్.” —Sm. Dv., II, vii, v, 93.

99. S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 114.

100. Ep. Coll., No. 290 of 1934-35.

CHAPTER V.

AGRICULTURE

Andhra was predominantly an agricultural country, as it is even to-day, and a great majority of the people was engaged in agriculture. It was the profession mainly of the vaiśyas and sūdras, the last two classes of the Hindu Social Order. Though some of the members of these two *varṇas* took to other walks of life, the majority of them was in agriculture. Brāhmins were precluded from taking to agriculture by the Dharma Śāstras. Hence, *agrahāras* granted to them were generally cultivated by members of the fourth caste, who resided in small hamlets attached to *agraharas*, called *pūṇḍas*, *gramaṭikas* and *grama-grasapu pallis*. Instances are not wanting to show that some brāhmins of the age actually tilled the soil.

Extent of Arable Land:

There was an extensive fallow land in every village. We come to know from the Muslim histories, inscriptions, the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and the *Local Records*, that great stretches of land were covered with scrub or jungle, and the extent of arable land was much less than what it is today. The clearing of forests to the east of Srisaïlam in the Kurnool district, and the building of villages thereabout, is attributed by inscriptions and the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* to Trilōcana Pallava, alias Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi of the Pallava dynasty, and to Kākati Pratāparudra. Each and every local dynasty brought great patches of land under cultivation and increased the extent of arable land. Even during the period under review, there were great forests both in the coastal plain and in the mountainous regions. The tract of country, on either side of the river Paṁpā around Mummaḍivīḍu (the present Mummaḍivaram in Amalapuram taluk) of the East Godavari district, was a great jungle. There were great *bilva* forests on the banks of the river Tulyabhāga, which runs through the present Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Godavari district. In fact, there were many *vana dugrgas*, forts protected by great forests, which were captured by kings of this age. Agriculture was therefore limited in extent and confined to the regions devoid of forests.

Soil:

It is unnecessary to deal with the physical features of the coastal region. As a rule, the upland and hilly tracts are formed by hard clay and rocky soils, and the low-lying plains by soft alluvial clay, loam and

sandy ones. The Telugu poet, Srinātha, in one of his *cāṭus*, leaves behind him a description of the upland Palnāḍu country, which was separated from coastal plain by hills and jungles. He says that the villages in the Palnāḍi *śima* were characterised by small rocks and minor deities, *nāpa* slabs, waters of the Nagulōḡu, serpents and scorpions, and *saṣṣa* and *jonna* meals.¹ The above description gives us a general idea of the nature of the great upland provinces comprising the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

Classification of Lands :

For purposes of taxation, arable land was classified under three categories, namely, dry, wet, and garden land. Dry land was called '*velipolamu*' or '*relicēnu*', wet, as '*nīrunela*' or '*māḡāṇi*', and garden land, as '*tōṭabhūmi*'. Lands were assessed in accordance with this classification. The assessment on the last two kinds of land was naturally higher than on the first.

Land Survey and Land Measures :

All arable land was surveyed by means of a pole, or a measuring rod. We do not know if this survey was periodical. It is stated in the text-books on *Gaṇita* current in the time of the last Kākatiya monarch, that there were different kinds of poles of varying measurement in use in different countries and localities, and that the land measured with a single pole lengthwise and breadthwise, was one *kuṇṭa* in extent.² This statement is corroborated by inscriptions which allude to different poles, as settled by surveyors in different localities. From the records of the Redḍi period *Kēsaripaṭi-gaḍa*, or pole appears to have been the

1. చిన్న చిన్న రాళ్ళు చిల్లనదేవుళ్ళు
నగులేటివీళ్ళు నాపరాళ్ళు
సజ్జొన్న కూళ్ళు పర్వములను దేవుళ్ళు
పల్లెనాటిసీమ పల్లెటూళ్ళు.
2. నానాదేశములందును
నానావిధమైన గడ్డలు నన్నిదమైనవి
దాన నిలుదిక్కు లొకసరి
గా నుండిన చేత కంట గణితవిధిగా.
నిడుపు పెద్దప్పుడు నొక్కొక
గడ్డయినను గుటచును గూతంపం గా
గడ్డచే గంటల కూడుము
తడచుక పెరిచేయ కొలిచి తథ్యము కాగలె.

standard rod in measuring lands in the coastal region. It was in use at least from the time of Kakati Pratāparudra, if not earlier. The text-books on *Gaṇita* of the Kakatiya period give the lineal measure of land according to '*Kesaripāṇi-gaḍa*'. In settling the length of the pole the *aṅguḷa* was taken as the unit. According to the *Gaṇita* texts, *aṅguḷa* was half of the circumference of the thumb, the length of three *yava* seeds, or half the length of the middle finger. Twelve such *aṅguḷas* make one *jena*, and thirty two such *jenas* make one *gaḍa* or pole.³ Generally, the thumb of a person, approved by the king or other chief officers of State, is taken for settling the standard unit of *aṅguḷa*. When once it was determined, the pole was measured in accordance with it, and it was the custom of the country to sketch a portion of its length on a stone pillar in a temple for the guidance of future generations. Such representations of poles or measuring rods of fields are found on pillars in temples in the villages of Penumūli,⁴ Prattipāḍu,⁵ Mōpattu⁶ and Komūru⁷ in the Guntur district. The sketch of the standard measure on the

3. ఆంధ్రపుట పరిపాక్షికం

ఒకటి మును: మాత్రాపాక్షికం యాదా రెన్నంగా

నంగుళి మును: మరయును ము

ధాన్యగుళి వధ్యపక్షిక మంగుళి మున్నులు .

పెండియు వధ్యగుళిములు

పెండిం దొక జేసి యాయ్యెం బరికింపంగా

ఒండితి జేసలు ముప్పది

రెండొక అడుమాన్నిమై ధర్మిని వెలయున్ .

అంబునిగ్గయం ఒకటి కేసరిపాటి

అడు ప్రమాణమును అడు మొదలు

మంటల నెలము లాగున రెండుపాటిలు (?)

అడులన గ్గము క్షేత్రములయందు

రెండుగా ఒగ్గిన నీజాకరికి నెల్ల

పరిమాణ సెఱుగుట వరుసతోడ

నోనగ్గధూమల కొలయులు గాంచుట

ప్రతులు ముందు దిశాపటలి: గనుట

మఱియు లోకును లాదిగా ఒరగుచున్న

చేలు మహిమను నొల్పి ప్రసిద్ధియున

కేసరిపాటికంబు కెన్నెక ముత్రితిమున్ .” —*Kṣetra Gaṇita*, A.S.P.L., No. 1080.

4. Ep. Coll., No. 181 of 1917.

5. Ep. Coll., No. 145 of 1917.

6. Ep. Coll., No. 659 of 1920.

7. Ep. Coll., No. 825 of 1932.

temple pillar at Penumūli was drawn in Śaka 1236, that is, in 1314 A.D., during the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra. At Mopāṅṅu, a Sanskrit ślōka, defining the lengths of the linear measures of *aṅgula*, *vitasti* (*jēna*), and *daṇḍaka* (*gaḍa*), and a Telugu passage, was also inscribed above the sketch of the pole given thereon, and these strictly conform to the definitions of the same, given in the Gaṇita texts of the time of Pratāparudra. "Half of the circumference of a thumb is an *aṅgula*. Twelve *aṅgulas* make one *vitasti*, and thirty two *vitastis* make one *daṇḍaka*." The Telugu passage states that the *Kesaripāṭi-gaḍa* is equivalent to the *daṇḍaka*. The sketch of a *jēna*, drawn on one of the square sides of a pillar in the *Daṇḍavarasvāmi* temple at Prattipāḍu, measures exactly one and a half foot or eighteen inches with a foot-rule. According to the inscription, thirty two *jēnas* with this standard *jēna* make one *gaḍa*, and one hundred and twelve and a half *kuṇṭas*, measured with this pole, make one '*Kesaripāṭi tūmu*.' It is said that this standard pole was determined by Puruṣōttamayya, the *rāyasaṁ* of Rayapa Nāyaka. The inscription at Kommūru also gives the length of the measuring rod in terms of *vitastis* as determined by the same Puruṣōttamayya, and defines the *Kesaripāṭi tūmu*. The undated inscription ^{8a} at Nandivelugu (Tenali taluk, Guntur district) refers to the grain measure which is also called *Kesaripāṭi tūmu*. Evidently the same measure was used for measuring area as well as cubic contents. According to the texts on Gaṇita, a *Kesaripāṭi tūmu* consisted of two *irasas* or four *kuṇṭas*. One putti, whether of land or of

8. This is the text of the inscription :

“ రాయపనాయని వారి రాయసం పురుషోత్తమయ్య నిష్పాదించిన
పరచిన ఘటప్రమాణం యీ కానలు 32 ఘట [ప్రొడు] న
౧౧౨౪సంబలు కేశరిపాటి తూము. ”

I went to Prattipāḍu and took the measurement of the sketch given on the right side of the inscription. It measures exactly one and a half foot with a foot rule.

9. “ ప్రకటింతు కేశరిపాటి శ్రీత్రంబుల

నలరిన బీజసంఖ్యాత మదియు
మాటపల్లెండర పాటిగా నొకతూము
ఏబదాఱుంబాది కిరస యయ్యె
ఇళవకెన్మిదిపర కర్పడఁ గుంచెడు
సమనాల్గవీడము పరగు నడ్డ
ఏడొక యరివీస మేవార మానిక
తూటిపై నఱకాని ముప్ప (?) రవ్వ

grain, consisted of twenty *Kesaripāṭi tūnus*, that is to say, eighty *kuñcas* of grain make one *puṭṭi*. It may not be out of place to refer here to the grain measure *puṭṭi* of eighty *kuñcas*, called *Palle puṭṭi*, which is still in use in some localities in the East Godavari district. This *Palle puṭṭi* was formerly in use in the coastal tracts until its supersession by the *Malaka puṭṭi*, probably introduced by Malakas or Mussalmans, either the Bahmanīs, the Kutub Shāhis of Gōlkonḍa, or the Asafjāhis of Hyderabad¹⁰. The texts on Gaṇita enjoin on surveyors of land to leave out, while measuring, as much space as that of a cow's foot ('*gḍapāda*') for each pole.¹¹

Just as there was difference in assesment between the dry and wet lands, there was difference also in their standard measures. It was an ancient custom to give the extent of dry land, *velipolanu*, or *velicenu* in *khamḍikas* or *khamḍuvus*, and that of the wet land, in *maruturu*. The term *marutu* or *martu* finds mention in the early Telugu and Canarese inscriptions. *Marturu*, the plural of *martu*, changed later on into *mallar* in Canarese. Just as the area of dry land was expressed in *Kesaripāṭi tūnu*, that of wet land was given in *martu*. That a *martu* was equal to, or corresponded to a Sanskrit *nivartana*, is known from the Pāṭkhāl inscription¹² of Gaṇapatidēva of the Kakatiya dynasty. The land granted to the 'Kavicakravarti', the composer of that inscription, is stated to be five *nivartanas* in the Sanskrit portion, and five *martus* in the Telugu portion, of the record. An inscription¹³ of the thirteenth

అకిటి ముప్పాతి నుం జూప నొక గ్రామం
 ఏనువకులు దా నొనగూడె కిం
 పరగ నరనోల ఎఱుంగుడి పరుసతోడ
 గణితపండిత, విను మిది గణితహరము¹⁴.

I have quoted the verse without correcting the mistakes.

10. It is not known why that measure is called *Palle puṭṭi*, which is really the *Kesaripāṭi-puṭṭi* itself. The term *Palle* in *Palle puṭṭi* appears to have some connection with, or to have been the corrupt form of Pallava. If this surmise is correct, we may be perhaps justified in thinking that this grain measure was in vogue from the time of Pallava kings who held sway in the coastal region to the south of the Kṛṣṇa, prior to the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi.

11. "కొలుచు నోట గడకు నొప్పారమంలేనీ
 యడను (1) ఏనువకున్న యశము తఱుంగు
 గాన కొలుచు బారిఁ గ్రామక మీర్తియు
 భక్త మానరించి తనకుడయ్యె."

12. Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 4, verse, 41.

13. N. D., I. I., C. P., No. 17, v. 28, p. 117.

*Dasa-hastena-danḍena trisad-danḍa nivartanam
 tan-gana dasa-gḍarma tad-danaḍ-Āyutam phalam.*

century from the Nellore district gives the extent of a *nivartana*, as follows, while defining the land measure called *gōcarma*. Ten *hastas* make one *daṇḍa*; thirty (*trīṃśati*) *daṇḍas* make one *nivartana*; ten *nivartanas* make one *gōcarma*. But Hēmadri, minister of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, defines a *nivartana*, in his great work *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, as equal to twenty *daṇḍas* or 200 *hastas*, or 40,000 *has* as square. *Hasta* is a measure of length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, and equals to twenty four *aṅgulas*. From this it is evident that two *viśastis* make one *hasta*. In view of Hēmadri's statement, the reading *trīṃśati* (thirty), given in the Nellore record quoted above, seems to be a mistake for '*trīṃśati*', which means twenty.¹⁴ Since Hēmadri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* was very popular in the Andhra coastal area during the period under review, *nivartana* as given by him, may be taken to have been in vogue then.

Paddy Seasons :

Cultivation of chief crops in different localities in the Andhra country was determined chiefly by the character of the soil besides rainfall and other climatic conditions. Rice and millet were the staple crops. A perusal of inscriptions of the Kākatiya period and a few of the Redḍi period¹⁵ discloses the fact that there were generally two harvests, one in the month of Vaiśākha (April-May), and the other in the month of Kārtika (October-November). This shows that paddy had two main seasons, known as *Vaiśākham* and *Kārtikam*, the two months in which the harvest was gathered. It might be, because of these seasons, that the tax in kind due to the State from the agriculturist, was collected in the months referred to above. The tax the cultivator had to pay in kind was called *kōru*, or *kōru-pālu* (king's share), and the cultivator's share of the produce was called *mēḍi-pālu* (the ryot's share). In almost all big villages the king had *rāca-gādelu* (royal granaries) to store the king's share of grain. Of these two harvests, that which comes in the month of Kārtika appears to be the principal one; for, whenever the two are referred to, *Kārtikam* is mentioned first as a rule, and *Vaiśākham* next. It is but proper to mention it first, since it comes after the close of the period of the South-West monsoon which brings rain to the coastal tracts of the Andhra country.

14. The texts in the inscriptions of the Nellore district are full of mistakes. The readings are very faulty. It is very necessary to correct, re-edit it and publish these inscriptions. It is no wonder if the word '*trīṃśati*' was wrongly read as '*trīṃśati*' by the authors. According to the *Līlavatigṇita* also one *nivartana*, *nirāṇa* as it was also called, was equal to twenty *raṇṇas* (bamboo poles) or *daṇḍakas*, and the length of each *raṇṇa* corresponded to ten *hastas*.

15. Ep. Coll. 380 of 1926.

Agricultural Implements :

The tillage implements were, as they still are, very few and simple, and they were prepared by the village blacksmith, who was one of the twelve servants of the village. His services were remunerated by *ināms*, called *vṛtti-mānyams*.

Irrigation :

The soil of the country being generally dry, artificial irrigation was necessary. Irrigation works consisted of three principal types, namely, wells including *doruvu* wells on the river banks, river-channels, and tanks or reservoirs formed by constructing embankments across two hills, and rivulets or streams." The Telugu work *Sinhāsanadvā-trimūṭika* gives a list of sources of irrigation and appliances to lift water from a lower to a higher level, such as *kālvalu* (canals), *pāyalu* (branches of rivers), *kōḷḷu* (artificial canals or marshes), and *rāṭnamulu* (appliances to draw water or water-wheels worked with feet)." In the regions of black soil where its depth is moderate, and the sub-layer is porous, well-irrigation was in vogue.

Water was drawn from wells, and if the fields were on a higher level, from channels, canals, and watery marshes etc., by means of lifts, like *ṭam* (picottah), and *kapila* (*moṭṭa*). There were *diguḍu bāvis* (wells having steps to descend into) besides the ordinary wells. Irrigation from wells was rare in upland regions and common in plains, especially in the regions in the neighbourhood of rivers. It is only in the Nagaram and the Amalāpuram taluks in the East Godavari district that wells which are stated to have been dug during the Reddi period are found today. "They are very large, from eighteen to twenty four feet deep, hold from six to twelve feet of water, are rivetted with bricks and are said to be very ancient. They are some times called 'Jain' wells, and are supposed to date from the days when the Jain faith prevailed in the country; in Amalāpuram they are sometimes called

16. ".....పల్లములు చిక్కవి కోయ్యలఁ ద్రవ్వి విస్తరున్
గోరిగ యారటంబులఁ గొండల కాలువలడ్డకట్టుదున్
నీరికి....." —Hr. Vm., II, ix, p. 233.

17. "ఈయెడఁ గర్మభూమియను దేవ్వరికైవసు బుద్ధినేయునన్
దేయఁగలేదు కాల మెడఁగేసిన నేతములెత్తి కావ్యముం
బ్రాహ్మణఁ గోర్పు నూతులను బ్రావులు రాట్లు ములున్ జలార్థమై
చేయఁగ నాయెఁ గాక చుట్టి చేరుచినాఁడని నామె పుట్టునె." —

'Reḍḍis' wells'. They are largely used for the irrigation of areca and coconut plantations, and the supply in them is said to be practically perennial."¹⁸

Natural River Channels, Ponds and Canals :

There were natural spring and river channels and creeks which helped the cultivator to irrigate his fields. Land irrigated by water from such channels, yielded two (and probably three) crops of rice.¹⁹ Besides these water-logged low lands, natural ponds, swamps, and marshes, called *paḍiyas*, *pāḍes*²⁰ or *paḍavas* (*bāḍavas*), were also utilised for irrigation purposes.

Canals were dug for carrying water from the sandy beds of rivers and rivulets. Nāmaya Nayaka is said to have ruled the country watered by the river Ēlā (*Ēlānāḍimātṛkū*).²¹ This statement suggests that the land in his kingdom was irrigated by canals dug out from the river Ēlā (*Elēḡu*). Such irrigation canals are referred to in the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*.²² Irrigation by canals wherever possible was a special feature of the low-lying tracts. Many *agraharas* were irrigated by such artificial canals.²³ These artificial canals were called '*kroppum-gūliyalu*' (*kroccu* to dig; *kroppum-gūliya*, a dug-out canal). Such canals as these were also dug by private individuals for acquiring merit for themselves, or for their near relatives.²⁴

Irrigation Tanks :

Irrigation by tanks was one of the chief features of the ancient Andhra country, mainly to the south of the Kṛṣṇā. A large number

18. Dg. Gd., Vol. I. p. 89.

19. " ఏటేటా విరిసేట నిరు గారునుం బండుం

ప్రాసంగువరచేల పసిడిచాయ" — Bh. Pr., II, v. 54.

20. The term '*paḍe*' means a marsh; it was larger than a '*paḍiya*', a small pond. *Paḍava*, the modern *baḍava*, is another form of *paḍe*. *Paḍe* does not mean a waste as is understood by some scholars.

"పడ్డ పాడవ" — S. I. I. Vol. No 46.

21. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 357, and p. 369, l. 28.

ప్రాసంగువరచేల పసిడిచాయ" — Bh. Pr., II, v. 54.

22. " ఏలేటి యేటి కాలువలవన నదీమార్త్యకలబులకు పంటవలంబి".....

—Bh. Pr., II, Pr. 55.

23. ".....అశేడు సారణి

సలిల వివర్ధనా బహువిధ్య సమాకుల మగ్రహారమై....." — Bh. Pr., I, v. 49.

24. S. I. I. V. No. 37.

of good-sized tanks, found in the Guntur, Nellore, and Kurnool districts, were almost all constructed during the Hindu period, some at the expense of the State, and others by private individuals, as a meritorious act for the continuance of their name for ever. The construction of a tank is classed among the *Sapta-santānas* or seven kinds of progeny that keep on one's name for ever.²⁵ Though tanks are generally dug or excavated in the areas of soft clay soil, they are as a rule constructed in the catchment areas in the upland regions of hard soil, and land below such tanks was utilised for growing rice and garden crops.

The Pōrumamilla tank inscription, dated in Saka 1291, of the Vijayanagar prince Bhaskara Bhavadūra, the governor of Udayagiri, is a remarkable record of this period giving details and specification of sites for tanks and their construction. The inscription enumerates the twelve essentials (*āgas* or *sādhana*s) for the construction of a good tank as specified in the Śāstras, namely,

“(i) A king (who undertakes this work) endowed with righteousness, rich, happy and desirous of acquiring the permanent wealth of fame;

“(ii) A brahmana learned in Hydrology or the science of water (*pāthas Śāstra*);

“(iii) A ground of hard soil;

“(iv) A river conveying sweet water from a distance of three *yōjanas*;

“(v) Two projected portions of hills in contact with it (the site of the tank);

“(vi) An embankment or a dam of stone wall, not too long but firm between the projected portions of the hills;

“(vii) The two extremities of hills devoid of fruit-giving land (*phala-sthira*);

“(viii) The bed of the tank extensive and deep;

“(ix) A quarry containing straight and long stones;

“(x) A fertile low land in the neighbourhood;

25. “నందనుడు వనము నల్లనిది నుది

గృహము చెలువు మేలికృతి యనం

జగతి వెలయు సప్తపంచానమలు విని

బుద్ధిమలు యశంశు బొందవచ్చు” —Kh. Cr., I. v. 8.

"(xi) A water course having strong eddies in the mountain region ;

"(xii) A gang of men skilled in the art of tank construction. "

The six *dōṣas* or faults to be avoided also are given : - They are (1) water oozing from the dam, (2) saline soil ; (3) site at the boundary of two kingdoms; (4) a tank bed with an elevation in the middle ; (5) scanty supply of water and extensive stretch of land to be irrigated ; (6) too little land irrigated and excess or over-supply of water. " The Pōrumāṁilla tank ²¹ in the Badvel taluk of the Cuddapah district was constructed in accordance with the *lakṣaṇas* given above. This inscription gives us an idea of how tanks in the hard clay soil in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā were constructed during the post-Kakatiya period. These were all rain-fed tanks, and depended for their water-supply on rainfall. Because of their large size these tanks were and

26. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV. p. 103. verses 37, 38 and 39.

धर्माढ्यो धनवान् सुखी स्थिरयशो द्रव्याभिलाषीनृपः

पाथशशास्त्रविदग्रजश्च दृढमृत्मंशोभिताचोर्वरा

माधुर्याम्बुवह्नियोजननदी तद्योगवण्डोगिणि

स्मेनुस्तत्र विनिर्मितो घनशिनाभिव्यल्पदीर्घास्थिरः ॥ v. 37.

शृङ्गो बाह्यफनस्थिरा परिहृतो विस्तीर्णनिम्नोदग्म

(एज्वायामर) मृज्वायामदृक्त्वनिश्च निकटक्षेत्रं फलाढ्यं समम्

अद्रिस्थानदृढभ्रमाजलगतिस्तत्कर्ममर्त्यव्रज

श्वेदम्रादशसाधनं च गुलभः श्रेष्ठस्तटाको भुविः ॥ v. 38.

मेनोश्च जालं जलमृषगेर्वी

द्विगज(शि) सन्धावथमध्यकूर्मम्

अल्पाभ्युभ्विस्तरमल्पभूमि

स्तोयाधिकं चावदि दोषषट्कम् ॥ v. 39.

27. It is stated in the inscription that "for two years, 1000 labourers were working daily on the tank and the dam; and 100 carts were engaged in getting stones for walls which formed a part of the masonry work." We are told that the dam was 5000 *rekhadamḍas* wide and seven high. The length and breadth of that tank at the present day is seven miles and two and a half mile respectively. The details of this tank are given here in order to give the reader an idea of the size of these artificial reservoirs.

are called *Sāgaras* or *Samudras* (seas). Ruins of such tanks as these and their embankments can be seen even to-day in the Guntur district; for instance, an embankment to the north of the village of Doṇḍapāḍu in the Vinukonda taluk connected formerly two hills to form a tank which irrigated the country as far as Vinukonda.²⁸ Near the village of Kollūru in the Sattenapalli taluk are found traces of two bunds of ruined tanks, 'originally intended to collect the water from the hills on the east.'²⁹ *Santānasagara* was one such tank constructed during the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma by his wife Sūrambika. This fact is known to us from an inscription³⁰ in the Vīrabhadrasvāmi temple in the village of Phirangipuram in the Sattenapalli taluk, dated in Śaka 1331.

The Nagulēgu, which runs through Palnāḍu, had "a massive embankment which once dammed up its waters between the hills of Kāreṃpūḍi and that of the Singaraṇṇa *agrahāram*. At Dacēpalli, Gamalapāḍu and Saṅkarapuram were huge stone dams, called *kuṭṭuvās*, whence small irrigation channels led to some garden lands."³¹ Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's son Rāca Vēma, the last Redḍi monarch that sat on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu, had a channel, called *Jagamobbagaṇḍa kālūva*, dug, in Śaka 1337, as a feeder to the tank *Santānasagara*, constructed by his mother.

Besides the wells and tanks of the type described above, there were others which were also used for irrigational purposes, either dug or excavated at the bidding of the village community, or of the officers of the State, or of private individuals. One-tenth of the land irrigated by the water below such wells and tanks was given to those who were put in charge of their construction, repairs and maintenance. Such land was termed as the *daḍibandham-manyam*. Baden Powell, while enumerating the nine kinds of *ināms* classified according to their object,

28. *Manual of the Kistna district*, p. 201.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

30. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 319, and p. 326.

The Phirangipuram inscription contains some beautiful Telugu verses, written by Śrīnatha, the court-poet of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, eulogising the *Santānasagara* in hyperbolical terms comparing it with the ocean. Many other poets followed Śrīnatha's example in later times, and composed verses, probably at the bidding of their patrons, on the tanks constructed by them. We have thus a number of verses of this type in inscriptions which are in no way inferior to the verses in the classical Telugu *prabandhas*. This epigraphical literature may be properly called Tank-literature (తాంబూలము— Vide my paper on this subject in *An. An.*, for 1922).

31. *Manual of the Kistna District*, p. 155.

or purpose, defines *daśabandham* as an *inam* given for the construction, maintenance, and repair of irrigation works in the Ceded districts, in Kistna, Nellore, North Arcot, and Salem. Some of the Vijayanagar records of this period discovered in the coastal region are *daśabandham* deeds of an interesting nature.

Cultivation :

It seems to have been the universal practice throughout the coastal region to sow the seed broad-cast; but some were sown seed by seed in a furrow as is the custom to-day. Sowing the seed broad-cast had been the custom followed from some centuries past. It was probably due to this custom that the extent of land was measured in terms of the grain seeds required to sow over that particular area. As such, we come across, in the copper-plate charters of the early dynasties, like the Eastern Āḷukyas of Vēṅgi, passages like '*dvadaśakhaṇḍikā-kōdravā-ārāpa-kṣētram*', '*dvādaśakhaṇḍikā-kōdravā-bijūrāpakṣētram*', '*Vīmśati-khaṇḍikā-vrīhibijaparipramāṇam-kṣētram*' etc. These passages clearly show that sowing the seed broad-cast was the original method of raising crops, as there was no regular irrigation system of canals and tanks. After ploughing the field, the seed was sown at the fall of early showers (*tolakari*). All dry crops were grown as at the present day.

Varieties of Paddy :

Kōdrava and *vrīhi* are the only varieties of paddy mentioned in inscriptions of the early dynasties in the coastal Andhra country. *Āḍi*, mentioned in some of the records of the Eastern Āḷukyas, is also a variety of grain. It is probable that there were many other varieties that do not find mention in records. The Telugu literature of the period under review furnishes the names of some varieties. Śrīnātha mentions in his works *Haraviḷasam* and *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam*, some of the varieties of paddy, like *kalama*, *śālī*, *sirāmukha*, *śaṣṭika*, *paṇḍuga*, and *hayaṇa*.³² Of these varieties, *śaṣṭika* is said to be a two-month crop. Varieties of *prāsāṅga* (*prasangi*) and *rājanam* seem to be common. They are referred to in other Telugu works also of the period. Another good variety of rice is *kappurabṛṅgam*.³³ Richer classes consumed good varieties of rice. Low class people and people in the interior, generally subsisted on *rāgi* and *cōḷam*. It was the custom, as it is even to-day in many

32. Baden Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, page 81.

33. “కంపాతరగిల్ల నదీమాతృకామహానదిశృంగధారతలమున, పాపితి, పరింగ మాయనప్రముఖ హూవిధ ప్రసాదేద సంపత్సంపన్నమున.....”

—Hr. VI., I. Pr. 10.

of the villages, to set up a scare-crow to scare away birds, and to ward off the evil eye. Regular watchmen, called *kāvali-kāṇḍru*³¹ or *kavalikaṇḍru* (plural of *kavali-kāṇḍu*), were employed to watch and protect crops.

Transplantation:

In lands under wet cultivation, paddy was transplanted from seed beds. These fields for growing seedlings was and is still called '*akumāḍi-paṭṭu*' in Telugu. '*Ākumalla-paṭṭu*' are mentioned in inscriptions of this period³².

Dry Crops:

We find all dry crops of the present day mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature with the exception of *mirepa* (chillies) which, of course, was unknown in that period. Cotton was grown in the interior country of black soil, especially, in the Palnāḍu, Vinukonda and other *sīmas* in the Guntur District.

Garden Crops:

Besides paddy, there were other irrigated crops known as garden crops. Chief of these were sugarcane, betel-vine, and plantain. Arecanut and cocoanut palms were also raised, and probably occasionally irrigated. Mango and jack plantations were widely grown, as they are even now, in the Kōnamāṇḍala (Amalapuram and Rajole taluks of the East Godavari district), the garden of the Andhra country. Vilasa in the Kōnadēsa, granted to brāhmins by Prōlaya Nayaka

“పక్క నాసామి కట్టేరంగులకు నుటంకములు కమ్మదనంబులైన పాలు కుడిచి
సుం గ్రహించుంబున నామ వలనునవియును, బడియొనున్న కుందనంపుల దగ్గరు
గిడుమల బడియుద్దంపకేదారవలను కుమరపండితుల ప్రమాణింపను బోలె నె
వ్రాలునవియునై కిమల బాగి వారిదామకాది ప్రహిసస్థలాలవలనను.....”

—Bh. Pr., II. Pr. 55.

It is not known if *Saradamukha* is another name for *Siramukha* or altogether a different variety.

“ఏమెల్లాల కల మాహారణు.....” —Bh. Pr., II, v. 111.

“ఏమెల్లాల తెల్లస్వరబోగి వంటకి మా.....” —Ibid, v. 139.

“ప్రసంగం వరివలె పనిడిచాయ.....” —Ibid, v. 54.

“చెరుకు రాజులు కృషిచేయుదుమండెడు నేర్పు కల్గియున్.” —Vk. Cr., I, v. 76

“రాజులైన కృషిచేయుచు చేరెల్లయ రాజనంబు.....” —Rk. Cr., I, v. 7.

34. “చెల కావినారె జించి చిగజలరెగి

పండిన కన్యయల్ పూయవలె.....” — Rk. Cr., III, v. 10.

shone with very fertile fields fit for rice and sugarcane cultivation and with gardens of betel-wine, plaintain, mango, arecanut, jack etc.³⁶ The country in the neighbourhood of the Tulyabhāgā is said to have been abounding in crops (*bahusasyasam = ajjvalataram Tulyabhāgātāḥ*).³⁷ We are told that the village of Vēmavaram granted by Allaya Vēma, was full of groves of cocoanut palm, arecanut, jack, mango, and plaintain, and was abundant in crops, such as sugarcane, paddy, sesame, chick-pea and kidney-bean.³⁸ From the descriptions of villages in Kōnamāṇḍala, and those on the banks of the Tulyabhaga, it may be gathered that land in the neighbourhood of rivers was generally very fertile and yielded good crops.

Yield of Land:

The land was considered very fertile and the crop a bumper one, if one *tāmu* of paddy sown yielded in return ninety *puttis*,³⁹ but this seems to be a gross exaggeration.

'Pōḍu' Cultivation:

The Telugu work '*Bhōjarājīyam*' written by Anantāmātya of this period, mentions the term '*pōḍu-cēnu*' in a particular context. A brāhman who lost his way while going to a town called Hēmavata-pura, meets a *vanacara*, a forester in a forest, and asks him to show the way, when the latter takes the former to his *pōḍu-cēnu* (*pōḍu* field).⁴⁰ This Telugu work, by using this special term *pōḍu* in connection with the field of a member of the forest tribe, enables us to know another

36. *Forgotten Chapter* chapter, Appendix, No. 1. v. 67.

విభాంతి యస్యాతి పంచైఽమాని

క్షేత్రాణి శాలీన్రువనోచితాని

ఆరामభాగశ్చ ముజంగవల్లీ

రమ్భామ్రపూర్ణిపనమాదిఃస్యః ॥

37. Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 243, ll. 53-54.

38. Ibid., V. 27, 55-56.

39. “తూమెం డల్కి నను బుట్టు తొంబది (1 తొమ్మిది) పండు

గా మెలయు పాలముగల స

[ద్దామంబుల]” —Sm. Dv., II, ii, v, 101.

40. “అని తనచోడుచేకడ కారనిఁ దోసొని బోయ యిట్లను నిజ

పొట్టి కందులను నన్ను నున్నవి క్రొత్తకుండ లేదనఁ

యుపాయ మెద్ది ? ” —Bh. Rj., VI; v. 242.

method of cultivating lands in the hilly jungle tracts which was in vogue then. This method is still in use in the upland forest regions in both the Godavari and Vizagapatam districts. The reference to it in the above work shows that this method was followed in the hilly forest tracts in the coastal region of the Andhra country for the past many centuries. The Gazetteers of the Godavari and the Vizagapatam districts furnish the following interesting account regarding this method of cultivation.

"The majority of the hill Reddis and the Kōyas in the Agency carry on shifting cultivation, called '*pōḍu*', by burning clearings in the forests..... Two methods prevail: the ordinary (or *calaka*) *pōḍu*, and the hill (or *konḍu*) *pōḍu*. The former consists in cultivating certain recognised clearings for a year or two at a time, allowing the forest to grow again for a few years, and then again burning and cultivating them; while under the latter, the clearing is not returned to for a much longer period and is some times deserted for ever. The latter is in fashion in the more hilly and wilder parts, while the former is a step towards civilisation.

"In February or March the jungle trees and bushes are cut down and spread evenly over the portion to be cultivated, and when the hot weather comes on, they are burnt. The ashes serve as manure, and the cultivators, also think that the mere heat of the burning makes the ground productive. The land is ploughed once or twice in *calaka pōḍus* before and after sowing, but not at all in *konḍu-pōḍus*. The seed is sown in June in the *Mṛgaśīrakārti*. Hill cōḷam and sama are the commonest crops. The former is dibbled into the ground." "

"This (*konḍu-pōḍu* or *pōḍu* system, consists in cutting a part of jungle, burning the felled trees and under growth, sowing dry grain broad-cast in the ashes (without any kind of tilling) for two years in succession, and then abandoning the plot for another else-where. The crops grown in *pōḍu* cultivation are usually dry grains like sāmāi, hill chōḷam and the like." "

From a verse in the above-mentioned work *Bhḍjarājīyam* we understand that dry grain, like *poṭṭi kandulu* (short variety of red gram) and *anumulu* (beans), were also grown.

41. DG. Gd., I, Ch. IV, pp 78-79.

42. DG. Vj., I, pp. 111 and 103.

Cattle:

Allied to agriculture there was cattle raising and dairy farming. Inscriptions recording donations to temples inform us that *lōyas* were generally in charge of cattle. In the early mediaeval period when *akhaṇḍadīpa* was the greatest act of merit, every temple had its own *kilāra* or cow-pen for herds of cattle. During this period the kings and nobles and the rich had their own cattle-herds. Cattle was their wealth.

The ox was held in great reverence by people. Friars Odoric (C. 1321-22 A.D.), and Jordanus (1323-1330 A.D.) attest to this fact. "All the people of this country worship the ox for their god", writes Odoric, " [and they eat not his flesh]; for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal. And they observe the following abominable superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold and silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces, and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead, secondly, on the balls of both cheeks; and lastly, in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be sanctified [for the day]. Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise". "The Indians, both of this India and of the other Indies, never kill an ox", writes Jordnus, "but rather honour him like father; and some, even perhaps the majority, worship him. They will more readily spare him who has slain five men than him who has slain one ox, saying that it is no more lawful to kill an ox than to kill one's father. This is because oxen do all their services, and moreover furnish them with milk and butter, and all sorts of good things. The great lords among the idolators, every morning when they rise, and before they go any whither, make the fattest cows come before them, and lay their hands upon them, and then rub their own faces, believing that after this they can have no ailment." ⁴³

'Jaṭṭi' System:

Like *pōḍu* the term *jaṭṭi-gonu*, used rhetorically in the Telugu work *Simhāsanaadvātrīnśika* written by Koravi Gōparaja, enlightens us about an aspect of disposing of the agricultural produce. This term

43. *Foreign Notices.*, p. 205.

occurs in the *Bhōjarājīyam* and *Harivamśam* also. *Jatṭi* is a commercial term denoting a system of purchase that is in vogue even to-day. The Gazetteer of the Godavari district has an interesting note about this system. "Loans are often made", says the note, "on the security of standing crops on the condition that they shall be sold to the sowcar at less than the market price, an arrangement which is known as the *jaṭṭi* system." "

Value of Land :

It is difficult to ascertain the value of land in the period under review in general. But from the inscriptions found at Sarpavaram we come to know that one *khaṇḍika* or *putṭi* of land was valued at twenty *ṭaṅkas*. Evidence is lacking, if this was the general rate of the price of land prevailing throughout the country, and if the wet land also was of the same rate. Moreover, it is unknown whether this *ṭaṅka* was a gold or silver one. Inscriptions of this period refer to silver *ṭaṅkas*⁴⁴ and *māḍas*. *Māḍa*, also known as *gaḍḍe gadya*, *gadyana* and *niska* seems to have been a gold coin. It should, however, be mentioned here that there were *reṇḍi ṭaṅkas* and *dināra ṭaṅkas* in this period. The *Gaṇita* texts state that ten *cinnas* make one *māḍa*. According to tradition current in the country, four *ṭaṅkas* make one *rūka*, two *rūkas* make one *māḍa* and two *māḍas* make one pagoda or *varāha*. It cannot be asserted with any certainty that this same was the value of the *ṭaṅka* in the period under review also. Whatever might be the value, the price of one *Kesaripāṭi tūmu* of land was one *ṭaṅka*, though it is not possible, with the evidence at our disposal, to indicate its value in terms of the present-day currency.

Labour:

The condition of the husbandmen and labourers cannot be definitely ascertained for want of evidence. The *jaṭṭi* system might have been, in those days of the domination of the higher castes, more rigorous than it is to-day. It appears likely that the needy cultivator was exploited by the influential and rich merchants, who gave advances to him in kind or coin to serve his needs even prior to the harvest, and made him undersell his produce.

The condition of agricultural labour is best indicated by the term *veṭṭi*, met with in the Telugu works of this period. *Veṭṭi* meaning free or unpaid labour was an old institution, as old as the work *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya treats this as a kind of tax in his work.

44. Gz. Gd., Vol I, p. 91.

45. S. I. I. VI, No. 798.

The Telugu works of this period refer to *muvveti*,⁴⁶ that is three kinds of *vetti*; but what these three kinds were is not stated therein. However, *rāca-vetti*, free or unpaid labour to the ruler of the land, was one of them. The other two might have been *grāma-vetti*, free labour in works relating to the village-common, and *kula-vetti*, free service in works done for the benefit of one's own community. In those days of absolute monarchy *rāca-vetti* must have been very exacting. It was almost a tax paid to the king in the form of manual labour. *Vetti-rari* is mentioned in South Indian Inscriptions as a tax. Therefore, it may be said to have been obligatory on every labourer to pay this 'tax' to the king whenever required.

Friar Jordanus (1323-1330 A. D.), describes the Telugu country (Telenc) in his work '*The Wonders of the East*' as given below :

"There be also other kings, as the king of Telenc (Tiling), who is very potent and great. The kingdom of Telenc abounds in corn rice, sugar, wax, honey and honeycomb, pulse, eggs, goats, buffaloes, beeves, milk, butter, and in oils of diverse kinds and in many excellent fruits, more than any other part of the Indies." "

46. బలువిడి కిరకరణం మర్కసాచ్చి
 కలంకుచు మ్రొక్కవేల్పుల నెల్లఁ గాచి
 యనఁతము మువ్వెట్టి గొనుచు బడుగు
 పనులు కంపఁగ కేసి బ్రదుకుద మనచు.....—Bs. Pr, IV, p. 112.

47. *Foreign Notices*, p. 212.

CHAPTER VI.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

INDUSTRY

Evidence for a survey of industries in the Reddi period is extremely meagre. Inscriptions of this period do not throw any light on the subject, though the Telugu works contain some words denoting costly articles of high class furniture and of luxury then in vogue. Industries indicated by such terms may be taken to have flourished in those times. Accounts of foreign travellers also furnish a little information regarding some industries

Since the wants of the people of those times were very limited, and the community was predominantly an agricultural one, there was little scope for the development of industries on a large scale. The agricultural operations occupied a few busy months. As there was much leisure, every handicraft became a cottage industry and every craftsman an artist. The industrial workshop was a simple affair with simple apparatus. There are references to furnaces and big bellows ' made of buffalo hide, fitted with iron tubes.

As in many other cases the base of industrial activity was the village. The village community had its own artisans to supply to it all the necessities and luxuries of life, from the pot to the elaborate jewellery, from the top to the cot, and from the cattle-shed to the temple. The goldsmith, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the mason (stone cutter), the brazier, the potter, the weaver and the dyer, all these constituted members of the industrial class. Of these the first five classes of people, worked in metal, who were generally called *Pañcānamvara*, a corruption of *Pañcananamvāra*. These claim to be the descendants of the five sons of Viśvakarma, and hence their community is known as Viśvakarmakula. There is reason to believe that this community also was divided, in ancient times, into sects based on territorial divisions, just as in the brāhman and other castes. An early inscription ^{1a} of the

1. Nv. Cr., V, p. 235.

1a. Ep. Coll., No. 331 of 1936-37.

The Superintendent for Epigraphy (Southern Circle), in his *Annual Report* for 1936-37, has taken Kalgarabharanacarya to be "of the fourth caste", because of the mention of "Kammakula" in the inscription from Aiyangaripalem. This

seventh century in Calukyan characters, at Aiyangaripalem near Pulipādu in the Palnad taluk, Guntur district, refers to the architect Maindarāma who built the temple of Jalpēsvara and to Kalgarabharanācārya belonging to Kammakula. It is not clear, from what is given in the report on Epigraphy, if Maindarāma and Kalagarābharanācārya were identical. It is not necessary for our present purpose to find out if they were identical or two different persons. What we have to take note of is the fact that Kalgarabharanācārya belonged to Kammakula. Kammakula does not mean the Kamma community of the fourth caste, as has been interpreted by some scholars. It was only a sub-division of the Viśvakarma community, and means the Kammanāṭi sect of the Viśvakarma caste. We do not know if there were other sub-divisions also in that community, based on other territorial divisions. This Kammakula of the Viśvakarma community, also lost its significance in course of time, and the communal distinctions in that community, disappeared with the progress of time, just as in the Vaiśya caste. *Āsāri* (corrupt form of *ācāri*) and *ōju* (*vikṛiti* of *ojja* or *upādhyāya*) are titles added as suffixes to their names by the members of the Viśvakarma community. An inscription at Macherla (Guntur district), dated in the twelfth century A. D., extols some of the *ācāryas* of this community as having been "experts in cutting *liṅgas* (of Śiva), in preparing images, in understanding the proper place of the latter (in Indian Iconography), in building the four kinds of mansions (*prāsāda*), and their innumerable sub-divisions, in grasping

interpretation, as stated above, is wrong. Basing probably on the *Annual Report*, Sri N.P. Chakravarti writes thus about this inscription, specially in his *Annual Report on Archaeology* for 1936-37 :

"The next important inscription from the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district which is engraved in the Calukyan characters of the seventh century, A.D., furnishes the interesting information that the temple of Jalpeśa was constructed by the architect Maindarāma (Mahendrarāma), who was otherwise called Kalgarabharanācārya and belonged to "Kammakula" of the fourth caste. This is one of the earliest references to "Kammakula".

There are two more inscriptions at Pondugula in the same Palnad taluk that refer to the shrine of Jalpēsvara and Kalgarabharanācārya. Of these one (Ep. Coll. No. 35 of 1929-30), according to the *Report on Epigraphy*, "records the construction of the shrine of Jalpēsvara by a certain Maindarāma and mentions the master architect Kalgarabharanācārya". The other inscription (*Ibid.*, 36 of 1936-37) is damaged. According to the *Report* it "mentions god Jalpēsvara and Kalgarabharanācārya of the Viśvakarmakula." Kalgarabharanācārya of these inscriptions is, no doubt, one and the same individual, as his name is invariably connected with the shrine of Jalpēsvara. So, from the damaged Pondugula record, it is evident that Kalgarabharanācārya was a member of the Viśvakarmakula. If, in the Aiyangaripalem inscription, he is said to belong to "Kammakula," then we have no other option except to interpret that he belonged to the Viśvakarmakula inhabiting Kammanāṭu.

the geometry (*kṣētra*) involved in the study of the *Vāstu Śāstra*, and in gracefully handling the implements of their profession.²” These five classes of people of the Viśvakarmakula formed the main industrial community, and were organised into a guild of their own. Like the trade and agricultural guilds of those times, the *Pañcāṅga* guild was a seventy-four³ community. These five classes of people were specialists in metallurgical arts, wood and stone work. The weaver and the dyer were connected with the textile industry, and the potter with pottery.

The most important industry of those times was jewellery. The great number of ornaments which were in use in the Reddi period bear eloquent testimony to the skill in workmanship and creative faculty of the goldsmiths of those times. Goldsmiths were experts in jewel making, and in preparing spittoons, toys, vases, cups, plates, and other articles of gold and silver, of different shapes and varieties required for domestic use, and things for temple use. Mañcella Narahari Nēḍu, commander of the army of Allaya Vēma Redḍi, made a gift of a golden *prabha*⁴ (*paṣiṇḍi-prabha*) to god Rāmēśvara of Kṣīrārāma (Pālakollu).

Closely connected with jewellery was the art of inlaying precious stones. While writing about the throne on which the king of Vijayanagar sat, the Persian ambassador Abdur Razak says, “The throne which was of an extraordinary size, was made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value; the whole workmanship was perfect in its delicacy and ingenuity. It is probable that in all the kingdoms of the world, the art of inlaying precious stones is nowhere better understood than in this country⁵.” It was not only in Vijayanagar but also in other kingdoms in the Telugu country that there were such expert workmen in inlaying precious stones. The Muslim historian Ferishta bears evidence to this statement. He tells us that, after the conclusion of a treaty with Muhammad Shāh I, the second Bahmani Sultan of Gulbarga, Kṛṣṇa Nāyaka (mistake for Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family)

2. Ep. coll., No. 575 of 1909; Ep. Rep., para 60.

3. Ep. Coll., No. 804 of 1917; This inscription refers “to certain privileges granted formerly to the seventy-four sub-divisions of the Pañcādas (Smiths) by Harihara, Maharaja, for their having made the entrance-throne (*hajara-siṁhasana*) of the palace.” — (Ep. Rep. 1918, para 85)

“పృథ్వి దేవ్యయి నామకు అహంకార మొదలయిన పంచదళాచార్య...”

—N. D. I., III, v. 21, p. 1362,

4. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 131

5. Major, Abdur Razak, p. 38.

"presented to him a throne set with valuable jewels, originally prepared for himself to be given as a present to Muhammad Tughlaq, king of Delhi", and that the recipient caused it to be called *Takht-i-Ferōza* or cerulean (deep blue) throne. "I have heard old persons," writes Ferishta, "who saw the *Takht-i-Ferōza* in the reign of Sultan Mahmood Shah Bahmany, describe it as being six cubits long, and two broad; the frame was of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmany dynasty added some rich jewels, so that in the reign of Mahmood Shah, when it was taken to pieces, in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued the whole at one crore of hoons. I learned also that it was called *Ferōza*, from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by a number of precious ornaments⁶." Such was the exquisite workmanship of the smiths of the period under review. One of the ancestors of Avaci Tippaya Setṭi is said to have got a ruby *padmarāga* called *balārka*, fixed in the navel of god Kāñcī Nāyaka (Varadarāja)⁷. Vessels made of precious stones⁸ (*māñikya pātralu: harinīla-śilāmaya-pātralu*), and round cups made of crystal⁹, find mention in the Telugu works of the period. Mamiḍi Singaya Pregada, minister of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu, is stated to have made the lord of the goddess of Dākṣaṇi pleased by the gift of a brilliant *liṅga* (or *liṅgas*) made of the nine precious stones¹⁰. Gilding of *viṇas* and other musical instruments, weapons and other articles, was common.

Copper, bronze, brass, and iron industries were in a flourishing state. Mention is made of copper vessels and bronze bells, lampstands, statues and cymbals, in literature and inscriptions. Anavōṭa Redḍi, son of Vēmā Redḍi, made a gift of a bell (*gaja-pañca ghaṇṭā*)¹¹ to god Bhīmēśvara of Dakṣharam in Śaka 1278. The bell that was presented is described as *dvipa-karṇa-carana-saṅgīnaḥ pañca ghaṇṭāḥ*. He presented such bronze bells to god Śiva of other *arāmas* also. His brother Anavēma also made a gift of *gaja-ghaṇṭas* to the chief Śiva temples in the

6. Brigg's Ferishta. Vol. II, p. 307.

"One crore of hoons = Four million sterling."

7. "బాలార్క ముందు పద్మరాగము దాచె

నొకతాళి కంచి నాయకునివాళి....." —Hr. VI., I, v. 10.

8. Hr. VI., IV, v. 41; Nr. Pr., III, v. 96; Hr. VI., IV, v. 41.

9. Rk. Cr., III, v. 228, V. Pr. 190.

10. "నవరత్నోపల దివ్యలింగపరదానక్రిత దాక్షామణి
ధమ....." —S'r. Nd. II, v. 144.

11. S. I. I. Vol. IV., No. 1389.

Pañcārāmas. Mañcella Narahari Nōḍu, commander of Allayavēma Redḍi, gave a gift of a statued bronze lampstand to god Bhīmēśvara of Dakshāram.¹² Images of deities and saints for worship in temples were cast either in bronze, copper or brass. With the development of elaborate temple planning, separate niches and chambers were specially constructed for placing statues of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints, like the twelve Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs and the sixty three Śaiva Nāvanārs and other *parivāra-dēvatas*. Vēmi Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi, made a present of a bronze (*kāṁsyā*) bell weighing twelve thousand *palikas*¹³ to god Mārkaṇḍēyēśvara of Rājamahēndravaram.

Wood-carving and other wood-work, the trade of the carpenter, was in a very flourishing condition. Cabinet making developed into a fine industrial art. Different sorts of drawing-room and bed-room furniture were made to order. Different kinds of cots and couches, like *paṭṭe-maiñcamu*, *sakināla-maiñcamu*, *dōmatēra-maiñcamu* and *pañju-maiñcamu*, and swings, like *uḡela-paṭṭe-maiñcamu* and *gaṇṭala-uḡala*, find mention in literature.¹⁴ *Paṭṭe-maiñcamu* is a cot, the bottom of which is interlaced with broad tape. *Sakināla-maiñcamu* may be interpreted in two ways. The term *sakina* means the figure of a bird; so, *Sakināla-maiñcamu* might mean a cot elaborately worked out with figures of birds on it, or it might mean "a bedding formed on a frame of wood, having orifices covered with perforated brass buttons that make a whistling or squeaking sound." *Dōmatēra-maiñcamu* is a cot fitted with mosquito curtains. *Pañju-maiñcamu* is a variety of cot, the exact definition of which is not known. *Uḡela-paṭṭe-maiñcamu* is a swing cot with tape-woven bottom. *Gaṇṭala-uḡala* is a swing adorned with bells which,

12. S. I. I, Vol. IV, No. 1378.

13. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242.

द्वादशसहस्रपलिका समाप्तमुक्त्यनिर्मितामसमाः

प्रादाद्वल्य वेमा मार्कण्डेयेश्वरगव्यघटाम्— v. 19.

A palm-leaf manuscript (No. 13 7-5) in the Government Or. Mss. Lib., Madras, contains a date (probably of the gift) incised on a bell, which is stated to have been presented to the feeding house (*anūsatāra*) attached to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Dakshāram by Vira Redḍi, Vēma Redḍi and Dōḍḍa Redḍi, sons of Allāḍa Redḍi. The date is Wednesday, the 13th tithi of the dark half of the month of Vaisākha, in the cyclic year Ananda, corresponding to the śaka year 1456. The date is irregular. It is Friday 7th May, 1431 A. D. The 13th tithi falls on Friday and not on Wednesday according to the *Indian Ephemeris*. If it was the bright half instead of the dark half, then the 13th falls on Wednesday. Its English equivalent then is Wednesday, 21st April, 1444 A. D. The bell referred to in the palm-leaf manuscript seems to be another bell which is different from the one presented to god Mārkaṇḍēyēśvara.

14. Rk. Cr., IV, v. 85 v. 104, V, v. 64; Sk. Cr., II, v. 145.

when the swing moved to and fro, made a clinking noise. These varieties of cots particularly adorned the houses of courtesans. Full length mirrors (*niluvuṭṭadamulu*)¹⁵, winged glass doors (*gajurekkala-talupulu*)¹⁶, and glass halls (*gājuṭṭavarulu*)¹⁷ are also referred to in Telugu works. The making of wooden temple-cars for annual *kalyāṇōtsavās* and *raṣanōtsavās* of local gods formed one of the important works for skilled craftsmen in wood. Boxes of different shapes and sizes, like *paṭṭu-canduralu*, *mandasamulu*, *ballānipeṭṭolu*,¹⁸ were made for ordinary use and on special orders.

Ivory work also was not uncommon.¹⁹

There is reason to believe that iron smelting was done in a crude fashion to some extent and agricultural implements, iron tyres,²⁰ and some of the weapons used in warfare, like spears, swords and arrow heads, were made locally to meet local requirements. Iron was found in many parts of the Guntur district. It is reported that, to the west of the Sattenapalli taluk (Guntur district) in three villages, blast furnaces continued to be working till almost the middle of the nineteenth century.²¹

Diamond mining was another industry. It was of great antiquity in the coastal country. The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who visited the Andhra country in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, A.D., says that diamonds were procured in the kingdom of Mōṭupalli in the beds of torrents among mountains. He repeats the myth told by Sindbad about the method of procuring diamonds, by throwing pieces of flesh into the valleys." A similar account is given by Nicolo de Conti. His interesting account is as follows :

"At fifteen days' journey beyond Bizenegalia (Vijayanagar) towards the North, there is a mountain called Albenigaras, surrounded by pools of water which swarm with venomous animals, and the mountain itself is infested with serpents. This mountain produces diamonds.

15. Sk. Cr., II, v. 145; Vk. Cr., IV, v. 148; v. 219.

16. Hr. VI., VII. v. 187.

17. Sr. Mh., II, v. 368.

18. Rk. Cr., IV, v. 35; Pv. Cr., p. 4.

19. Rk. Cr., III, v. 6.

20. "చక్కడికి నది కప్పురి

చక్కడికి బడనిచ్చు నపు-చక్కడు....." -- Sm. Dr., I, IV, v. 95.

21. *Manual of the Kistna district*, p. 244.

22. *Foreign Notices*, pp. 174-175.

The ingenuity of man, not having been able to find any mode of approaching the mountain, has, however, discovered a way of getting at the diamonds produced on it. There is another mountain near it, a little higher. Here, at a certain period of the year, men bring oxen, which they drive to the top, and having cut them into pieces, cast the warm and bleeding fragments upon the summit of the other mountain, by means of machines which they construct for that purpose. The diamonds stick to these pieces of flesh. Then come vultures and eagles flying to the spot, which, seizing the meat for their food, fly away with it to places where they may be safe from the serpents. To these places the men afterwards come and collect the diamonds which have fallen from the flesh. Other stones, which are considered precious, are procured with less difficulty. They dig holes near sandy mountains in places where the stones are found, and continue their excavations until they come to sand mixed with water. This sand they collect and wash with water, through sieves made for the purpose. The sand passes away through the sieve, and the stones, if any, are left behind; this mode of digging for stones of this description prevails universally. Great care is exercised by the masters to prevent theft by the workmen or servants, overseers being appointed, who not only shake the clothes of the operators, but even examine every part of their persons."²³

As the seaport Peudifetania on the east coast was at twenty days' journey, and the mountain Albanigaras, at fifteen days' journey from Vijayanagar, the latter also seems to have been in the Konḍaviḍu kingdom." Ancient Andhra was famous for its diamond mines, though the above accounts seem to be incredible.

Textile industry was the most important of the cottage industries in the Andhra country in the period under review. Cotton spinning and cotton weaving reached their perfection. In some of the western *simus* of the Konḍaviḍu kingdom, like Vinukonda and Palnāḍu, cotton was grown in the areas of black soil. Cotton spinning was the common

23. Major, Conti, pp. 29-30.

24. "There can be little doubt that the Kollūr mines were worked more than a hundred years before Tavernier's date (1605-1689), and may be the mines described by Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti. There are large numbers of very old abandoned diamond pits in gritty quartzite beds in the jungles east of the Pulichinta range" (K. D. M. p. 247. Also, *Ibid.*, pages. 244-247).

Kolluru (in the Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district)—"A very important place in years gone by, where diamond mines were worked..... It seems probable that these were diamond mines visited by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century and by Nicolo Conti, and possibly these hills are the scene of the marvellous legends of Sindbad the Sailor."—*Ibid.*, p. 71.

avocation in leisure time, during the day, of the adult members in every family. This vocation was followed so extensively, specially in the *Palnāṭi śīma* by the high and the low, that poet *Srinātha*, while deriding that uncouth country, stigmatized it in a *caṭu* verse as one in which even the *deva-veśya* *Rāmbhā* spins cotton, and even *Manmatha*, the god of Love, eats millet food.²⁵ The fine cotton fabrics produced in this kingdom were a marvel that excited the admiration of foreign travellers of the mediaeval period. *Marco Polo* writes, "In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams and those of the highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web! There is no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them"²⁶

From references in contemporary literature we come to know that the coastal region maintained its reputation for such fine quality of cotton fabrics long after *Marco Polo's* time, even during the *Reddi* period. *Maḍiki Singana* states that his patron king *Muppa*, wore white clothes, which were like unto the foam of moon light.²⁷ "The *Telugu* poets, *Jākkana*²⁸ and *Srinātha*," also refer to coloured and white muslins in connection with the description of dress in their works.

Dyeing was an allied industry to weaving. There were many varieties of dyed and printed cloths. Red colour²⁹ in its different shades and varieties was the fashion in vogue. Many varieties of borders, both dyed and printed, are mentioned in contemporary literature. Borders adorned with designs of peacock tails, royal swans, rows of parrots, deer, horses, elephants, lions, doves, and other different figures, black borders, and of many other types were in use. Some of the varieties of cloth were called after the places where they were produced: for instance, *Sūravarams*, and *Kamavarams* were the names given to cloths

25. "రసికుడు హాసకు పలనా

దేశం గా రంధ్రమైన నేకుల మహకున్

మను ధేనుడైన నున్న నా

కుసుమాస్త్రుడైన నొన్న కూడే కుదురున్". —

26. *Foreign Notices*, p. 175.

27. "పరపైన వెన్నెల మరువులపాలిక

దా రారు ధవళవస్త్రములు గట్టి....." — *Vs. Rm.*, I. v. 38.

28. *Vk. Cr.*, IV, v. 160.

29. *Bh. Pr.*, V, v. 108.

30. *Candanakavulu*, *Pattadakavulu*, *Ceṅṅavulu*, *Kadanibakavulu* were some of the varieties of red cloth.

manufactured in Suravaram and Kāravaram, two famous villages in the coastal region⁸⁰ There were fine beautiful cloths with gold borders also.

Silk also was in great use among the nobles and the rich. There were many varieties of silk also, like *veli-pattu*, *nāli-pattu*, *hom-battu*, *Puligōru-pattu*, *udayarāgapa pattu*, *netra-pattu* and *vajra-pattu*; besides these there were coloured silks like black, yellow and red.⁸¹ It is however not known if these silk cloths were woven in the coastal region during this period.

Salt manufacture :

From early times salt was manufactured from sea-water in coastal villages, and from saline soils in inland villages in the Andhra country. The salt-pans (*appalamulu*) of Peda Gañjām, Pina Gañjām, Kaḍakuduru, Kuravāḍa, Pērali, Uppungondūru, Pāyundorru, Upparāḍa all in the Guntur district, were some of the important ancient centres of salt manufacture.⁸² Peṭṭipōli⁸³ (present Nizāmpatnam in the

30. "...చందన కావులును, బట్టెడ కావులును, శంకావులును, గదంబ కావులును, అరకంచులును, బొమ్మంచులును, ముడుగుబొమ్మంచులును, ముయ్యంచులును, జీలకఱ్ఱలును, వేటకఱ్ఱలును, నిండువన్నెలును, నలుగురచాళువన్నెలును, గంటకీరన్నెలును, బుప్పడివన్నెలును, రుద్రాక్షవన్నెలును, నాగబంధంబులును, బూజాబంధంబులును, జలపంజరంబులును, గావవరంబులును, సూరవరంబులును, దారామండలంబులును, హంసావళిలును, హరితావళిలును, దుర్రెగావళిలును, గజావళిలును, సింహావళిలును, బ్రహ్మచర్యంబులును, లక్ష్మీవిలాసంబులును, మదనవిలాసంబులును, వరంత విలాసంబులును, రత్నకీరంబులును, రాయశృంగారంబులును, గణకదండంబులును, అచ్చిలంబులును, అర్జునగంధులును, బాహువంశుగంధులును, శ్రీతోత్సవులును, శ్రీరామతోత్సవులును, శ్రీకృష్ణవిలాసంబులును, జీమలును, మగిషట్టంబులును, సన్నవరిపంబులును....." —Sm. Dv., I, Pr. 88, page, 74.

"దోష్టరగ్రాంతచీర దూగుబయ్యెడయు....." —Pn. Cr., I, p. 133.

"జీమండలంబునక గరకంచుబుట్టంబు....." —Hr. VI., II, v. 93.

"రాయంచయంచు జీరకుతోకియగుగణక....." —Ibid, IV, v. 28.

"గరువిందవీరలు గుబ్బచన్నులక దాల్చి

నెమిలిపించంపుఁ టుట్టములు అట్టి....." —Ibid, V. v. 88.

81. Sm. Dv., I, iii, Pr. 183, p. 74.

Ibid, II, ix, v. 67.

82. S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 606 and 685.

83. Peṭṭipoli is the corrupt form of Peddapalli.

Guntur district) also seems to have been another important centre.³⁴ Earth salt was manufactured from saline soils in Tripurāntakam³⁵ (Kurnool district) and other inland places. Like some of the trades which fetch much revenue to the State, salt also was farmed out to the highest bidder.

TRADE

The physical features of the country and the nature of communication and transport are the prime factors that determine the character of trade and its progress during any period. In the period under review, the Andhra country for a great part was overgrown with scrub and jungle. The Eastern Ghāts clad with thick forests, divided the country into two well-defined regions, the low lying coastal plain, and the upland plateau, and placed limitations on the nature of transport and the volume of trade. The forest ways were generally infested with thieves and wild beasts. The mountain passes, *kanumalu* as they are called in Telugu, however, served as main routes both for travel and trade between the two regions.

Internal communication also was difficult owing to the presence of many local mountain streams and to the absence of good roads and bridges across the rivers, the Gōdāvari, Kṛṣṇā and Brahmakunḍi (Guṇḍlakamma). The dry season was usually the busiest period for trade when almost all mountain streams were generally dry during summer.

Means of communication :

Though the means of communication were not quite adequate and good in quality, yet those available were fully used, and trade was developed as far as it was possible under the circumstances. Important provincial capitals and forts seem, however, to have been connected with one another by broad ways fit for cart traffic. Such main routes are referred to, though rarely, in the material available

34. Thomas Bowrey writes, "Great abundance of white salt is made in the valleys of Pettipolee, with very little industry, only fencing in the lowest of soils which is soe brackish that the Sun doth cause the water which lyeth there not above one foot deepe to harden into a perfect good and cleare salt. It is afterwards laid in great heaps, and vended all the kingdom over. Noe merchant is admitted to deal in this commoditie, being the king's commoditie as is bees' wax alsoe, I have heard it by severall eminent persons affirmed that this very commoditie salt draweth into the king's exchequer two millions of gold pagodas yearly."—*Travels of Thomas Bowrey*, p. 56. The value of the old pagoda is given as 12 shillings.

35. Ep. Coll., No. 221 of 1905. Bāpaṭla (Guntur district) also was once a very important salt manufacturing centre (Ep. Coll., No. 207 of 1897).

to us. The Telugu poet Kētana of the thirteenth century indicates, in a verse¹ in his *Andhrabhāṣabhāṣaṇam*, a treatise on grammar in Telugu verse, that the main route to Ayōdhya from Kāñcī passed through Nellore and Orugallu (Warāṅgal). This seems to have been the chief inland route from North to South, connecting the towns of Nellore and Warāṅgal with Ayōdhya. Muhammad bin Tughlaq also took the same route and came as far as Warāṅgal, while proceeding to Madura to put down the rebellion there in person. All important coastal towns must have been connected with Warāṅgal, the capital of the Kakatiya monarchs. Similarly, Nicolo de Conti speaks of another inland route from Vijayanagar to Udavagiri on the east coast which passed through Candragiri² (in the present Chittoor district). It is likely that this route connected Penukōṇḍa also, another very important fort in the Vijayanagar kingdom.

Kandukūrn, Addānki, and Koṇḍaviḍu and other important towns in the Reddi kingdom must have been connected with one another by broad ways. It is probable that there were other such inland roads. These were the main routes of trade and travel. Besides these broad ways fit for cart traffic, connecting important towns and local holy places or *tirthas* of repute, there were other narrow pedestrian tracks leading to each and every village. The broad way, termed as *baṇḍi trōra*, finds occasional mention in the copper-plate grants of the period, in the course of enumerating the boundaries of villages granted to brāhmins or gods. These village tracks and cart-ways constituted the most important means of communication on land.

Generally, trade routes also were the pilgrim routes and pilgrims followed the trade routes. Srisailam, Ahōbalam, Tripurāntakam and other places were famous centres of worship, and attracted pilgrims from all quarters of the country for many centuries before the Reddi rule. It is likely that traders followed these pilgrim routes for carrying on trade and commerce. The insecurity prevailing in those days made it imperative for the pilgrims, pedestrians, and traders to unite together and to follow generally the same route in order to be able to offer resistance effectively to thieves as well as to wild beasts when attacked.

There was very little communication on inland waters though not wholly absent. It was only a limited number of inland places that

1 “కంచీ నెల్లూరు మణి మొగుల బయ్యోళ్ళ

అను పునెయిల పై గంగ కనుక మనిన

మనిన నొకత్రోవ జూపెన.....”

- An. Bh., p. 4, v. 12.

2. Major, Conti. p. 7.

could be reached by water, as great rivers were not navigable for a long distance inland. Water transport in the inland country was by means of small country craft that plied to a limited distance up and down the river in the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, the two big rivers of the Telugu country, which do not dry up even in summer. Even these rivers were totally un-navigable when they were in freshes. Small country boats plied even along the sea coast.

Great rivers like the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā were crossed by means of a kind of circular basket boats, called *puṭṭis*, *puṭis* or *puṭikas* in Telugu. *Puṭṭi* which was in use during the Redḍi period, is referred to in an inscription³ at Anantagiri in the Guntur district in connection with the levy of tolls. This variety of basket boat was in use almost throughout the Telugu country, both in the Koṇḍaviḍu and the Vijayanagar kingdoms. The accounts of European travellers reveal the fact that they were in use in this country not only during the mediaeval period, but very late till the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Muslim historian, Ferishta, refers to these boats as *sabads* (baskets) "which in the idiom of the people of the Deccan were called *naukras*, covered with cow-hides"⁴. Paes who visited Vijayanagar in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya informs us that they were used in crossing the Tungabhadra near the city of Vijayanagar. What these were like, can be gathered from an interesting description of these boats which he gives. "People cross to this place", writes Paes, "by boats which are round like baskets; inside they are made of cane, and outside are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen or twenty persons, and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary, but for the most part these animals swim across. Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these."^{4a} Wilks also in his *History of Mysore* adverts to these boats. He writes that they are "of a simple but excellent construction for military purposes, made of bamboo wicker work, constructed exactly in the manner of a common circular clothes-basket, covered, and rendered water-tight by green hides, and from eight to twelve feet

3. Ep. Coll., No. 380 of 1926.

4. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. III, p. 30, f. n. 2.

In one of the campaigns of Fīrūz Shah against Vijayanagar, we are told that some of his officers and men crossed the river Kṛṣṇā in such boats.

Col. Briggs who translated *Ferishata*, calls them baskets. He says in a note (Vol. II, page 371) that "the same sort of basket-boats, used in the Tigris, in the time of Herodotus, are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage boats known in the Indian Peninsula, at this day, to the natives of the country."

4a. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 259.

diameter."⁵ These were the only type of ferry boats that were in use in the period both for military and other purposes for crossing wide rivers.

Inland transport was done by means of pack animals and carts. Horses do not appear to have been used for land transport in great numbers; for, they had to be imported from other countries in Western Asia. The Russian traveller Nikitin says, "Horses are not born in that country (India), but oxen and buffaloes; and these are used for riding, and conveying goods, and every other purpose."⁶ Nicolo de Conti says, "The Indians use the ox as a beast of burthen which they consider it a crime to kill or eat, as being of all the most useful to man".⁷ The ox, the mule, and the buffalo were the chief conveyers of goods and other commodities. These drew carts, and carried goods on their backs.

Inland Trade :

Traders carried their wares in large bags or sacks which open in the middle. Each end of these bags was filled with grain or other commodity, and laid across the back of the animal. These sacks were called *perikes* in Telugu. Those who carried on trade in this manner were called *perike setlu*, bag-men or sack-traders. Some of the inscriptions of the Kakatiya period make mention of *perikes* of different commodities, like vegetable, fruit, and all sorts of grain. All these were conveyed generally on pack animals and in carts. It appears that, in course of time, some of these merchants, who carried their wares in *perikes*, formed into a separate group of their own, which, later on, crystallised into an endogamous sect; for, we come to know of a community in the *cabuthakula*, called *Perikes*. Thurston says, "Gunny bag is the popular and trading name of the coarse sacking and sacks from the fibre of jute, much used in Indian trade." He further writes, "The Perikes claim to be a separate caste, but they seem to be in reality a sub-division, and not a very exalted sub-division, of *Baliyas* being in fact identical with the *uppu* (salt) *Baliyas*. Their hereditary occupation is carrying salt, grain, etc., on bullocks and donkeys on *perikes* or packs."⁸ It cannot however be definitely said that this sect or community had thus crystallized in the Reddi period.

5. Wilks, *History of Mysore* Vol. I, p. 417.

6. Major Nikitin, p. 10.

7. Ibid, Conti, p. 25.

8. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, 191-192, quoted from the *Madras Census Report*, for 1891.

Andhra, as it is even at the present day, was purely an agricultural country, and most of the agricultural products were exclusively used for local and domestic consumption. Each village provided for its own requirements to a great extent. However, owing to difficulties in transport and communications, it was not able to store any commodity largely and replenish the stock. This want was relieved by fairs which were held on a fixed day of the week in all the big villages. The surplus produce of the surrounding country and other products were brought to the weekly fair. Wholesale and retail merchants from far and near used to assemble there and transact business.

Want of proper means of communication to convey goods and to exchange the various products of villages was responsible for the inequality in prices. If the yield of the crop was good and the price of different food-stuffs was cheap in some parts of the country, it was very dear in other parts where the crops failed. Owing to the inadequacy or the absence of means of communication, paddy and other grains could not be conveyed and distributed to the deficient and distressed parts of the country. The result was that, while famine devastated some parts of the country, others remained unaffected and lived in plenty in their wholesome isolation.

Religious festivals gave enormous impetus to trade. The *kalyāṇōtsavas*, the *Vasantōtsava*, the annual festivals of village goddesses in some important villages, and the pilgrimages to holy shrines, were generally the occasions for crowds of people to gather from far and near. On such occasions certain articles which were generally difficult to procure in the weekly fairs and local markets, could be obtained, and business was transacted both wholesale and retail.

Trade Unions :

The insecurity of trade routes and the absence of proper communications were also responsible for another important factor, namely, the unity found among the people of the trading classes of the country, and the corporate activity evinced by them for purposes of trade and industry. From the earliest times those who carried on trade in a particular commodity formed into a group or corporate body of their own, which, with the progress of time, crystallized into a separate community, either endogamous or exogamous. Such corporate bodies or trading guilds have been a regular feature of Indian economic life from the time of the Andhra Śātavāhanas. The records⁹ of the

⁹ Liders' *List of Brahmi inscriptions*, No. 1137; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 166. *Mālika śrēṇī*, or the guild of the gardeners, is mentioned in the *Cintra pras'asti* of the reign of king Śāraṅgadeva-vidē. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 277, v. 50. This shows that every

Sātavāhanas and *Sakas* found in the caves of Western India, bring to light a number of such guilds, like the *Odāyantrikas* (workers fabricating hydraulic engines), weavers, and *kularikas* (potters). A study of those records reveals the fact that these guilds or corporate bodies served as local banks¹⁰ also. The early *smṛtikartas* or the latter *Dharma Śāstrakartas* recognised these corporate bodies,¹¹ *śrēṇis*, or *saṁayas* as they were called, which had an independent organisation of their own, with rules and regulations to carry on their work. The conventional number of such *saṁayas* is eighteen. The number of communities grew gradually with the growth or multiplication of professions and trades.

Of such corporate bodies or trading communities, particular mention should be made of the Teliki and the Vīra Balañjya which were very active, influential and prosperous in this period. These bodies left behind them some records, generally registering their gifts, and sometimes recording their transactions. The information furnished by such records is very meagre, and does not enlighten us much regarding the working of these organisations, their rules and regulations, or their mode of transacting business.

The Teliki Community :

The Telikis, that is, oil millers or oilmongers, seem to have formed into a corporate body even from the time of the *Sātavāhana* emperors. *Tilapiśakas*¹² were one of the several guilds mentioned in their records. We do not hear about them any more until the time of the *Caḷukya-Cōḷa* emperor, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I, of the eleventh century A. D. The Tōki plates¹³ of his son Raja Raja Cōḷa Gaṅga, the viceroy of Vōṅgi, dated in Śaka 1006 (1084 A. D.), throw interesting light on the Teliki community. These plates record the grant of certain social privileges to the Telikis, who are said to comprise one thousand families, to have migrated to the South along with Vijayaditya, the lord of Ayōdhya, and the alleged progenitor of the *Caḷukya* race, and to have protected the *Caḷukya* kings, from the beginning of their rule, with their lives, with their courage, and qualities of virtue.

trade and calling in ancient times had its own *śrēṇi* or guild. The *Ambaṭṭha Suttanta* of the Buddhists (I, 113) and the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya (XI, 1) refer to *kṣatriya śrēṇis*, corporate bodies of warriors.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 82, and p. 89.

11. *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 41 and 42; *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama XI, 20-22

12. Luders' list, No. 1137.

13. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 334 ff.

The Telikis had a sort of *vakkana* or preamble¹⁴ which, though historically unimportant, furnishes some details about them.

This corporate body is said to have consisted of one thousand families. The number one thousand is enigmatic, and its full significance, as in the case of the numbers of other bodies, is not known. It might represent either the number of families of the Telikis which originally immigrated to the south, or the total membership of this corporate body consisting of elders, one from each of the thousand families. It appears to have become conventional to call the guild 'the Teliki one thousand'.

Each record of this guild refers to it as *akhila-deśala Teliki-revuru*, the Teliki one thousand of all countries. It is not known if the guild had any central organisation, consisting of local branches in different districts, towns, and villages. Nor is the nature of the relations, if any, between the central and the local bodies, very clear. Some of the records of the Telikis refer to some items of business they had transacted in the interest of their whole community as one corporate body.

The Vira Balañjya Samaya :

The Vira Balañjya corporation of traders and businessmen is referred to in a few inscriptions of this period. The texts of these records have not yet all been published. What is known of this body

14. S. I. I., IV, Nos. 668 and 771. According to this *vakkana* or *prasasti* in their records the Teliki revuru, as they were commonly called, are described as *Brahma-sambhuta-Manuvaisyadhinatha-sambharulu*, those who sprang from the lords of the progeny of Manu descended from Brahma, *Brahma-sambhava-Paulastya-kulakramagata-Manuvaisyodbhavulu*, those who were born in the race of Manu, descended gradually from the family of Paulastya, an off-spring of Brahma, *Paulastya-sahasra-sakhancaya-gōtrulu*, the *gotras* of the one thousand branches of families which sprang from Paulastya, and *Kapilamañha-pratiśṭhātulu*, those that were established in the Kapila *mañha*. From the epithet *Vijayavāḍa-sasanulu* given to them in the preamble, Vijayavāḍa appears to have been their first habitat in the Andhra country, probably after their immigration to the south. Their *prasasti* further informs us that they were the recipients of boons from goddess Bhagavati (*Bhagavati-labha-varaprasadulu*), the worshippers of the feet of their gurus (*guru-dēva-pada-aratṭhakulu*), adepts in all the Sūtras (*Sakala-sāstra-vīśaradulu*), and lords of Kanakapura and Gajapura, and the servants of the lords of Ayōdhyā (*Kanakapura-Gajapur-adhinayakulu*, *Ayōdhyapuravara-bhṛtyulu*). They are further extolled as *yama-niyama-dharma-parayānulu*, and *Satya-saucaśara-virajitulu* (those bent upon observing *yama*, *niyama* and *dharma*, and *satya*-*saucaśara*-*virajitulu* those who shone by *satya*, *sauca* and *śara*). They are also said to have been the main support of the kingdom of the Calukyas which was obtained by the boon of the great sage Kapila (*Kapilamahamunivara-prasada-labha-Calukyārājya-mūlastomibhayanūlu*). Some of their records state that they were established in the Paulasti-Bhagavati-sthana — (S. I. I. VI, No. 149).

from these inscriptions is very meagre. However, as the Vīra Balañjya corporation was the sole Trade Union which spread its activities over the whole of South India, Ceylon, and some countries and islands in the East, its records are found outside the Andhra country also. Though a study of these records enables us to get a correct and complete idea of the functions and duties of this corporate body, the standards and principles of historical research place limitations on the scope of this account in this work, and what little is given here is gathered mainly from inscriptions found in the coastal region of the Andhra country from early times till the end of the Reddi period. A few records outside the Andhra also are taken into account, only to elucidate some points relating to the organisation.

The different commercial and business bodies that constituted the Vīra Balañjya *saṁgha* are mentioned in an unpublished inscription of Śaka 1162 (1240 A. D.) discovered at Chintapalli¹⁵ (Guntur district). We come to know from this inscription that the Ubhaya-Nānādōśis, the Gavares, and the Mummuridaṇḍas were some of the bodies constituting the Vīra Balañjya *saṁgha*, and that they were the recipients of five hundred hero edicts (*pañcaśata vīraśāsanas*) and the protectors of the Vīra Balañjya *dharma*. The term Ubhaya-Nānādōśi represents merchants from all quarters and countries consisting of Dōśis, Parādōśis and Nānādōśis (natives, foreigners, and itinerants from all countries). All these terms find mention in the inscriptions of the Andhra country. *Sālumūla-samasta-pekkandru*, *Ebhayāṅga dōśala-samasta-pekkandru*, denoting all merchants from all quarters of the earth, and the multitude of merchants from the fifty six countries, are some more phrases recorded in the Telugu inscriptions, to denote, merchants from all countries and quarters. The body of Gavares seems to have derived its name from worshipping god Gavarēśvara, one of the gods, referred to in the *prajasti* of the Vīra Balañjyas, as having been worshipped by them. Mummuridaṇḍas was another component sect of the Vīra Balañjya *saṁgha*. This sect of tradesmen is frequently mentioned in the Canarese records of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mummuridaṇḍas is a puzzling term. Probably the Mummuridaṇḍas represented the advance guard of the trading caravan, or those that have borne a staff with three bands, probably as their weapon. In some of the Canarese inscriptions of the twelfth century, they are said to have been Bapañjigas (Vañjigas) "the brave of the brave, protectors of the submissive, cruel to the wicked, good to the good, and conquerors of powerful enemies."¹⁶ In these inscriptions their warlike spirit is well described.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 277 of 1934-35; Ep. Rep. 1935, pages 67-68, para 83.

16. S. I. I., Vol. IX, i, Nos. 297 and 296.

The Vira Balañjyas had a *raṅgana* of their own, which is generally found in their inscriptions registering their gifts, or recording their business transactions. From the preamble contained in their inscriptions, we come to know that they belonged to the Manumakula, that they had immigrated from Ahicchatrapura, a town in Northern India, that they were the recipients of five hundred hero edicts (*pañcaśata viraśāsanas*), and that they were the followers and the protectors of the Vira Balañjya *samaya dharma*. What this *dharma* was, is not defined in any of the records of the Vira Balañjyas. These were extolled as *raṅgarāṅga-Rāmulu* (virtual Rāmas on the field of battle), and *Samgrāma-Bhīmulu* (virtual Bhīmas on the battle-field) and so on. These titles attest to the warlike spirit of the Vira Balañjya tradesmen. In fact, the prefix *vira* is enough to indicate their heroism.

Inscriptions of this period bring to light another body of traders, the Svāmins of Ayyavāḷipura (lords of the town of Ayyavāḷi). An inscription¹⁷ at Appāpuram (Guntur district) dated in Śaka 1327, records the construction of a tank by a certain Kāḷūru Vallabhi Seṭṭi of Varidāla *gōtra* and the lord of Ayyavāḷipura. A great many records of these lords of the town of Ayyavāḷi are found scattered over the whole of South India, a great many in the Canarese country, and some in the Tamil and Telugu countries. A perusal of these records shows that they had also a *prāśasti*, not a whit different from, but completely identical with, that of the Vira Balañjyas. The Ayyāvōles, or lords of Ayyāvāḷipura, also claim to have been the protectors of the Vira Balañjya *dharma*, to have obtained *pañcaśata viraśāsanas*, evidently the same as those claimed by the Vira Balañjya union, and to have immigrated from Ahicchatrapura to Ayyavāḷi,¹⁸ the modern town of Aihole, in the Hangunda taluk, Bijapur district. The Canarese records of these Ayyāvōles also mention a number of mercantile and business bodies, like the Ubhaya-Nānadēśis, the Gavares, and the Mummuridaṇḍas. These facts clearly prove that the tradesmen who called themselves the lords of the town of Aihole, were in fact Vira Balañjyas and formed one of the bodies, probably the major body, that made up the Vira Balañjya *samaya*. Hence, it seems probable that all the Svāmins of Ayyāvōle were Vira Balañjyas, but all the Vira Balañjyas might not have been Ayyāvōles.

17. Ep. Coll., No. 402 of 1915.

18. Ayyavāḷi seems to be the ancient form of Ayyavāḷe or Ayyavōle which means the town of the Aryas (Ayyas), vāḷi being the corrupt form of the *deva* term *prōlu* a market town. In fact, this form Ayyavāḷi and its equivalent Ayyavōle are found in Tamil inscriptions at Kaṭṭūr (Chingleput district) of the time of the Coḷa emperor Rajendra Coḷa I, and at Tirumuruganpuḷi (Coimbatore district) of the time of Vikrama Coḷa (Ep. Coll., Nos. 256 of 1912; 97 of 1915).

Since Ayyavolepura in the Canarese country was the headquarters of this body, styled as the Fivehundred Svāmins of the Ayyāvolepura, the language of this guild was naturally Kannaḍa, since the portion enumerating the various bodies of traders in the Chintapalli record adverted to before, is written in Kannaḍa "with a mixture of Telugu expressions." The Superintendent of Epigraphy opines that the language (of the central chamber of commerce located at Aihole) "was evidently adopted by the subordinate bodies as a mark of affiliation to the central organisation".¹⁹ It may however be pointed out here that all the records of the *Vīra Balañjya samaya* found in the coastal region are in Telugu. If the observation made above is true, it might be that the major sect of the Ayyāvole Svāmins formed the managing body of this *Vīra Balañjya samaya*. However, future researches have to clarify these points.

The expression 'Five hundred' in the *vakkaya* of the *Vīra Balañjyas* or of the Ayyāvoles is unintelligible. The records of the Ayyāvoles lead us to believe that it represents the number of the lords of Ayyavolepura comprising the guild, who probably managed the affairs of the body. But, according to the inscriptions of the *Vīra Balañjyas*, it represents the number of *vīrasasanas* (hero-edicts concerning probably privileges in business and trade obtained from the rulers of the land). However the full significance of the term 'five hundred' is not yet known.

The Canarese records of the Ayyāvoles describe them as "brave men, born to wander for many centuries ever since the beginning of the Kṛtāyuga," "experts in the testing of the *navaratnas*, *vāhanas* like horses and elephants," and as "adepts in business." The articles in which they traded were elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, cows, carts, rubies, pearls, coral, emeralds, topazes, diamonds, sapphires, agates, lapislazuli, moonstones, jewels, cloth, cotton, articles for gods, cuscus, civet, camphor, musk, saffron, and other perfumes and drugs, arecanut, salt, grain, flowers, pepper and many others. They carried these articles on oxen, asses or buffaloes, "adorned with red trappings" and "tinkling bells." They sold these articles either wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders²⁰. They further state that they carried on their business in the thirty two sea ports (*Vēlānagara* or *Vēlōma*), eighteen cities, sixty four *gṛhapāṭhas* and sixty four *ghaṭikāsthānas*. Those records enable us to know that the guild had a flag of its own. The guild had also the right to confer titles with some honours and

19. Ep. Rep., 1935, para 33, page 68.

20. Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 119.

privileges attached to them, on certain individuals, probably in recognition of their services to it. *Prthiviseṭṭi* (the mayor of the Earth) seems to have been the highest honorary title which the guild conferred in some special cases. From the Chintapalli inscription referred to above we come to know that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Cāgi Dōrayarāja* had the title *Prthiviseṭṭi*²². *Dōrayarāja* was not a *Vīra Balañjya*. He was a feudal chief of the *Cāgi* family which appears to have been a *ksatriya* one, since its members are said to have been born of the *bahus* (shoulders) of *Brahma*²³. *Prthiviseṭṭi*, therefore, seems to have been a title conferred on him by *Vīra Balañjya samaya*. That the term *Prthiviseṭṭi* was a title is definitely known from a Canarese inscription of the *Vīra Balañjyas*, which records the conferring of the title of *Prthiviseṭṭi* on a certain *Muddaya Daṇṇiyaki* (*varriḡe Prthiviseṭṭitana - koṭṭu*).²⁴ Another Canarese record²⁵ of the time of the Vijayanagar king *Harihara II*, dated in 1379 A. D., details the honours and privileges to which the *Prthiviseṭṭis* were entitled. If the *Prthiviseṭṭis* of any country went to another country, the authorities of that country first presented them with betel leaf, cloths, and allowance of food, and granted them other privileges. The examples cited above clearly prove that *Prthiviseṭṭi* was the greatest title of honour conferred by the *Vīra Balañjya*²⁶ trade union. *Seṭṭi* seems to be the general title of the members of these trade guilds.

22. Ep. Coll., No. 283 of 1924; Ep. Rep., 1924, para 57, p. 116.

23. *Rayanimantri Bhaskara*, another eminent brahman scholar and statesman, had the title *Prthiviseṭṭi* (Ep. Coll., Nos. 377 of 1911, and 18 of 1917; Ep. Rep., 1918, p. 174, para 84.)

24. Ep. Carn., Vol. XIII, Si. 76.

25. In the term *vīra Balañjya* *vīra* is an honorific term indicating bravery. *Balañjya* or *Balañje* is the real name of the *samaya*. That these Ayyavolas and others of the *Vīra Balañjya samaya* are today represented by the *Balajes*, commonly called *Baliyas*, is proved by the following lines in a *catu* verse in *Sisa* metre, preserved in a palm leaf manuscript (Mack. Mss., No. 10-16-10) in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It was composed in praise of the *Baliyas* of *Sinhavikramapura* (Nellore).

“శ్రీ మరయ్యావళి సింహ విక్రమపుర
వరులు బల్లగులైన బలిజవారు
మష్ట నికరమున శ్రేష్ఠులై మోగంకాటి
పట్ట బగులయిన బలిజవారు

Some of the passages like *mṛōṅkaṭi paṭṭabaddhulu* and *moyiluvale gūḍi mañcuvale viḍi* are found in the *prasasti* of the *Vīra Balañjyas* recorded in their inscriptions. The verse is full of mistakes.

Nagara :

Another notable guild of the period was the Nagara. It finds mention in the Telugu inscriptions as Nagara or Nakaraṇu. This seems to have been purely a vaiśya guild. Nagara seems to have been the contracted form of Penugonḍa-nagara (West Godavari district), the habitat of the vaiśyas of the one hundred and two *gōṭras*, and the place where Vasavikanyā is said to have immolated herself by falling into the fire-pit to save her honour. These vaiśyas of Penugonḍa, Nagaramvāru as they are also called in Telugu inscriptions, seem to have formed into a sub-group in the vaiśya corporation consisting of one thousand *gōṭras* (*sahasra-gōṭraparitrulu*). They styled themselves as *Penugonḍapuravarēśvaras* (lords of Penugonḍapura) and lord-chiefs of Penugonḍa (*Penugonḍa-prabhumukhyas*)²⁶. Their tutelary deity was Vasavikanyā. They were also the worshippers of Nagarēśvaradēva.²⁷ Members of the Kubēra-vaiṣṇava mentioned in Telugu inscriptions, were also reckoned as vaiśyas. They were extolled in a record at Nadenḍla (Guntur district) as having "earned the blessings of the learned (by patronising them)", "practised self denial", and "entertained the maintenance of *dharma* as their chief object."²⁸

The Trading Caravan :

The trading caravan, *Satu* in Telugu, consisted of a great number of merchants of different sects, dealing in different articles of trade. About these tradesmen Ibn Batūta writes, "One merchant may be accompanied by about hundred men carrying his wares. Every one of these men carries a stout stick fitted with an iron point at the lower end, and a hook of the same metal at the top; when the porter is fatigued and does not find any place for resting himself, he sticks his baton into the ground and suspends his burden on it. After rest, he takes up his charge without any one to assist him and resumes his march."²⁹ While writing about the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān Firūz Shāh, the Muslim historian, Ferishta, refers to "a band of grain merchants, called in Hindoosthan Banjaras, who were on their way to Berar with two thousand head of oxen," who were "joined by horse-dealers who were taking with them three hundred horses for sale."³⁰

26. Ep. Coll., Nos. 84 and 85 of 1917; S. I. I., Vol. IV, Nos. 660 and 696; Ep. Coll., No. 448 of 1915.

27. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 660.

28. Ep. Coll., No. 395 of 1915.

29. *Foreign Notices*, page 236.

30. Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 393. Aziz-ulla states that these Banjaras were cattle-herds (*mukaram*). I. S. King - *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, p. 44.

Tradesmen - Toll Farmers :

The Vīra Balañjya records generally register gifts to temples of tolls and taxes, which formed one of the important items of revenue to the State. This fact of remitting tolls presupposes that these tradesmen of the traditional eighteen *samayas* were masters of the income from tolls and that they spent it in the interests of the *samaya*. This state of affairs would have been possible only when these merchants farmed tolls from the king, probably periodically, by paying the amount fixed by him in a lump sum to the State, and the income to the State from this item did not on any account suffer. Members of these *samayas* farmed, either individually or collectively, tolls including grazing tax on pasture-lands (*pasula-pullari*). These were called in Telugu *sunka-guttakāṇḍru* (toll-farmers). These are mentioned in an inscription of the time of Kumāragiri Redḍi.³¹ These toll-farmers had their own office-establishment. They had a number of accountants, called *sunka-karaṇālu*, to keep their accounts of tolls, collected in different localities. Two copper-plate grants belonging to the end of the Kakatiya period, that is, the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., throw further light on these *samayas* (guilds or corporate bodies). The members of the trade-guilds exercised unlimited authority in dealing with offences, committed by any member of their establishment or by any of their agents or accountants. Members of these *samayas* usually met in the front hall (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of a temple and transacted their business or decided their cases. It was the custom in those days to set up at such meetings *Vajrabaisiga* (or *baisuga*), the ensign of the Vīra Balañjya corporation comprising the eighteen *samayas*.³²

31. Ep. Coll., No. 380 of 1926.

32. In this connection it may be interesting to note the following lines, extracted from Edgar Thurston's *Castes and tribes of Southern India* (Vol. II, pp. 121-23).

"The word *Desayi* means of the country (*Des'a* is a subdivision of *Baliya*). For almost in every *taluk* in the North Arcot district there is a head-man, called *Desayi Chetti* who may be said, in a manner, to correspond to a Justice of Peace. The Head-man belongs to the *Kavarai* or *Baliya* caste, their family name being *Dhanapala*—a common name among the *Kavarais* which may be interpreted as 'the protector of wealth.' The *Dhanapala Desayi Chetti* holds sway over the eighteen castes. ... All those that are called *Valangai* or right-hand castes fall within his jurisdiction. ... A large cup-shaped spoon is the ensign of the *Des'ayi*. On the outer surface, all round its edge, are carved in relief eighteen figures, each one being typical of one of the castes of which the *Des'ayi* is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tamil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers ... (On the occasion of trying cases) the *Des'ayi's* emblem is placed in front of him in the midst of the *Pañchayat* and a regular enquiry held. ... The *Des'ayi* maintains a

Of the two copper plate inscriptions mentioned above, one records the grant of privilege to trade in certain articles without paying tolls to a certain Puliyama Setṭi for having killed one Kārapākala Kāṭi Nāyaka, who had become a traitor to the *samayas*, by the merchants of the eighteen *samayas* of all countries (*akṣiḥa-dēṣāla padunenmīdi-samayāla - samastam-aṇa - pekkandru*) residing in the Nandyāla sthala;³³ the other, a similar record, registers the grant of privileges by the same body of merchants (*Cūlu-mūla - padunenmīdi - samayāla - samasta-pekkandru*) to a certain Attena for having killed Annama Rāja and Singa Rāja, the *saṅka-karaṇas* (toll accountants) of Cerunūru in Peḍakaṇṭi *śima*.³⁴

The above records, if genuine, unmistakably attest to the great power wielded by these corporate bodies. From these records, we come to know that the king never interfered in the internal management of their affairs, but gave them a free hand to do as they liked. They enjoyed full autonomy in the management of their own affairs. The king was probably unable to do anything even in the case of a death sentence pronounced by the tribunal of these bodies on any one, who proved a traitor to the *samaya* and worked against its interests. Since these tradesmen of the eighteen *samayas* were bankers and served the king by joining the ranks of the army in times of war, they appear to have wrested more concessions from time to time and grown gradually more powerful. They consolidated their ranks more formidably in this period of political revolution and Hindu religious revival than in the early medieval era, and wielded enormous influence in the State.

regular record of his enquiries and judgements, and in the days of the Nawabs, these decisions were, it would appear, recognised by the Court of Justice. The same respect, it is said, was also shown to the De'sayi's decision by the early courts of John Company (a corruption of Company Jehan, a title of the English East India Company)".

The Kavaraṭis in the above account represent the Gavares of the Vira Balañjya records and the eighteen castes, the eighteen *samayas*. The cup-shaped spoon was the *Vairabaisiṇi*, the ensign of the corporation. The name of the caste under each figure on it was in Tamil, because the above account refers to the Tamil country. The above account helps the reader to form a good idea of a meeting of the members of the *samaya* in ancient times, and of the value attached to the judgments of the De'sayi Setṭi. The passage quoted above suggests that the spoon, the ensign of the De'sayi Setṭi, and the *Vairabaisiṇi*, the emblem of the Vira Balañjya corporation are one and the same. It may be worth recalling in this connection that the utensil used by the goddess, Annapurna of Kāśī, for distributing food, is also a ladle, a spoon-like thing. It seems, therefore, that the ladle, the spoon, or the *Vairabaisiṇi* was the Hindu symbolical representation of economic plenty, and its distribution.

33. C. P. No. 10 of 1918-19.

34. C. P. No. 11 of 1918-19.

SEA-BORNE TRADE

From the early centuries of the Christian era, the Andhra country including Kāṭiṅga, which extended from the Gōdāvari in the south to the Mahanadī in the north, maintained its reputation as one of the foremost of the nations of India that had sea-borne trade with countries and islands far and near. The trade with the east was exclusively in the hands of the nations of Eastern India, while that with the West was carried on chiefly by the Arabs and the Moors. The long coast-line of the Andhra country was responsible to a great extent in making the Andhras a sea-faring nation from early centuries.

The intercourse between the Andhra country and the countries and islands in the East, which had begun during the supremacy of the Sātavāhanas (Andhra kings), was steadily kept up in the later centuries by the Eastern Caḷukyas of Vēṅgi and others. Coins of the Caḷukya monarch Saktivarma I, also called Caḷukya Candra, were discovered in lower Burma and Siam.

During the twelfth century, the sea-borne trade of the Andhra country seems to have received a set-back owing to the Western Caḷukya invasions of Vēṅgi, the rivalry of the *maṇḍalīkas* (feudal chiefs) in extending their authority, and the indifference of the Caḷukya-Cōla sovereigns. Pirates grew in number and made it impossible for merchant ships to sail safely. The inevitable result was that maritime trade suffered heavily, and many of the ports, called *karapaṭṭas* in Telugu, fell into disuse and were deserted. This state of affairs was made still worse by the imposition of unjust taxes and unjust ordinances, compelling the traders to sell their goods at prices fixed by local chiefs. These high-handed measures almost strangled the foreign trade.

A welcome change came when Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatiya family of Waraṅgal conquered the *maṇḍalīkas* and brought the whole of the coastal region under his sceptre in the thirteenth century. He revived the sea-borne trade by many benevolent measures. He offered protection to foreign merchants trading with countries and islands beyond the seas, from oppressive taxation and piracy, fixed export and import duties on articles of trade in accordance with the custom prevailing before, and withdrew all unjust taxes newly imposed by the local chiefs. As a result of his wise and beneficent policy, merchants again resorted to the deserted ports and carried on trade as before. During the rule of the Kākatiyas, Mōṭupalli was a great emporium

(*deśiyūyukkondapatāṇa*). During the later half of the Kākatiya period, the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, visited this port when it was in a very flourishing condition.

The Muslim invasions, and the anarchical state of the country, consequent on the fall of Waraṅgal in 1323 A. D., dealt a death-blow to the sea-borne trade again.

After the re-establishment of Hindu independence, it took considerable time for the Andhra leaders to restore law, order and peace. Prōlaya Voma Redḍi, the chief leader to the South of the Kṛṣṇa, re-captured the coastal tract from the hands of the enemy and emulated the example of his predecessors, the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal, in clearing the seas of pirates. It was his younger brother Malla Redḍi who, under his orders, defeated the local enemy chiefs in the Mōṭupalli region and brought it under the sway of the Redḍi kings. Vēma's son and successor, king Anavōta, renovated the port of Mōṭupalli and restored it to its former glory. He issued a charter of concessions to merchants coming to settle and trade at Mōṭupalli, and to those tradesmen belonging to other ports and islands coming there on business. He fixed the duties on articles of export and import. This charter of Śaka 1280, that is, 1358 A. D., was incised in both Tamil and Telugu languages,⁸⁵ on a pillar in the maṇḍapa of the Virabhadrasvamin temple at Mōṭupalli, under orders of Anavōta's minister, Sōmayamantri. To those that had deserted Mōṭupalli for other places, but were now willing to return, Anavōta promised to give the garden land (*tōṃṭa-dharaṇi*), which was in their enjoyment before. He allowed them liberty to sell their goods brought from other shores to any one at their pleasure (*viccalaviḍi*), and, if they still so desired, they could carry the goods and leave for other places on business.

King Anavōta Redḍi abolished the taxes called *aputrika-daṇḍam* and *kuḍḍāyam* (forced impost) on foreign merchants (trading in his dominions), and remitted the duty on gold and silver(?) completely and a third of the import duty on sandal [*valubaḍi* (*varuṇbaḍi*) *sunkamu*]. "It was proclaimed that henceforward no cloth would be detained in the warehouse(?) and tolls on other articles would, under no circumstances, be different from what they were before." "The following rates of duty were fixed: (A) goods coming from the southern side - on 100 (packages)

85. Ep. Coll., Nos 601 and 602 of 1909.

These two inscriptions have not yet been published. The Tamil copy seems to be the more important of the two, and contains more information than the Telugu one. I had to quote from the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1910 for the information contained in it.

of import, 3 (packages), and on 100 cloths of export, 2 coins (?); (B) on goods coming from the north - on 100 packages of import, 5, and on 100 cloths of export 3 coins (?); (C) on goods exported to foreign lands - 3 (coins) on 100 cloths and (D) $7\frac{1}{2}$ (?) on 100 pearls³⁶."

From a perusal of the inscription of Anavōtā Reddi cited above, we can very well imagine the difficulties and disabilities to which foreign merchants visiting Mōṭupalli were formerly subjected. The very fact that the inscription containing more details was written in Tamil, proves that many of the foreign merchants visiting that place belonged to the Tamil country. Of all the *karapaṭṇas* (ports) of the Andhra country, Mōṭupalli was the leading one in the period under review.

Navigation :

The sea-borne trade was carried on by means of many kinds of sea-going vessels, some of which are mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature. Their names are *kappali*, *jōngu*, *valli*, *valika*, and *samman*.

Of these *kappali*, the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil *kappal*, a ship, represented the native craft that particularly plied in the Indian seas and coastal waters. About these ships Conti writes thus: "They (the natives of India) build some ships much larger than ours, capable of containing two thousand butts, and with five sails and as many masts. The lower part is constructed with triple planks, in order to withstand the force of the tempests to which they are much exposed. But some ships are so built in compartments, that, should one part be scattered, the other portion remaining entire, may accomplish the voyage."³⁷

Jōngu was the name of the large Chinese ship that plied in the Chinese and Indian seas between China and India. This was the common type of vessel extensively used for trade in the Eastern seas in the period under review. Ibn Batūta writes, "There are three kinds of Chinese vessels: (1) large ships, called *Junks*;³⁸ (2) middling ones called *Zu-s*, and (3) the smallest *Kakams*. Of the large vessels there are three sails or more, upto a dozen. Their sails are made of cane reeds plaited together like mats; they are never lowered, but are turned about according to the direction of the wind. When the ships are anchored, the sails are allowed to float in the wind.

36. Ep. Rep., 1910, Para 61, page 118.

37. Major, Conti, p. 27.

38. Sir H. Yule thinks that this term was derived from the Malay *jong* or *ajong*, a great ship - See *Cathay*, IV, p. 25.

Each of these ships is manned by a thousand men, six hundred sailors and four hundred soldiers, among whom are archers, men armed with shields, and persons who throw naphtha. Each large vessel is followed by three smaller ones, a middle-sized, a third and a fourth-sized.

"They make four decks on a vessel; it contains chambers, cabins, and saloons for the merchants. Many of these cabins contain chambers and water-closets. They have keys and their occupants lock them. They take their wives and concubines with them. It often happens that a man lives in his cabin unknown to any others on board, till they meet on their arrival in some place.

"The sailors' children live in these cabins. They grow vegetables, pulses and ginger in wooden tubs. The commander of a ship is like a great amir; when he disembarks, archers and Abyssinians march in front of him with javelins, swords, drums, bugles and trumpets. When he arrives at the inn where he is to live, they place their lances on either side of the door and continue to do so throughout his stay."³⁹

Valli and *calika* were some other types of vessels about which nothing is known to us.

Samman (plural, *sammans*) seems to be a corruption of *sampan*, a common name applied to the native vessel which plies in the waters in the Malay Peninsula.

One could navigate through eight months in the year, that is from September to April in the Eastern waters. The sea would be stormy from May to August⁴⁰. About the steering of ships Nicolo de Conti writes: "The Natives of India steer their vessels for the most part by the stars of the Southern hemisphere, as they rarely see those of the north. They are not acquainted with the use of the compass but measure their courses and the distance of places by the elevation and depression of the Pole. They find out where they are by this mode of measurement."⁴¹

39. *Foreign Notices*, pp. 242-243.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

41. Major, *Conti*, pp. 26-27.

It is, however, interesting to note in this connection Vasco de Gama's observation. According to a passage in Barros, Vasco de Gama found the compass already in use by Indian pilots (*Asia*, dec. 1, Bk. IV, Chap. 6).—Quoted in *The Portuguese Pioneers* by Edgar Prestage, p. 317.

"The shores of the said sea (the sea of India) in some places," writes Jhon of Montecervino, "run out in shoals for 100 miles or more, so that ships are in danger of grounding. And they cannot make the voyage but once a year, for from the beginning of April till the end of October the winds are westerly, so that no one can sail towards the west; and again 'tis just the contrary from the month of October till March. From the middle of May till the end of October the wind blows so hard that ships which by that time have not reached the ports whither they are bound, run a desperate risk, and if they escape it is great luck."¹²

Imports and Exports :

While describing the maritime trade carried on by the Avaci family, one of the richest merchant families of the Reddi period, Srnuatha, with a surprising historic sense, enumerates, in his *Hararitāsam* the various countries and islands with which the Andhra country of his time had dealings, and also the articles they supplied.¹³

12. *Foreign Notice*, p. 190.

43. "పంజారం గర్భాని పాదపంబులు దెచ్చె

జలనోరి బంగారు మొలకం దెచ్చె

సింహశిలబున నింధనింధునింబులు దెచ్చె

హూరుమంజీ బలు తేజ నారులు దెచ్చె

గోవ సంశుద్ధ సంకుమద్రవము దెచ్చె

యాలపం గట్టాణిమత్యాలు దెచ్చె

భోటం గస్తూరికాపుటకోశములు దెచ్చె

తీని తీనాంబరశ్రేణి దెచ్చె

జగదగోపాల రాయవేశ్యాభుజంక

పల్లవాదిత్య భూదాన పరశురామ

శామనిగిరి రాజ దేవేంద్రు కూర్మహిమండు

బాణ జగ జెట్టి దేవయ్యచామసెట్టి" — Hr. VI., I, v. 26.

"తరుణానీరి తనాయి గోవ రమణా స్థానంబులం జగదనా

గరుకర్పూరహిమాంబుకుంకమరజకస్తూరి కాద్రవ్యమల్

శరధిం గప్పలి తోంగు వల్లి వర్తి కా సమృద్ధ (సంపన్న)ం దెప్పించు నే

ర్పరియై వైశ్యకులార్తముం పవచిరిప్పం పట్టు దేయిచ్చుహిణ్." — Ibid, v. 28.

The countries and islands mentioned by Śrīnātha and the articles of import from them are given below in a tabular form.

<i>Countries and islands.</i>	<i>Articles of import.</i>
Cini	Silk cloths (<i>Cināmbaraśreṇi</i>)
Simhala	Elephants and gems (<i>Sindhuraṁbulu</i> , <i>ratnāṁkuramulu</i>)
Pañjāra	Camphor trees (<i>karpūrapādapamulu</i>)
Jalanōṅgi	Sprouts of gold (<i>baṁgāru maloka</i>)
Hurumuñji	Horses (<i>Tēji harulu</i>)
Gōva	Liquid Civet (<i>Sankumadadravamulu</i>)
Yāmpa	Pearls (<i>Kaṭṭānimuttyālu</i>)
Bhōṭa	Musk (<i>Kaṣṭūri</i>)
Taruṇāsīri	Sandal (<i>Candana</i>)
Tavāyi	Aloe wood (<i>Agaru</i>)
Gōva	Camphor (<i>Karpūra</i>)
Ramaṇa	Rose water (<i>Himāmbu</i>)
	Musk (<i>Kaṣṭūri</i>)
	Pollen of Saffron (<i>Kuṅkumaraṇa</i>)

Cini: This is the ancient name of China. There is evidence to prove the existence of an active intercourse between China and Southern India beginning from the second century B. C.⁴⁴ This intercourse, though occasionally subjected to ups and downs, was kept up during the succeeding centuries until this period. Cāmi Seṭṭi, a member of the Avaci family, is said to have imported from Cini into the Andhra country *Cināmbaraśreṇi*, a great number of *Cināmburas*, China-cloths.⁴⁵ From very ancient times China has been famous for its silk cloth which was called *Cināmbura* by the Indians.

Simhala: Simhala is, of course, Ceylon. The commodities which were brought from this island were elephants and precious stones. Ceylon was famous for its breed of elephants, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it supplied war elephants to the countries on the

44. *Foreign Notices.*, pp. 44-45, Introd. p. 4.

Several embassies were sent from South India to Chinese emperors. The last embassy was sent during this period. Dr. E. Bretschneider, in his *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, writes under caption "A-nan-gung-de, a kingdom in Sit-lien (Western heaven)," - a Chinese name applied to India in some Chinese translations of Buddhist works:—"In 1874 Bu-halu, the ruler of this country, sent his chief explainer (kiangchu) by name Bi-ni-si, with tribute to the Chinese Court. He brought among other things, a stone which had the property of neutralising poison. After this no embassy from that country was seen in China. That is all the Ming Shi records with respect to this Indian kingdom"—Vol. II, pp. 221-222. A-nan-gung-de in the above passage is Anagondi (Vijayanagar). Bu-ha-lu seems to be the corrupt form of Bukkaraya I of Vijayanagar.

45. Hr. VI. I. Introd. verses.

mainland. "And in this island," says Barbosa, "are reared many wild elephants which the king has caught and tamed. These he sells to the merchants of the Choramandel, of Narasinga, Malabar, Daquem, and Cambea who come thither to seek them." "He also writes, "And in this island also are found precious stones in plenty, of many kinds." "47

It is said that Tippaya Setti, another member of the Avaci family, had a long acquaintance with the land of Lankā and Sīmhala^{dvipa} (*Cira-paricita-Lāṅkā-Sīmhala^dripa-bhūmi*), and that he pleased all kings by satisfying them with the commodities brought from Lankā and other islands (*Lāṅkādikadriṣāṇita surasta-tarpita-samadhēyā^khilakṣmāpa*).⁴⁸

Pañjara: This seems to be the Telugu equivalent of the name of a town in the island of Sumatra, called Pansor, Pansur or Fansur by the mediaeval Arab and Western writers, and 'Barus' by later travellers. And Barus is the name of the principal mart of that "commodity (camphor) in Sumatra, and the word has been affixed by traders to discriminate it from the camphor of Japan." "49

Jalanōṅgi: This place which supplied *baṅgārumolaka* which literally means 'sprout of gold', cannot be definitely identified. C. P. Brown takes *baṅgārumolaka* to mean 'fairy gold', supposed to grow in snake-holes,⁵⁰ though it is difficult to understand how it could mean that. Whatever be the exact meaning of the term, it is obvious that it denotes some kind of gold, probably the best. It might also probably mean alluvial gold, obtained by washing the silt near the banks of rivers and in their beds. Gold was certainly imported to India from abroad from the earliest times. It continued to be so even in the

46. Barbosa, I, p. 113.

47. Ibid, I, pp. 115-116.

48. Hr. VI., I, 31; VII, 195.

The above statements raise the question whether Lankā and Sīmhala are not different islands. To identify Lankā with Sīmhala (Ceylon) seems to be erroneous. Lankā which has been known to the Hindus from the days of Valmiki, appears to be different from Ceylon. This question cannot be, however, conveniently discussed here. In this connection it may be interesting to note a place called Lang-kia or Lang-Ya-hsin on the Isthmus of Kra (Gerini, pp. 113-115).

49. Chau Ju-kua, T. P. Vol. XIII., p. 194.

There is a town called Banjar Massin in Borneo which also produces camphor. Vide, Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 308. Pañjara mentioned in the Telugu work *Haravilasam* might be identical with either of these two towns (Pansor or Banjar Massin.)

50. Tel. Eng. Dict., p. 818 (1852)

middle ages. It is not possible even to indicate the direction where *Jalanōngi* is situated. However, as most of the trade of the Avaci family was with the Eastern countries and islands, it is possible that it should lie somewhere in the East. It may however be noted that in the Archipelago, there was a district called *Jih-lo-ting* in 'the south-eastern end of the Malay Peninsula', where gold and silver wares were manufactured.⁵¹ It seems not unlikely that *Jih-lo-ting* and *Jalanōngi* are corrupted forms of some Malay place-name which played an important part in the international trade of ancient times.⁵²

Hurumūñji: This is the same as *Hurmuz* or *Ormuz* in Persia. This town is 'situated on the small island of *Jerun* in the Straits still known on our maps as the Straits of *Ormuz*.' 'The original *Hurmuz* was a town on the Persian mainland, on the banks of the *Minab* river... Its situation on the mainland laid it open to attack in troubled times, and the inhabitants finally, about the year 1300, abandoned it and founded the new town of *Hormuz* on the neighbouring isle of *Jerun* or *Jeraun*."⁵³ This town supplied horses to Indian kings in the middle ages. That *Hurmuz* supplied horses to the Indian kings, is also corroborated by the account of *Duarte Barbosa*. He writes 'And from the city of *Adem* they (merchants) bring

51. *Gerini*, p. 826 (627).

52. In connection with *bañgarumolaka*, it will be interesting to read what *Milburn* has written about gold-dust produced in *Borneo*. "*Borneo produces*", he writes, "immense quantities of gold; it is procured at *Sambas*, *Mompurva*, *Pontiana*, *Borneo town*, and *Banjar Massin*. It is stated from very good authority, that two hundred peculs of gold-dust are annually procured by the Chinese, Dutch, and English, chiefly by the Chinese, from the places visited by their junks. At *Banjar Massin* gold-dust is divided into head, belly and foot. The head is also called *Molucca gold* (? *bañgarumoluka*); it is in grains as large as bay-salt, of a very irregular shape, free from any artificial alloy, and comes up in fineness to about twenty two carats. ... The second sort or belly is in smaller grains, like sand or brass filings. ... The foot nearly resembles the belly to out-ward appearance, but is often found mixed with iron-dust or something resembling it."—(*Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 311). *Jalanōngi* seems to be a Malay town which supplied the *Andhra* country with *bañgarumoluka* (probably the correct term) of *Borneo*.

53. *Barbosa*, I, f. n. 2, p. 90.

"Outside in the same isle is a little hill of rock-salt, also some brim stone, but very little. The salt is in blocks as large as great rocks in rugged hills; it is called *Indian Salt*.

"All ships which come to this city take it as ballast for it is worth money at many places. The merchants of this isle and city are *Persians* and *Arabs*.

"It has a right good harbour where many sorts of goods are handled which come hither from many lands and from here they barter them with many parts of *India*"—*Ibid*, I, p. 91.

to Ormuz abundance of copper, quicksilver, vermillion, rose-water, many brocaded cloths, tafetas and ordinary camlets. ...And from Barem and Julfur come seed-pearls, and large pearls and from the cities of Arabia a great number of horses come, which they carry thence to India, whither every year they used to take one and at times two thousand horses, and each one of these is worth in India, taking good and bad together, three or four hundred Cruzados, more or less according to the demand for them. And in the ships in which these horses are taken they carry also abundance of dates, raisins, salt and sulphur, also coarse seed-pearls in which the Moors of Narasinga take delight.⁵⁴

Gōra: This is the modern Goa, the famous sea-port on the west coast of India. During the middle ages it was the biggest port in India. All the commodities coming from Western Asia, Europe, and Africa, found their way to Indian markets through this port. It supplied civet to the Andhra country. It was not a product of Goa. It must have come there from the West. Chau Ju-kua states that civet 'comes from the country of 'K 'ie-liki (Kalbat?) of the Arabs.⁵⁵ Commenting on this passage the editors of Chau Ju-kua observe thus: "It seems clear that at the time of which our author writes, there were two drugs known to Chinese....The one was derived from Northern Asia, from Mancuria to Khirghiz steppes, the other was brought to China by the Arabs of Oman who called it Zi-Po-tu-min which we have no difficulty in recognising the Arabic word Al Zabad, our civet".⁵⁶ The civet which Cami Seṭṭi of the Avaci family secured from Goa, must have been brought there by the Arabs. This becomes a certainty when we compare the Telugu word *Zavādi* (Zabadi) civet with the Arab word, Al Zabad.

Yāmpa (*Yāpa*): Yāpa from which pearls were imported, is Yālpāṇa, that is, Jaffna, a province in the north of Ceylon. The Gulf of Mannar is famous for pearl-fishery; and it is only natural that Cami Seṭṭi should have obtained best pearls at Jaffna (Yālpāṇa).

Bhōṭa: This is the ancient name of Bhōṭān which has been famous for musk. According to the *Tārā Tantra*, Bhōṭa extends from Kashmir to the west of Kāmarūpa (Assam), and to the south of Manasarōvara.⁵⁷

54. Ibid, 1, pp. 93-94.

55. Chau Ju-kua, p. 234.

56. Ibid, p. 234 n. 4.

57. N. L. Dey - *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 33.

Taruṇāsīri: This is mentioned among a group of places, the remaining being *Tavāyi*, *Gōva*, *Ramaṇa* and others, which supplied sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, rose-water, musk and pollen of saffron. As all these places, like the articles of import, are mentioned collectively, it is not possible to mark out the particular place which supplied each of the above articles. The printed text of the *Haravilāsam* has *Taruṇa-Cīni*; but the manuscript copy has *Taruṇa-Sīri*.⁵⁸ *Taruṇa-sīri* therefore seems to be the correct reading. However, it is difficult to say if this term stands for a single place or two entirely different places, namely *Taruṇa* and *Sīri*. *Candana* (sandal wood) was probably the article of import from *Taruṇa-sīri*. In fact, sandal wood is a characteristic product of the west coast of South India. Since it is said that it was imported also from abroad, it must have been brought from the East Indies. It is said that the best Sandal wood "came from two countries, Takang and Ti-wu, both of which were the dependencies of San-fo-t'si"⁵⁹ (Palembang). The former still remains unidentified, and the latter has been identified with the island Timor⁶⁰. There are, however, no towns in the East Indies bearing the name either of *Taruṇa* or *Sīri*. The name *Taruṇa-sīri* reminds us and sounds almost akin to *Tarnassari*, a town in the Malay Peninsula. It seems probable that either of these two names is a variant or a corrupt form of the other. If such is the case, *Taruṇa-sīri* and *Tarnassari*, (the modern *Tenassarim*) are identical. The following note seems in a way to strengthen this view and fix its position.

"*Tenaceree*: (Portuguese *Tanaseri*, Malay *Tanah Sri*) — "From Martavan coasting the shore southwards sixty myles, and then thirty myles south-east by East; between two Islandes the coast runneth inwards like a bow, wherein lyeth the town of Tanassarien.....The Portingalles have great traffique unto this town.....and thether commeth great great [store of] merchandise out of Pegu, and Siam..."⁶¹

Tavāyi: The next place in the group referred to before is *Tavāyi*, the modern *Tavoy*. It is the name of a city situated on a

58. See, Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss., 1910-11-1912-18, page 314. The editors or publishers of *Haravilāsam* must have corrected *Sīri*, an unknown term, into *Cīni*, a well-known place.

59. Chau Ju-kua, p. 208:

"There come like-wise merchants from the whole of India, from the *Coremandel*, from *Bengal*, from *Tenassarim*, from *Pegu*, with provisions and rich merchandise. They carry like-wise to *Malacca* the cloves of *Molucus*, the camphor of *Borneo*, the mace and the black nut-meg of *Banda*, the white and red sandal of *Timor*." — *Castenheda* (1528-38); *Foreign Notices*, p. 312.

60. *Gerini*, p. 519.

61. *Linschoten in Hakl. Soc.*, Vol. LXX, p. 103.

river of the same name falling into the gulf of Martaban. Barros mentions it as one of the ports of the Malay Peninsula.⁶² The principal industry of the people of Tavoy appears to have been the manufacture of camphor. "The Tavoyers", says Gerini, "make an impure camphor from it (chapa or chapu tree) by a very simple process..... The product in its refined form appears identical in all its properties with the Chinese camphor."⁶³

Ramaṇa: It is not easy to identify Ramaṇa, as there is more than one place bearing this name in Indo-China and the Archipelago. There is in the first place Ramannadēśa which is said to correspond to Pegu and Arakan.⁶⁴ Then there is an island called Ramanakadvīpa, mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It is said to be identical with the island of Rami, Ramin or Raumi of the Arab geographers and travellers. Gerini believes that it is the district otherwise called "Lameri or Lamri, that is, north-western part of Sumatra."⁶⁵ According to Barbosa, Moorish merchants visited Pegu which formed part of Ramannadēśa for the purpose of purchasing musk among other articles. As musk was one of the articles of import from the group of places referred to before, it seems probable that Ramaṇa was identical with Ramannadēśa which is Pegu. If this identification is correct, musk was brought to the Andhra country both from Goa and Ramannadēśa.

We have now to consider the places which imported *himāmbu* (rose-water), *kunkumaraṇa* (pollen of saffron) and *agaru* (aloe-wood).

Rose-water: This commodity, according to Chau Ju-kua,⁶⁶ was sent loaded on camels by the Ta-shi (the Arabs) to the island of Kish on the Persian Gulf. They put it "on board ships on arriving in this country to barter with other countries." Le Strange states⁶⁷ that "the province of Fars was celebrated for the so-called attar of roses (atar or 'itar in Arabic signifies a 'perfume' or essence), which of diverse qualities was made specially from rose that grew in the plain of Jur or Firuzabad".⁶⁸ This is corroborated by Ibn Hankul who states

62. Gerini, p. 86.

63. Ibid, p. 485, n. 3.

64. Ibid, p. 57.

65. Ibid, p. 464, 2, p. 677.

66. Chau Ju-kua, p. 134.

67. *Land of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 257.

68. Chau Ju-kua, p. 134 n. 1, 2.

that "rose-water from Fars was exported to all parts of the world." ⁶⁹ According to Barbosa one of the articles of import to Hurmuz (Ormuz) from Adem was rose-water. From Hurmuz it was probably brought to Goa and from thence to the Andhra country.

Saffron: This appears to have been a characteristic product of Kashmir, and it was also grown in some of the countries in Central and Western Asia. According to Barbosa, Saffron was one of the articles which was brought to Hurmuz (Ormuz) for the purpose of exchange. Probably, it was imported to Goa from Ormuz or from one of the ports in North Western India.

Agaru (aloe-wood): This commodity also was brought from the East, though the particular place from which it was imported is not known. However, Chau Ju-kua states that Hainan (in China) produced "Gharu-wood of a pure and lasting fragrance." ⁷⁰ *Gharu*-wood (*agaru*), was an important product of the island of Sumatra also.

Whichever might have been the place of production, these articles (sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, rose-water, musk and pollen of saffron) were imported to Tarunāsiri, Tavāyi, Gōva, Rāmāna and other places, from which members of the Avaci family brought them to the Andhra country.

The Telugu work *Haravilāsam* contains a prose passage ⁷¹ which furnishes another group of places, including islands and towns, like the one referred to above, and the several articles imported from them. The places mentioned in this group are Cūni, Simhala, Tavāyi, Hurumunji, and Jōṇāṅgi, and the articles said to have been brought from them are *dhana* (treasure), *kanakavastu* (articles made of gold), *vāhana* (conveyances - vehicles, horses and the like), *māṇikyā* (rubies) and *gāṇikyā* (courtesans). All these places with the exception of Jōṇāṅgi are already identified. Though it is not possible to mark out the special article of export from each of the above places as stated before, it seems probable that *māṇikyās* and *gāṇikyās* were exported from Jōṇāṅgi. The word Jōṇāṅgi which is in current use in Telugu, denotes

69. Ibid. p. 203.

70. Ibid. p. 205.

71. "నీలిసింహా తివాను మునుముంజి శీతలనీ పద్మపతానాద్వీప వికాకరములకు
భూవికరస్తువానానా దీప్తి గణిక్యము తెప్పించియు..."

a Mussalman trader of the Tamil country, otherwise known as Labbes.⁷² C. P. Brown states that this is a corruption of the Tamil word, Cōṇahar.⁷³ This word is derived in its turn from the Sanskrit *varana*, meaning a Greek, an Arab, or a Moor.⁷⁴ In the middle ages the term could have only denoted an Arab or a Moor, as the Greeks had disappeared centuries ago from the Indian continent. The Jōṇāṅgis must have been so called because they either migrated from Jōṇāṅgi (yōṇaka) country or were somehow connected with it intimately. Since the Jōṇāṅgis, are Mussalmans by faith, it may naturally be held that they derived their name either because they migrated from, say, Arabia, Persia, or some other Mussalman country, or had intimate trade relations with them. However that may be, the Jōṇāṅgi country cannot be identified with any Mussalman countries known to us. Though handsome slave girls could have been purchased in the market of any Mussalman country, rubies could not have been procured therefrom, as none of them is known to have produced that gem. It must be sought for elsewhere. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the middle ages the western Laos or Shan country was known as the Yōṇakadēśa,⁷⁵ because it was occupied at one time by offshoots of the great Yavan, Yon, or Yuen race.⁷⁶ As ruby is available plentifully in upper Burma and the Shan States, which roughly correspond to the ancient Yōṇakadēśa, the Jōṇāṅgi country which supplied rubies to the Andhra country may be identical with this region.

We do not know the exports of the Andhra country in this period, though cloths, printed and plain, must have been one of the important items.

72. Jōṇāṅgi means also a breed of hunting dogs famous for their speed.

73. *Dict. of Mixed Telugu*, p. 40 (1854).

74. *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 1679.

75. *Gerini*, p. 132.

76. *Ibid*, p. 58.

CHAPTER VII.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The favourite games and amusements in a community indicate fairly the standard of culture which they have reached in their tastes and their fancies. The games and amusements of the Andhras in the Reddi period make an interesting and useful study. Many of these have taken such a deep root in the tradition of the people that even to-day they hold their ground and fill the countryside with innocent merriment. Age and social changes have, no doubt, resulted in the disappearance of some, but several still linger in remote parts of the country. The decay of feudalism, the growth of towns, railways and cinemas, and the impact of western culture, have all been responsible for the disappearance of many of these indigenous pastimes.

Some of the games and amusements contributed to the health and proper development of the body, while some others gave scope for the play of intellect and individual skill. Spectacles and diversions, such as wandering minstrels with their *tamburas* and cymbals, conjurers with their skilful feats of magic and sleight of hand, *dombaris* or rope-dancers and great gymnasts with their feats of strength and skill, *Bhāgavatas*, or the stage-players with their *yaksaganas* or dramas set to music and dance, ballad singers with their emotional narrative songs and rustic dances, and puppet-players with their beautifully-trimmed leather puppets representing mythological characters, and painted with variegated colours and adorned with ornaments of different kinds, all these contributed to the enjoyment of the people. The votaries of these pursuits enriched and gave colour to the social life of the village, for which the society in its turn treated them with affection and showed its appreciation by customary dues and other gifts. These professional actors had also annuities or yearly grants in kind from every village.

The holiday season of the village generally commenced with the annual wedding festival (*kalyāṇōtsava*) of the village god, or with the *jātara* or the annual feast of the village goddess. Generally, this festive season was the period when the professional players and actors who had annuities from the village, visited it, and gave performances. The chief items of entertainment in those days were music and dance.

Music :

Among all the fine arts Music held a high and unique position. It was patronised by kings and the aristocracy of the land. Proficiency or a good working knowledge in it was one of the requisites for a nobleman or prince to qualify him to be a member of the cultured society. Many of the rulers of this age encouraged this art and were great musicians themselves. Among such patrons and scholars in music, to name only a few, may be mentioned chiefs like Pratāpa Vīra Gaṅgarāja¹ of the Surabhi dynasty, Kṛṣṇadēva² of the Pottapiṭṭala family, and Viśvēśvara³ of the Cālukya family. Of these the first two belonged to the fourteenth century and the last to the fifteenth. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma Redḍi, the fifth king of Koṇḍaviḍu, was an adept in music. He was the author of a treatise on Music, called *Saṅgīta-cintāmaṇi*. The two manuscripts⁴ of this work which are now available, begin with the description of *vīṇa* in the *vādya* section, and go up to (Chapter XV in the) *nṛtta* portion describing *dēśi nṛttas*. Dēvarāya I, son of the Vijayanagar ruler Bukkarāya I, and for sometime the governor of Udayagiri, was another great scholar in music.⁵ King Kumaragiri and his brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma were learned in the technique of both music and dance. Singa II of the Rōceṅṅa family, a master in the Science of Music, wrote a commentary, named *Saṅgītasudhakaram*, on the *Saṅgītaratnākaram* of Sārṅgadēva. Virabhadra Redḍi, king of Rājamahēndra Rājya was a master in music. He was learned both in the *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* of the *Saṅgīta Śāstra*.⁶ It may be taken for granted that these chiefs who were very learned, both in the artistic and scientific aspects of music, were great patrons of that art, and contributed much to its development. Jannaya Siddhamatya, who accepted dedication of the

1. S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 725.

"*Āśādhīśakṛpānam ruci-kalitagāṣas = candrikas-sat-kalavān
Saṅgītajñō radnāyah.....*"

2. S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 780.

"*Pradāt Kṛṣṇadēvas-saṅgītanābōdhi-Candras-sakala-guṇa-nidhir.....*"

3. "ಸಂಕೀರ್ತನಶಿಲ್ಪಕಲೆ ಪೆರು" — Kv. Cd., I, v. 9.

4. See chapter IX on Literature (Sanskrit).

5. Mack, Mss., No. 15—4—17.

"*Sōyam-rājati Devarayanrpatih Saṅgītaratnākarah*" — Pragaḷḷapāḷu grant, dated in 1391 A. D.

6. "ಪೆಂಕೆ ವಿವರಾಧಿಶ್ವರ,
ಕಂಕರ ಕಂಠ ಕಿಮಾ, ಸಾಂಕೀರ್ತನ
ಸಂಕೀರ್ತ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಲಕ್ಷಣ
ಪೆಂಕೆ ಪರ್ದಜ್ಜ....." — Ks. Kb., V, v. 385.

Telugu work *Vikramārka-caritram*, was a *Saṅgīta-kalā-dhāra*,⁷ one interested in the art of Music. Nāganātha, to whom the Telugu poet Bhairava dedicated his *kāvya Śrīraṅgamahatmyam*, is described as *Vīṇādi-saṅgīta-kalā-vilāsa*,⁸ one who was fond of music connected with *vīṇā* and other instruments. Singaya Nāyaka, brother of Mummadi Nāyaka of the Mangipūdi family of Kōṅṅukonda, was a great patron of music. He is said to have always delighted in sporting with women, proficient in playing on *vīṇā*, and who were illustrious for their charming and attractive dances.⁹ Any number of instances may be cited to show that this age was adorned with many scholars and patrons in music.

From very early times Andhras had a special aptitude for music. They did much in times of yore to develop that art (*gāṇakalā*) and contributed a special *rāga* called *Andhrī* after their own name to the series of musical notes. This fact is known from a treatise on Music, named *Bṛhaddeśī*¹⁰ written by Maṭaṅgamuni. The author states in his work that in the opinion of Śārdula *Mūlārā-pañcama* has six *rāginis* of which *Andhrī* was one.

Vocal and instrumental music was much developed in the Telugu country by the time of the Reddi kings. The *rāgas* and *tālas* enumerated in the Sanskrit musical treatises have all been mentioned in some of the Telugu works produced about the beginning of this age. Palkuṛiki Sōmanātha refers, in his works *Basara Puraṇa* and *Paṇḍitārādhyā caritra*, to the *rāgas*, *tālas*, and the many different kinds of *vīṇas* then in vogue.¹¹ He mentions more than twenty or twenty five kinds of *vīṇas*, of which *Kanakaviṇa*, *Brahma* or *Brahmaviṇa* find mention even in inscriptions of the period.¹² The *deśī* terminology used by the author in the above works bears evidence to the great development that art had attained in the Telugu land. It cannot, however, be asserted that all the *deśī* terms are exclusively Telugu. A close scrutiny of these terms linguistically may enable one to estimate the contribution of the different nationalities in the Deccan to the development of the art of Music.

7. "విక్రమార్కచరిత్రము" పద్యము.

8. "విహారి" - V. Cr., V, v. 1.

9. Sr. Mh., II, 440, p. 67.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 266, v. 39.

11. Vide *Bṛhaddeśī*, published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, No. 94, p. 196; and J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 14.

12. Bs. Pr., III, pp. 89-91; and Pn. Cr., *Parvataprakaraṇam*, pp. 448-44.

13. S. I. L., V., No. 1150.

Just as at the present day, the musical system then in vogue was that of *jatis* and *grāmas*.¹³ In those days a *gītam* without *tānaka rāga* was not appreciated.¹⁴ The musical compositions that appear to have been commonly sung in those days were *sūdhadi gītams*,¹⁵ *sūladi gītams*¹⁶ and *jati gītams*. Besides these there were folk songs called

13. “జతులు వానాశితజాతిమల్ గాన...” —Pn. Cr., III, p. 704.

“జతిగీతములమీఁదఁ జప్పట కీ నుదు...” —Bs. Pr., II, p. 29.

“ప్రతితానమున వీరసుందరఁ యుధుండుతాత్కరం

గతి వాయువును నాంతరానికి యట్రామాళి గామముగా...” —Kd. Rm., v. 116.

Yati in the second line in the above verse seems to be *jati*. “According to the method of *Sardūla* the *jatis* of *srutis* are five in number, namely, *dipta agata karuṇa*, *mṛduh*, and *madhya* — *Sāṅgita Sūtrha* (J. M. A., I, p. 143).

“చచ్చప్పట్టట వానపటపట్టితాపుట్రక సుంపల్వేష్టకోధ ప్రియతాళముల

ఘంటాగణ శంక రాధినిదాది గామముల...” —Ks. Kh., VI, Pr. 40.

“A *grāma* is a group of *svaras* forming the basis of the *mūrchanas*. The great sages who had known the truth of the Science of Music say that this is the definition in general (of a *grāma*). Of the three kinds of *grāmas* the *Shadja grāma* is said to be the first, secondly the *madhya grāma*, and the third, the *gandharva grāma*. The *gandharva grāma* does not exist in the human world. It is fit to be sung only by *Narada* and others.” —Ibid., vv. 175–183, p. 146.

14. “తంతులు లేని వీణయును దానకంబు లేని గీతముల్
మలత్రులు లేని రాజ్యము సమానము లిప్పుయు వ్యర్థకార్యముల్...”

—Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 191.

The expression *tānaka rāga* may mean that singing (*gītam*) does not shine without the elaboration of the *rāga* through *tāna*; or it may refer to the employment of the traditional and auspicious sounds in the singing of the *rāga*, namely, *tana* or *tānaka*, mentioned by the treatises as one of the limbs or *āṅgas* of *gītam* or song. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras for this explanation.

15. “మహానీకస్య దశచేదీ రత్న విపచి | మాయించుదు పల్లవచమ
స్వరంబుల ననేక రాగతాళ సంక్లిష్టములు సుధాధ గీతములు
పాడుచుండె.....” —Rk. Cr., II, v, 89.

16. “పాశాదిగీతములు ను
తాళము ద్రువ గురువు లఘుముతంబులు తిమలా
మేళనమునఁ జేడఁపడఁగఁ
దాళము నాయించె నొక నెత్తదిగొలఁది...” —Sm. Dv., II, i, v. 169.

The phrase *sūladi gītamulu* instead of *sūdhadi gītamulu* is found in some manuscripts of this work. The former term appears to be the correct one. Srimati M. A. Sundarambal, mentions in the course of her paper on “The Musical compositions of South India”, many of the varieties, like *gita*, *sūladis*

kalyāṇa-gītas or marriage songs, and *maṇḍa-gītas*,²⁰ that is, songs sung on auspicious occasions and on the occasion of worship, either in temples or in private houses, may also be classed among *geyams*. It was the custom in those days to sing particularly *Gaurikalyāṇam*²¹ on the occasion of a marriage festival. Poet Srinātha refers, in his *Bhīmaśara Purāṇam*, to yet another variety of *geyam* called *jādara* songs,²² sung at Dakṣavāṭi in *Hindolārāga*, especially in the

20. “క పి శివరూపాదు క క్యణముల బాడ.....”

S. I. 1, VI, No. 941.

21. “విశాలః జ్యోతిశజగత్ప్రయనా న గౌరికీర్తనానాం కీర్తనకర్త
పారణయన.....” —Vk. Cr., IV, Pr. 130.

“శైరీయఘంటానిమ

హార విమలనా నమంధరాపారవిజయం

శీరుక్ సుశృణుమన

గౌరికీర్తనవిధిగానధ్వమః ..” —Bj.Rj., IV, v. 87.

సాహపారసుధారస

ధారాహారనా సాధధరణీకజ్జ

దీప్తివదధ్యనితో

గౌరికీర్తనామధునానమమేతనె ..” —Vk. Cr., IV, v. 179.

Gaurikalyāṇam, the marriage between Gauri and Śiva, was the ideal marriage, since the latter has given away half of his body to the former, and became *Ardhanarīśvara*. Hence, to put forth this grand ideal before the married couple, *Gaurikalyāṇam* was sung in those days on the occasion of a marriage celebration. In course of time it became almost customary to observe it as a part of the ceremony itself.

22. “జాదర జాదరండు మృదుచర్చరీ గతులు వారుడేరిసా
స్వామిదాతరేకమలంబంబ్రకి గాయన దక్షిణాదీలా
వేదుల వేదులన్ గనకపీఠం మాయుడు బాడి రచ్చరల్
మోద మలర్పణ భువనమోహనివిగ్రహ భీమనాగనన్.”

—Bh. Pr., V, v. 102; Vide, *Andhri*, Vol. III, pp. 180-181.

“నందు గార్లన.....గంధర్వవంశోద్భవల్

హిందూల్ బునం బాడి రచ్చరలు భీమేశ్వరీ శ్రీలోకాధిపన్

మందార మ్రుపనాటియందు మువనోమై రేయమల్ గోలుచున్.” —Bh. Pr., V, v. 97.

In a paper on ‘*Ikhamakhaṇḍamu and paṭṭabhedamulu*’ contributed to the Telugu Journal *Andhri*. Mr. Nidadavolu Venkatarao discusses about the correct reading of the verse and the significance of the word ‘*Jadara*’. On the analogy of the, *jajara saṅkīrtanams* (songs with the *pallavi jajara*) written by poet Tallapakam Annamaçarya of the sixteenth century, he comes to the conclusion that the term *jadara* or *jajara* represents the *pallavi* of a type of songs.

spring season during the *vasantōtsava* celebrations. Of these above mentioned varieties of *geyam* *vennela padamulu* referred to by Palkuṭiki Sōmanātha, seem to be the same as the *Candamāma* (moon) *padamulu* in the *Saṅkīrtanalakṣya* mentioned above. In this work the author, Tirumalayya, mentions *daruru* (Sanskrit *dhruvā*), *jakkularāṭku*, *ardhacandrika* and *Candamama-padamu* and *ela*, as varieties of *padamu*, and gives their *lakṣaṇa*²³.

Instrumental music was much in requisition in temples also. We come to know from inscriptions of the early mediaeval period recording gifts for instituting services in temples that, in all important *kṣētras*, provision was made for those who played on different kinds of instruments, like *muraja*, *ūrāja*, *kāhaḷa* and so on. Some of these instruments had different varieties, such as the *murajas*, *vīra-moddaliyas*, and ordinary *maddalas* among the drums.

In a manuscript (No. 785 of D. C. T. M., Tanjore Palace Library) entitled *Cīlāra padyamulu*, containing verses from a number of classical works, like *Kaṣikhaṇḍam*, *Manucaritra*, and *Vasucaritra* we find the following reading of the verse in the *Phimeśvara Purāṇa* referred to above:

జామర జామరంపున్నునుచంద్రికల వామరీరసా
స్వాదనుదారిరీకములంబులిక నాయక దత్తవాటికన్
ఘట పీఠుల నవకరీరలు మాటుమఁ బాడి నచ్చునన్
మోది పొల్పునా ధివనమోహనమొలు భీమనాథునిన్.

The first two lines of this verse also are faulty. The correct reading of those lines seems to be as follows:

“జామర జామరంపున్నునుచంద్రికల వామరీరసా
స్వాదనుదారిరీకములంబులిక నాయక దత్తవాటికన్”

- 23 The verses quoted below from the *Saṅkīrtanalakṣya* give the definitions of *Candamama padamu*, *ela* and *daruru* respectively.

మంద్ర విప్రలంభమున దూరికతోప మొలంగి నందరి
నర్జ్యస్థితిభావమున నాయక డేరియుఁ గాంతయేరియున్
విస్తరి పాదనామల నేతుకంబునుఁ జేరకొన్నచో
బ్రహ్మతి కక్క! దత్తియు భాసురమై ద్విచక్రస్పృహకృతిన్.”

నాయకావృద్ధినిష్ఠామై నయముఁ జేరి
శ్లేష్మభరిభావం దిగి గానిమిగిలెమైన
దోలపాట పగులువా నిలఁ జలగు
వాహితనాయక నందరినిచ్చ మును.”

Dance :

Music and Dance were allied arts. Each complimented the other and flourished with the growth of the other. The *Nettaratnāvalī*, a treatise on Dance produced in the thirteenth century in the Kākatiya court, mentions the various occasions on which a dance recital was deemed necessary. It was generally presented for the sake of one's prosperity and welfare, on the occasion of a marriage celebration, the birth of a son, of nuptials, *vratā*, *parvā*, pilgrimage, entry into a new city or a house, anointment, (*mahābhīṣēka*), *mahādāna*, examination festival (of scholarship), victory etc.²⁴ Especially religious ceremonies and rituals were never performed without music and dance. In short, music and dance were necessary accessories to all public functions, feasts and festivals, religious rites and rituals, and court assemblies. Religious worship even in private houses of the aristocracy was not usually performed without the important item of music and dance. The Reddi kings of Rajamahēndravaram were ardent Saivas, and in accordance with the injunctions of the *Āgamas* they worshipped Siva six times a day, and this worship included the presentation of music and dance.²⁵ No religious ceremony in temples was complete without these two performances. On these occasions hymns in praise of Siva and Viṣṇu were sung in their respective temples to the accompaniment of dance. For this purpose separate endowments in the form of service *ināms*, *vṛttis*, as they were called, were made by devotees or *bhaktas*. The recipients of these service *ināms* include members of both

మహిమమీలం గ్రుతి మధ్యమానములును
 జీతవర్ణంబు తారలంబు జెన్నుమిటి
 మునుపఁ బాడిన పద వాక్యములఁ బొసంగి
 ధరణి ద్విచతుష్పదాకృతి దరువు చెలఁగు.”

24. “ त्यागोद्वाहमहाभिषेकनगरी वेश्मप्रवेशोदक
 कीडाभुप्रियसङ्गमध्रतमहादानात्मजोत्पत्तिषु
 यात्रापर्वपरीक्षणोत्सवजयानन्दप्रतिष्ठेहित
 प्राप्तिवभ्युदयाय नृत्तमुचितस्यावैवपूर्वादिषु ॥”

25. “వల్లకి చక్కఁ కాహారము కంఠము ధక్క హుడుక్క యుల్లగుర్
 యుల్లరి యాదిగాఁగఁబగు శబ్దపరంపర తాళశబ్దమై
 యుల్లలింఁ బ్రబంధముల కొప్పున నాడుదు రగఁ కడిపై
 బల్ల వపాణు లీశ్వరునిఁ బంటునుపేనులు పూజనీయులన్.” — Ks. Kh., I.v. 56.

26. “అడవి పరిమోచన” శ్లోము

“అంధత్వం నివృత్తాంధత్వంయన మృగ కాల మహాబంధంబులు

[illegible]

Nadendra Gōpa, an officer of Kṛṣṇadevaraya of Vijayanagar, quotes, in his commentary *Candrika* on the drama, *Prabōthacandrōdayam*, the following verses about *dhrura* from Kāmaragiri Reddī's *Vasantarajyam*.

सूचनं पाल भेदानां तत्स्वभावार्थसूचनी

प्रावेशिक्याक्षेपिकीच तथा प्रासादिकीनि च

नैष्कामिक्यान्तरीचेति तासां लक्षणमुच्यते ॥

प्रवेशसूचकादौ तु ध्रुवा प्रावेशिकी मता

प्रसङ्गमध्येऽन्वार्थ म्याक्षेपा दाक्षपिकी मता ..

प्रासादिकांतु पात्राणां व्याकुलानां प्रसादनात्

निष्कामसूचिकायान्ते धृवानैष्कामिकी भवेत् ॥

विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रमादे संभ्रमे मदे

दोषप्रच्छादनादौच गीयते यातुसान्तरी ॥— इति.

Dhruva, according to the above verses, is a kind of *gitam* sung to indicate the different characters and their qualities in any performance. It is of four kinds namely, *pravesiki-dhruva*, *akṣepiki-dhruva*, *prasaḍiki-dhruva* and *naṣṭramiki-dhruva*. Śrinātha refers to the *pravesiki-dhruva* in the following verse in his *Haraviṣṭam* while describing Indra's visit to Śiva.

Like Music Dance also thrived during the middle ages, having been patronised both by the princes and the rich. Pāṅkajiki Somanātha's *Paṇḍitārādhya-caritra*, furnishes ample information about dance. In this work the poet describes the various entertainments, on the night of the *Mahāśivarātri* day, given at Srisaīlam, the famous Saivakṣētra, when the Saiva pilgrims who visited that place kept holy vigil. In this connection the poet furnishes much information about both Music and Dance."

Dance is calssified into two distinct divisions, called *mārga* and *deśi*, the former being the classical dance, and the latter the country or folk dance. The classical dance consisted of two varieties, the masculine *tāṇḍava*, and the feminine *lāsya*;" the former was practised by Siva, its traditional *prathāna vidyāguru*, and the latter was invented by his consort Pārvaṭi." The classical dance was patronised by the aristocracy, kings, nobles and learned men, and the country dance by the common people.

The Pāśupata system of Saivism which greatly flourished during the Kākatiya period, appears not a little responsible for the development of the classical dance. The exquisite sculptures in the Rāmappa

“అనేకము ×ంధర్వలు
కైవారపదానుసారకమనీయముగా
బ్రాహ్మేశికధువా...
నావకులం బరిధవించి రండినలీలన్.”—Hr. VI., VI, v. 9.

27. Ph. Cr., V, Parvata prakaraṇa, pp. 486-443.

28. Koravi Goparaju, a Telugu poet of this period, describes, in the following verse, a danceuse playing on *lasya*.

“తనవున గీతాలంబున
మును కేతుల నగ్రపుష్పితిమును నేత్రయుగం
బున బావముఁ బరముల గా
రనిర్ణయమును పెరియఁగ లాస్యము నెఱపెన్.”—Sm. Div., I, i, v. 133.

See also Kv. Cd., II, v. 57; and Vk. Cr., II, v. 91.

29. “దర్శిల కోహళ ధరత మతంక నందికేశ్వరాది మతానుసారంబున వివిధ
ప్రబంధంబుల నిర్మించి దానికి బహువిధ సానమండల చాణీకర
కాంక్షారతనకదళనవర్తనాది శోభావత్సరుత్సాహ చాలనంబుల
పెరియ దీక్షి మార్గ లాస్యతాండవంబుల పరిధవించుచు...”—Ka. Kh., VI, Pr. 40.

“వివాసకేరనహరుఁ డెట్లు పెచ్చు పెట్టు
తాను తాండవదివ్యాప్రదానగునుడు
అలన సార్వత్రి సుకుమారలాస్యజనని.”—Ibid, v. 169.

temples which contain finely-carved statues in beautiful dance poses and those in the Svayambhūlingēśvara temple in the fort of Waraṅgal, containing miniature representations of Śiva's dance, which were unearthed during the recent excavations by the Archaeological department of H.E.H. the Nizam, fully bear out the great level which the art of Dance had reached during the Kākatiya period. *Nettaratnāvalī* was produced under the patronage of the Kākatiya monarchs. The author of this work, Jāyapa Nāyaka, was the *gajāsādhanika* (*gajasāhīni*), the commander of the elephant forces, of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva. The author states that he was taught the science of dance by Guṇḍāmātya at the instance of his lord, Gaṇapatidēva.³⁰

The interest in Dance did not abate in the post Kākatiya period but grew more than before. Treatises on classical dance written by sage Bharata and others, were regularly studied by poets and scholars as well. Like other Sciences, brāhmanas also learnt and studied this art. Sūrāmātya, father of Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya, the author of the Telugu work, *ṣṭṭāṭakumāracaritra*, is praised as the modern *Bharatācārya*.³¹ Some of the brāhmanas made their living by teaching it to the courtesan girls, who paid their *kaṭṇams* to their gurus on *Davana-Pannama*. Some of the kings of this age were skilled in the science of Dance. King Viśvōśvara of the Gaḷukya family of Elamañci, king Kumaragiri

80. “प्रव्यप्रज्ञामतिशयवतीं स्वामिभक्तञ्च हृद्या
दाकौमाराद्गणपतिनृपो जायनं यं समर्च्य
गुणदामात्ये सकलमुमनः सेव्यमानोजयन्तम
वाचांपत्यो हरिग्विकला श्लाघनीयां व्यनपीत ॥

As the following *śloka*, purporting to give the opinion of the great Sanskrit scholar and master of all Sciences, Vira Bhallata des'ika, who flourished in the court of Kākati, Pratāparudra, is found in a work on *Naṭya Śāstra* in the Tanjore Palace Library. Śrī Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garas suggests that the opinion, whatever that might be given by Vira Bhallata, must have related to a question concerning Naṭya. He puts forth this piece of evidence, though frail, to show that Pratāparudra also was a patron of Naṭya Śāstra. *Sarasvati*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 7.

“इतीवकथयामास वीरभट्टादेशिकः
प्रतापमद्रद्वयस्य सन्निधौ सर्वशान्तवित् ॥

31. 1. “

నాటకమునకు నాటకమునకు

నాటకమునకు

నాటకమునకు నాటకమునకు” — VIII, v. 91.

and his prime-minister and brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, Kumāragiri's successor, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and Śingabhūpāla of the Rēceṅḷa family, were all adepts in the science of Nāṭya. Some of these wrote commentaries on old treatises on Dance and also original works in Sanskrit. King Kumāragiri, son of Anavōṭa Redḍi, wrote *Vasantarājīyam*, an original work on Nāṭya, and his minister Kāṭaya Vēma wrote a commentary, *Kumāragirirājīyam*, on the dramas of Kālidāsa, in accordance with the tenets propounded in the former work. *Saṅgitacintāmaṇi* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu deals with some of the *nṛttas* also then in vogue.

Many dramas were written in Sanskrit by Vamanabhaṭṭa Baṇa, Śingabhūpāla, Paśupati Nāganātha, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and others. These dramas were generally enacted on the occasion of the *vasantamahōtsava* celebrations during the spring festival, or of the *kalyāṇamahōtsava* of local gods. Paśupati Nāganātha, the court-poet of the Rēceṅḷa chiefs, wrote a drama named *Madamaritāsabhāna*³² for the occasion of the spring festival of god Kalyāṇa Nārāyaṇa. The *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāna* of Vamanabhaṭṭa Baṇa, the court poet of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was enacted at the time of the *Caṭrayātramahōtsava* of god Virūpakṣa of Pāṃpātirtha. Similarly, the drama *Ratnapāñclāika*³³, written by Kumāra Śiṅga II, son of Anavōṭa Nāyaka of Rājakoṇḍa, was put on boards on the occasion of the annual festival of Maillāradēva of Rājakoṇḍa. These instances are enough to show that it was a general custom to enact a drama of one of the ten types, in *pandals* temporarily improvised for the occasion, during the spring and other seasonal festivals. These plays were intended for learned scholars and the aristocracy. There are allusions either figuratively or otherwise to *nāṭakaśālās* or dramatic halls, and *nāṭakas* or dramas in contemporary Telugu literature³⁴. In private *nāṭakaśālās* lives of noted individuals of either sex were enacted in the form of a drama. The Telugu work, *Kṛiḍābhīrāmam*, mentions an instance of this kind. We are told that the life of Mācaladēvi, a reputed *vāṅmāyāṇā*, and friend of Kākati Prataparudra, was dramatised and

32. *Bhaṇa* is one of the ten types of dramas (*daśa-rūpakas*).

33. This work has been recently printed in the Trivendram Sanskrit Series, and translated also into Telugu and published by the Maharaja of Pithapuram.

34. “నంపెం నాటక శాలల గలహంస

లతమగీతముల నాడుదుండు” — VK. Cr., viii, v. 62.

“ప్రముఖపురానవముచరితములు

ప్రగమించుచు నాటకము లాడువారు” — Pn. Cr., V, p. 435.

enacted in her *naṭakaśālās*.³⁵ There were however *nāṭyamandapas* in temples in all the important Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *kṣetras*, where the *līlas* of Śiva and Viṣṇu were played, to the accompaniment of instrumental music, by dancers who had *ṛittis* in the temple. *Nāṭya-mandapa* or the dancing hall had become one of the prominent features in the developed plan of temple-architecture during the middle ages. The traditional number of *nāṭyakūṭas* in the holy place of Śrīśailam is 'sixty four'. The Telugu poet, Śrīnatha, informs us that on the occasion of the *Śantīraśṭava* or the customary festival celebrated on every Saturday in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Dakṣharam, the *Gandharvas* and *Āpsaras* are said to have danced both in the *mārga* and the *dēśī* styles.³⁶

Women of the dancing class or courtesans, as stated already, were experts in dancing. Literature preserves the name of only one such woman, Lakumādēvī, who flourished in the reign of king Kumāragiri Redḍi of Koṇḍāvidu. She was the leading danceuse in his court. It is said that she mastered the art of dance and won laurels, for interpreting the *bhāvas* in the *gītis* or musical compositions in a thousand ways,³⁷ from her patron Kumāragiri, who was himself an expert in the science of *nāṭya* as well as an art critic,

Side by side with the classical dance, the *dēśī* or the popular one was also well developed during these centuries. It had its own votaries. In fact, the *mārga* and the *dēśī*, the two styles of dance, like two streams issuing from the same fountain source, flowed through the country affording pleasure and enjoyment to two different strata of society the high and the low, the aristocracy and the common men. By the early mediaeval period, the advance which the *dēśī* had made was so great, and some of the dances in that style were so popular, that some of the *Bharatācārya*

35. Kd. Rm., v. 182.

“నాట్య కళా క్షేత్రం యాదేవీదేవీ
సహస్రవిధం భావం వర్ణయతి”

36. Ks. Kh., III, v. 18.

37. Sr. Sr., p. 57.

जयति महिमानोक्तार्त्तः कुमारगिरिप्रभोः
सदस्मिन्कुमादेवी यस्यप्रियामदृशी प्रिया
नवमभिनयं नाट्यार्थानां ननोति सहस्रधा
वितरति बहूनर्था नर्थिब्रजाय सहस्रशः ॥

gave their approval to them and included them in their works. Jayapa Nayaka describes, in his *Nṛttaratnavali*, some of these popular *deśi* types,* like *Gonḍli* and *Cindu*. This work, it may be presumed, gave fresh impetus to the *deśi* dance which was patronised both by the kings as well as by common people in the Kakatiya period.

Deśi found a ready place in the festivals of local village deities. The popularity which these types enjoyed during the middle ages can be gauged from references to some of them in contemporary Telugu literature. *Perani*, *Gonḍli*, *Daṇḍalāsaka*, *Kantuka*, *Jakkini*, and *Cindu* were one of the popular dances of the day during the Redḍi period.

Perani is a kind of dance recital more or less 'akin to capers or gambolling'. It is called *Prerani* also in Sanskrit. The descriptions,

38. भाषावेषविभूषणै र्गुणैस्त्वैर्मनोहारिभिः
नानादेवरुचिर्विदग्धुरुषा नावैत्रयन्तीगुणै
भूषासै रुपलालिता बहुकलैः प्रौढेव वाराङ्गना
देशीसंप्रवदन्ति मेन्यपतिना सान्द्रादरं वगर्थते ॥
भवन्तिधरणीपालाः प्रायेणाभिनयप्रियाः
तस्मात्तत्प्रीयेद्यापि यदुत्पाद्यते नवम्
नृत्तं तत्तत्स्मृतं देशितत्तद्देशानुसारतः
भूतं शास्त्रमुखाद्ज्ञेयं भविष्यान्नावगद्यते ॥

* * * * *

तौर्यत्रियतविज्ञानमहातत्त्वविशारदे
मार्गदेशि विभागस्त विधेचन विचक्षणं
महाराजाधिगजेस्मिन् गणपत्यवनाश्वरे
समुद्रमेखलामेनां बहुनारक्षति क्षमाम् ॥
यादंशिर्वर्ततेलोके साम्नाभिः कश्यतेष्फुम्भ
निरूप्यतेऽधुना देश्यां स्थनिकानि यथाक्रमम् ॥

Taken from S'ri Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri's paper on "The Sanskrit poets of the *Anāhradēsa-Jaya śenapati*" -Vide, The Telugu Journal, *Sarasvati*, Vol. I, No. 6, pp. 6-7. Mahamahopādhyaya S'ri P. S. Sastri, in his note on this work, states that the work closely follows Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*.—T. C. S. M. (Madra) 1981-82 to 1983-84), Vol. VIII, Introduction.

left by Śrinatha in his Telugu work, *Kaṣikhaṇḍam*, give us to understand that this was a favourite dance of the Śaivas, and that Bhṛṅgiśvara was an expert in it.' This can even now be seen in Śiva temples in the Telugu country during festivals.

Gondli, "a type of the Sanskrit *Kuṇḍalinṛtṇa*, was played in both the *mārga* and the *dāsī* styles " by young women and girls, arranging themselves in rings or circles. *Nṛttaratnāvaḥ* states that the Western Cāḷukya king, Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara, was the originator of this

39. "చామండి యెవరింబు జంపితాళిమనకు

ధృంధ్యంబుం పాడె బెరచెంబు..." —Ks. Kh., IV.v. 296.

"అంబ నాచాళి నావంబ మొదల

ధృంధ మునటివంకి యేదెహంబు" —Pn. Cr., II.

"అభిమతానా సాధిమతా బయిమతా మెలసి

రమణంబునాంబి యేది యాడువాని..." —Pn. Cr., V, p.435.

"శృంగ నాడెడు శృంగబిందు

సౌర్యాప్త నాయకులంబుదాయుంబు..." —Bs. Pr., II, p. 30.

The Hindi speaking people play a kind of dance called *Peraḍi* in Hindi. It might be *Peraḍi* or *Teravṇi* itself. *Peraḍi* is described as a variety of the *taṇḍava* dance in which there is more of the movement of limbs and less of gesticulation.

40. In the Ahmadnagar district there is a kind of dance called *Gondhal*. "In the Ahmadnagar district, to the south-west of Nagpur the Gondhliis sing in honour of Devi during the day, and dance the *gondhal* at night. While dancing, the men wear long coats, shell-neck laces, and ankle bells, and they perform the *gondhal* regularly, during the Navaratra or nine nights preceding the festival Dasahra". —Vide, "*The story of Indian Music and its instruments*" by Ethel Rosenthal. It seems likely that the *Gondli* of the Telugu country corresponds to the *Gondhal* of the Ahmadnagar district.

"మీను మెలారదేవర వీరిధిమంబు

గొండ్లియాడించుచున్నాను గొరగ పడుచు..." —Kd. Rm. v. 143.

41. "కుండలివృత్తింబు కోహణావ్యవార్య

మతభేదముల దేశ మార్గ సరణి

చారి కాళ రణాంబుర రేచకముల

భిమరి కాళుల వర్తనాశులను

నాడి మెప్పించు వెట్టి చోద్యంబు తరుణి..." —Ks. Kh., VI v. 169.

variety of dance." Sōmēśvara's encyclopaedic work, *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* alias *Mānasōllāsa* was popular in the Telugu country both in the Kākatiya and post Kākatiya periods.

What is known as *Dandālāsaka* in Sanskrit is called *Kōlāṭa* " in Telugu. Beautiful sculptural representations of girls playing on *Kōlāṭa* can be seen in some of the temples built during the Kākatiya and Vijayanagar periods.

Kandukakriḍa (*Kandukanṛtta*) is another variety of dance representing the play with a ball. The Telugu poet, Vallabhamātya, gives in his *Kriḍābhīrāmam* a very fine description of young girls playing on ball with both their hands. " King Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma describes this type in his *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*. From his description of *Kandukanṛtta*, extracted from one of the two available manuscript copies of his work, which has got small gaps, we are able to gather that it comprised appropriate glances, beating of the ball, and varied movements of both hands and feet, the latter representing also whirling movement (*bhramari*). "

42. " సోమేశః కౌతుక్కి కాఞ్చిమిల్లివేషమపేయిషమ్
నృత్యంతీ మథగాయంతీ స్వయం ప్రేమ్యమనోహరమ్
ప్రీతోనిమితవాం శ్చిత్రం గొగ్గిడనీ(గొగ్గిడిలి)విధమద్భుతమ్
స్వతో (తతో) మిల్లిమహారాట్టై గొగ్గిడలీత్యమిధీయనే ॥

— *Sarasvatī*, Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 7; An. An., (1928), p. 329.

43. "కాళాటమును బాత్ర నొండ్లి చేరణియుఁ

శరీర జోకయు నీల నటింప..." —Bs. Pr., I, p. 22,

44. "పంచారించిన రేతనమ్మలపయిం బాలంబమల్ బాత్రం గాఁ

గాంచినూపుర కంకణ కృణంమల్ గల్గింప బాళాజుల్

కించిన్నయ్యించ దుదంచిత తమముగాఁ గ్రీడించెద రూపుదుమీ

చంచక్కంచన శంకుః క్రయములన్ సవాదపవన్యంబులన్." —Kd. Rm. v. 90.

45. D. C. S. M. (Trivendram), Vol. VII, No. 1418.

Jakkini " and *Cindu* " were also favourite dances of the people of this period. A fine description of *Cindu*, a favourite dance of the Saivas, is given in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. " Even at the present day, a variety of this dance is played in the temple of god Subrahmanyāśvara of Payanimalai in the South, and it goes by the name of *kāvaḍi-Cindu*, because the dancer dances with a *kāvaḍi*, a yoke on his shoulders.

46. Dharaṇīdēvula Ramayamantri, author of *Dasavatara-caritra* describes 'jakkini' in his work as given below.

“చురుపరంబు సొక్క మెసిరుల పోక
సరిగ నిరుగల గుండెయల్ సవరణచి
పొక్కల గట్టి-చేసి పుల్ల (కొక్క) పొక్క-
చక్కని మెలర సరపరకు పొక్క-చూడె.” —VII, v. 286.

Vide, also Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra's *Ramabhyudayan*, II, v. 188.

“कुण्डली भांगवत्यान्तु कल्पिता मागडकर्णिना
अयोध्यायां कृतापूर्वं पेणिवायुमनुना
वूर्जरी द्वारवत्यान्तु कल्पिता बाणकन्यया
काळिकायाः कृते जाता मङ्गेनैवजकिर्णा ॥

—An. An., (1923), p. 828.

47. “సమగ్రం దంతు వాడం గట్టి
గోడం యలల గుండెయల్...” —Pn. Cr., v, p. 434.

48. मृदङ्गकरटाकांस्य ताळकाहलवादकैः ॥

वाद्यमानेषु वाद्येषु प्रतिग्रहणादिषु
रुद्राक्षाभरणैः श्लक्ष्णक्लुमभृतिविपुङ्गका
शिवैकतत्परा भक्ता नगनारीजनोऽथवा
श्रेणीभूताः प्रमोदेन गायन्तश्चन्द्रशेखरम् ॥
अङ्गैर्यथोचितैः पादैर्लास्याङ्गैर् गतिसंयुतैः
अन्योन्याभिमुखीभूय द्विधाभूताः कदाचन
कदाचिन्मगडली भूता युक्तिभिर्वहुभक्तिभिः
शिवोत्सवेषु कर्तव्यं नृतमेतच्छिवप्रियम् ॥
करताळयुनोपेतैर्वाद्यैर्वक्त्रभवैः सह
पादैर्लेलितलास्याङ्गैश्चारिभिर्गतिभिस्तथा
गीताभिनयनोपेतैर्द्विषदैश्चन्द्रसंज्ञकैः
चिन्दुनृतमितिप्रोक्त मिदं द्रविडवल्लभैः ॥

In addition to the above types there was another one, the *Pārasikanartana* (a type of Persian dance). This appears to have come into the Telugu country along with the Mussalmans. As it was probably popular in this period, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma introduced it into his treatise on Music, *Saṅgītacintamāni* and named it *Pārasika mattalli-nartana*^{48a}, probably on account of its similarity to the *mattalli* dance, described by Bharatacārya in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*, and wrote *lakṣaṇa* to it. This *mattalli-nartana* finds mention in the works of Śrīnatha^{48b}.

Hallisaka,⁴⁹ another variety of *goṇḍi*, was yet another popular dance of the variety of *maṇḍalakāraṇṭya*. This was one of the dances which continued to be popular in the Telugu country until the eighteenth century.⁵⁰

48 a. D. C. S. M., (Trivendrum), Nos. 1417 and 1418.

हस्तपादप्रसारैश्च नागभो (?) भ्रमगोन च
गालस्त चलनेऽचापि नेत्रयार्थपूर्णन च

खण्डसूची जानुगतप्रमुखैः स्थानकैरपि
योग्याभिर्भ्रमचारीभिर्लालितोद्धतभावतः ॥

नानागीतैः पारमीकदेशभाषाविनिर्मितैः
नृत्यं कुर्यात्तालयुक्तं कचित्तालविवर्जितम् ॥

एतद् भवेत् पारमीकदेश्यमत्तलिनर्तनम्
अत्रकन्दुकनृत्यं च मत्तलिनर्तनं तथा ॥

48 b. "హలాహా మొసర్చి యిద్దము సన్మోహము మత్తలి క
కీర్తిస్తూ విసోద కిందుక మణి క్రీడావిహారము
లీలాహాసక కా ప్రసంగముల మల్లమించి వర్తించు క
కా-లంబున ఘటజన్మ కాకి నడువన గర్వించి యుద్దేశిత ॥

49. Hemaandra defines it as follows :

—Ka. Kh., VI. 209.

मण्डलेननृत्यन्तुयं हल्लीसकमिनिम्भ
एकस्तवतु नेताम्या द्वापस्त्रीणां हरियेथा ॥

50. The Telugu poet, Kaṅkaṭṭi Paparaju, who lived in the early part of the eighteenth century, describes *hallisaka* in his *Uttara-Ramayana* in the following verses as it was played in his time. This, however appears to be a different variety.

"అభినయంబులతోపు అరుదైన తిరుపుల్
వలయంగా ఒకచో విధ మొకరు

There were other varieties of dance like *puṣpagandhikāṇṛtṭya*⁵¹ and so on. In some dance recitals, beautiful maidens entertained the audience by their physical feats. Vallabhamātya describes one such interesting dance. He says that arching herself back-wards, a young danceuse picked up a nose ornament which was placed at the bottom of a trough

లాగు మెసిరియం బల్లకాయల గ్రహము లెక్క-
విలసిల్ల జక్క-జీవిధ మొక్క
బురుకడు చంక బంగారుబట్ట తగ బాని
విసికిగాం నీరవంజివిధ మొక్క
కేట దాళము లున్నడింపుచో కీరుచో
విలతి గాం బోజీవిధ మొక్క
నలతి విసిరిం బల్ల మెక్క నలతి నిర్ము
లెపు రనమల్లదుం బదియాయగును ముప్ప
దిద్ద యాయల నలపున మెచ్చుగాని
బలకులై వంసు లాని య య్యింతులెల్ల.

అనౌన్య హస్త దండావృత్తి లెనగా నొం
జీరుల నామృత్యుంబు నొందె యొంద
యారణాల వచ్చి యితి నుగము దొల్ల
నిలిచిన నెలపుల నిలిచి నిలిచి
కంకిణ మండలి కంచిత ప్రసాయ న
వ్యాప సవ్యసూర్తి జాపి మాప
తాళిపాద్య రివాసుసూలంబుగా మంద
నృతిమ్మగు గతులను దరిగి తరిగి
యనుపమ నిసోదయంబున నభీననాతి
చిత్రవర్ణ వ భంగులం బలగి చెలగి
విభవ మెప్పుడొప్పున నృత్యము లన
శుభల నానందము నల్ప సంభవితై - VI, vv. 189--40.

51. "నలతి మెసిరియం బల్లకాయల గ్రహవాధరం పుష్పగంధికానృత్యంబుల పరిధ
పంచనగు. నార కొందఱు మెసిరి ప్రాంగణంబున వారందఱ నా జనంబులు విచిత్ర
క్రొక్కలు లనేక రంగంబులం గూర్చి అస్యాంగం బుత్తిమంబుగా జూపెదరు.
మఱియు నంతరాంతరంబులం ప్రచ్ఛేదన సైంధవ ద్వయాధకీత పార్యాది మార్గా
భినయ భేదంబుల రసభావ భావనామోద మధురంబుగా వాదోపదయ లభిన
యించెదరు..." — Kd. Rm., Pr. 257.

of water and adorned her nose with it; and that she threaded quickly small black glass beads into a necklace.⁵²

All the *dāśi* varieties of dance were incorporated in the *yakṣagana*, the dance-drama. The period under review was the age which saw the beginnings of the *yakṣagana* type of drama, which, later in the Vijayanagar period, became very popular in the Telugu country.⁵³ *Dhruvaganā* or *daravū* was extensively brought into play in this type of drama. Stories from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahabhārata Purāṇa* formed, in a majority of cases, themes of these dance-dramas, which were enacted during nights, on a stage improvised in a street or on an open maidan. A curtain often beautifully imprinted with the figures of tigers⁵⁴ and other animals and trees, is held by two men on either side, at the commencement of a dance-recital or a drama, and before the entrance of every new character on the stage. The dress of a courtesan consisted of a silk cloth, jacket and breeches for the occasion of a dance recital.⁵⁵

Dance began with *puspāñjalīrikṣē pa* the scattering of flowers over the audience with the hands joined. Abdur Razak, who witnessed the *Mahanavami* celebrations at Vijayanagar, writes thus about the dance performance. "The part of musicians is generally filled by women. Some young girls, with cheeks as full as the moon, and with faces more lovely than spring, clothed in magnificent dresses, and showing features which, like the freshest rose, charmed

52. Kd. Rm., v. 144.

“వెనుకకు మొగ్గ వ్రాసి కిడిపిన్నునకు నొట్టిపిన్ను
మనిగి తెనంతిరచుకు ముంగుర ముక్కు-న గుచ్చిగొందు
చేన రశనాప్రసాదమున శీఘ్రము గుచ్చును నల్లపూసపే
రనుచుమలీల నిప్పుడు చుపాయము లిట్టి యెట్లు చేర్చునో.”

I am indebted to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya for the correct reading of the verse as given above.

53. Consequently *yakṣagana* was alluded to in one of the important treatises on music in Sanskrit, named *Saṅgītasūtra* by Rāṇatāha Nāyaka, written about 1628 A. D. Until this date it was not even referred to in music, in any of the treatises. *Trivēṇī*, Vol. VII, 188-89.

54. “తెరల వ్రాసిన వ్రాచె నీపెందు పులుకు
మదిలొగు జంతుమహస్య యిట్టి” —Sr. Mb., IV. v. 998.

55. “రవణ ది కూడా బాగుచు గంచుకము
నమరచికోసి చల్లపము బిగియించి
యేతెమ్మ నీవు పురాణమ్మ! కీర్తి
మాతతమ్మగ సృష్టి మాడుచుగాని” —Bs. Pr., III. p. 62.

every heart, were placed behind a pretty curtain opposite the king. On a sudden, the curtain was raised and again fell, and the damsels arranged themselves for dance, with a grace calculated to seduce every sense and captivate every mind." ⁵⁶ From the traditional practice now in vogue, it may be said that, in dramatic performances, each character, as he or she entered on the stage for the first time, announced to the audience his or her role through *dhruvāgāna*, to the accompaniment of dance. Then dropped the curtain. This variety of entertainment is suggested to us by a description of the evening twilight in the west in a verse in EṅṅāPregada's *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa*. Therein the poet compares the twilight to a great new purple curtain which the *sūradhārī*, namely Time, held before the damsel of Night, in order to dance gracefully in the presence of a host of the lords of the Quarters. ⁵⁷ Such was the advance that the art of dance had made during the age of the Reddis. The Reddi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu and of Rājamahēndravaram kept the kingly tradition well in maintaining and developing the art of dance, the invaluable heritage which was left to them by their predecessors, the Kākatiya monarchs of Warāṅgal.

Besides these, other entertainments like puppet shows and other plays, are referred to in the *Panḍitāradyacaritra*. ⁵⁸ The puppet show

56. Major, —Abdur Razak, pp. 36-37.

“అంతఃకల్యాణం నలరే నాగ్నంబం పిచ్చి
జవరక రప్పించి పగసమై నిలిచి
నోల పగు ముఖరసంబును సోవ్వకమ్మ
లమియు భావంబు ఛాళియు యుంకిలియు
నులీయు నేమయు విభ్రమమును రేఖయును
నెఱుంగు నీరేతి నృత్యంబు సలుప . . .” —Bs. Pr., III, p. 62.

57. “మగుచిర తార కా కుసుమతోభి నభోగిణిధూమిక గాలమ
నృత్యపు మూత్రధార జరిగెఁబున నిక్కురితోటి మందట
నగరముగా నటించెడి నిభావతి కర్తవ్య తోత్తొప్పుఁ డె
దని నాన నొప్పు సాంధ్యవక దీధితి పల్కిమనిక్కుటంబునఁ . . .” —Nr. Pr., III, v. 78.

58. “ప్రహరే పురాతన పరిచరితములు
ప్రసముండ్ల ఒహం నాటక ము లాడునాను
లభోగిణి రసక లాలంకారి శేఖ
లలనక ఒహం నాట మా డెడు నానుఁ

also was given during nights. " Dommaris danced and played on ropes and poles, and magicians and jugglers showed their wonderful tricks, and dexterous feats. They won the appreciation and admiration of Abdur Razak who specially writes in his account of travels about elephant feats. Vijayanagar was neighbour to Konḍaviḍu. If these feats of skill and strength were shown at Vijayanagar they might as well have been shown at Konḍaviḍu also in the same period. Art knew no political barriers.

Magic and jugglery were also very popular in the period under review. This science consisted of many *vidyas*, namely, *jalastambhana*, *śilastambhana*, *sthalastambhana*, *agnistambhana*, *vāyustambhana*, *rasastambhana*, *raktastambhana*, *indrajala*, *mahēndrajala*, *adr̥śyakaraṇa*, *adr̥śyāḍēkarṣaṇa*, *naṣṭarastusamuddharaṇa* and the like, which are mentioned in contemporary Telugu works.⁵⁹

స రణముల్ మెరవఁజేల్ గతులు జేరఁగలు

నరుదుగ వెడలె నాడెడువారు

నమరాంగనలు నివి నాడెడుమాడ్కి—

నమరాంగ నడలె నాడెడువారు

నావియదత్తి బ్రతు లాడెడునట్టి

భావన మ్రోకులపై నాడువారు

భారతాది కథలఁ జీరమఱుంగుల

నారంగ బొమ్మల నాడించువారు

గడునద్యుతింబుగఁ గలఁజూలెంబు

అడరంగ బొమ్మల నాడించువారు

నాదలు గంధర్వ యువిద్యాధ

రాదులై నాడెడు నాడెడువారు

విధమునఁ బ్రచ్ఛన్న కేవలముల్ దాల్చి

* * * *

జనులు వారింప నాసానముల్ సాచ్చి

యనుకూల వివిధ వాద్య సమేళనమున

నార్పటం బిచ్చి యొయ్యన జననికల

గర్భంబు వెడలి యక్కజము వట్టిల్ల ... ”—Pn. Cr., V, pp. 435-37.

59. “అప్పు దిద్దినవానియటులు చేసినదాఁక

బొమ్మలటలు గన్న భోగి సగిరి” —Pu. Pp., I. v. 24.

60. Sm. Dv., II, xi, p. 112.

A wonderful story illustrative of this art is narrated in the Telugu kavya, *Sinhāsanadevatrinśika* (Sm. Dv., II, xi, 30th story, pp. 106-113). This story, on an examination, is found to be merely an adaptation of the one taken from the Jain

Hunting :

Hunting was a favourite pastime of kings and nobles. Telugu poems of this period describe very elaborately and in vivid colours the game and the mode of hunting wild animals and birds,⁶¹ and also mention the various implements and weapons used in hunting.⁶²

work, *Triṣaṭṣaṭakapurnasāraṇa*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, pp. 200-209, "Story of the magician in the form of a Vidyadhara" (181-182), (Baskwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXVII). The Jains appear to have developed this art greatly, and this statement is supported by tradition current in the country.

61. "అంజనం జేమటకోకి యవరించి కడచెత్తి.

గజులంబులంబుల జట్టి యడవనంత

నూరి నూరి యడవ జక్కల జరివి మా మానరించి

కోకిల కిక్కలను గదియన్నచె." — Sm. Dev., I, v. 235.

62. "పలక కావళ్లు చివ్వంగల బంధులు.

పరుమల్లు పొందు కంఠముల వీర

తెనులు సుగంబులు దీమనుల వారిము

శ్రేణి దారకిక్కుల మెరిముబోను

బొట్టపైవ గొడ్డండ్లు పెలుగు బల్లెంబులు

శిట్టగొట్టులు పులిచెట్టు పందు

బలవిండ్లు బొట్టగొలలు గోటమానులు

గోరిక త్తెగొమ్మలు కరికచీలు

వాదిగా వేటలను యోగ్యమె తనవు

నాభి కంబులు సవరించి సరిధిసమున

నాటవిక సైన్య మేతెంచి యధపుం గాంచి

దండములు పెట్టి నిలిచి ప్రతాప మలర." — RK. Cr., III, v. 70.

"తెలుదుగా జల్లివంతిపు నల్లలమరి

చిలుతికిక్కులు కలచెంపలం జెరివి

పసిడి కావల నొప్పు బలపందిరొట్టు

తనం బూని చాటున వేటకొక్కలను

బట్టుపట్టెద్రాల్లి బలుపుగా జట్టి

దట్టంబుమాదిల దండడి నడువ" — Nv. Cr., I, p. 37.

"దీమంపువేటలు దామనవేటలు

తరివేటలను నేర్పు తరికిలును

నందమాడినధిగిరి బంధుల నొప్పున

బూటకం ప్రవేశిగు వేటకొమ్మ

A pack of hounds (*jāgilamulu*) were attached to each royal palace, and a special staff of servants to look after them. The hounds were called *nagari-jāgilamulu*, and the servants that tended them *nagari-kukkala-rāru*.⁶³ The Telugu kavya, *Rukmaṅgadacaritra*, mentions the names of hounds, such as Gaḍikōṭa Basuvasaṅkaruḍu, Copparikaḍu, Kāṭrēḍu, Jagajeṭṭi, Galipadaga, Koṇḍu, Puliyamārkōluganḍaḍu, Baṇḍi Mallāḍu, Veṇḍigudiya, Ciccurugōla, Veṇḍigunḍu, Adibhairavūḍu, Bhūtabhairavūḍu, Calipidugu and Talāri.⁶⁴ It is interesting to find in them the name of Puliyamārkōluganḍaḍu, the well-known title borne by some of the Vijayanagar nobles of this period.

Duels :

Some of the Telugu works of this period contain descriptions of duels, thereby indicating the prevalence of the custom of duel-fighting. This fact is corroborated by the accounts of foreign travellers as well.

సారమేయంబుల సారమేయ బుల
పట్టెడ నులుసులు కట్టి ననున
భేరుంప గండగంభీరము మడిగించు
భేరీవంబులు బోరుకొండగ
వారువమునెక్కి మిలిపరవాసుం డగుచు
బోలుకొండను వడిగల యేలుకొండ
నాటపడ వెన్న నరుడేరి వేటు గనె
మందరియున కివని పురందరినుండు.” —Sm. Div., II, VIII, V. 22.

63. దానిం గోప మడరె
బాడి ప విహలంబు, నోడయని నగరకు
క్రలవారు సంపరి కడిగి దాని...” — Kb. Cr., II, V. 114.

64. “గడికోట బసువశంకరుండు చొప్పురికాండు
కాట్రేండు జగ పట్టి గాలిపడిగ
కొండీడు పులియమాక్కోలుగండండును
దురుగాలి మాష్ట్రేండు దొంగ బోలుగు
బండివల్లండు వెండిగండు చిచ్చురుగోల
పట్టుగొల్లెన భూరి భైరవుండు
కొదమసింగము వెండిగుడియ కోటలగొంగ
దాద్రిభైరవుండు మోహనమురారి
చలికిడుగు విక్రమార్కుండు బలుచలారి
యనెడువామంబులను ధైర్య నవనవాగు
నగరి బాగిలముల శిర్షి రగినరీతి
గొలుసులను బట్టి చని రొక్క కొండ అవుడు” — Kb. Cr., III, V. 69.

Koravi Gōparaju's *Simhāsanaadvātrimāika* vividly describes a duel fought between two *leṅkas* or servants during a spring festival (*rasantotsava*) in the reign of king Vikramarka of Ujjain. Even though the author narrates the stories of the famous king, Vikramarka, he describes therein only contemporary life, and gives a full account of the duel as fought in his days, in one of the stories which runs as follows.

During the celebration of the spring festival, it was the custom to sprinkle camphor, perfumes like sandalpaste, and saffron over people. While coming through the crowds, Kalahakanṭha, a servant of king Vikramarka, shook off the sandal-paste which had fallen on his moustache with his hand. Just at that time an Ēkāṅgavīra, a servant of another king, who happened to pass near by him, observed him, and out of his arrogance thought that he was twirling his moustache insultingly, as if to challenge him to a fight with him. After some altercation, both wanted to fight a duel, each to show his superiority over the other. Immediately they took out their shawls, and drew out their daggers, when the *talavarlu*, or police-men, came on the spot, and separated them, saying that lanes and narrow streets were not the proper places to fight duels. They led them to the audience hall of the king where the commander, was informed of what had happened. The people there dissuaded them from fighting; but Kalahakanṭha and Ēkāṅgavīra did not give heed to their advice. As soon as the king entered the hall and took his seat on the throne, the minister represented to him that Kalahakanṭha and Ēkāṅgavīra were asking for the permission of the king to fight the duel. The king, unwilling to give permission for fear that they would die, was assured by his minister that he and the other king whose servant Ēkāṅgavīra was, would act as seconds and see that no one was mortally wounded. Then the king gave his assent after asking each of the fighters to pronounce his bet. People were then asked to sit quiet, and *talavarlu* were posted here and there to see that no disturbance arose. Weapons to be used in the duel were then measured, so as to be of the same length, and placed on the ground in the midst of four servants, with instructions to the fighters to pick them up, while even the word was in the course of being uttered. Lime fruits were offered to the duellists and the duel then began. ⁶⁵

In this connection, the poet exhibits his knowledge of the duel by describing the bets and mentioning the technical terms relating

to different glances,⁶⁶ and expedients which the duellist employed to seize and overcome his opponent. In this connection he also describes the dress and other equipment⁶⁷ of Kalahakanṭha who came prepared for the duel.

66. The different glances mentioned are *kaka-drṣṭi*, *sūkara-drṣṭi*, *marjala-drṣṭi*, *bhallūka-drṣṭi*, *kapi-drṣṭi*, *ardhra-drṣṭi*, *phapi-drṣṭi*, *cōra-drṣṭi*, and *sardūla-drṣṭi*, altogether nine.

“మరిగొక దృష్టి నేనుజక రక్షించుచు
 నూకరదృష్టిమై భాక గొలిపి
 గర్జన నేయక మాదాలదృష్టిమై
 దరలక పరుఁ జించి, ఏకోఁకఁబూని
 భల్లూకదృష్టి నపొంగ నంగరిఁ గని
 కపిదృష్టి వంచించి కాపు నూపి
 చేష్టఁ దప్పుక గృధ్రదృష్టి గనుంగొని
 యొయ్యన ఫణిదృష్టి నొడియఁజూచి
 మనసు దేఱఁజూచియును జూడ కున్నట్లు
 దృఢముగాఁగ జోరదృష్టి నడఁగి
 జంకి మీఁద నొడిసి, శార్దులదృష్టిఁ బై
 బడుట సురియ కౌండ్ర పఠఁమిదియ.” — Sm. Dr., II, Vii. v. 62.

The bets of the duellists are given below.

“పుల్లరి వెట్టిన భూమికిఁ గొసరిన
 నెదిరిపోటునకుఁ జే యొడుగుచున్న
 దండ కైదప్పినఁ దప్పకఁ బులికినఁ
 బంతంబుఁగొన్నఁ జొబరముఁ గొన్న
 చాణికిఁ జొచ్చిన చాఁదిన మానిన
 నరువనొడ్డిన బయలాసపడినఁ
 జాఁగఁ బొడవకున్న లాఁగంబునకుఁ గొన్న
 మడమ గెంటిన వ్రేళ్లు మగుడఁబడిన
 చాఱుమాఱులైనఁ దలవంచి పొడిచిన
 బారుగాఁ దలంచు పఠఁమిదియె
 కదిసి యొక్కసోటు పదిముఖంబులుగాఁగఁ
 బొడుచువాఁడఁ దేవ రదుగులాన.” — Ibid, V. 60.

67. “కఱకంచు వలిపెంబు గట్టిగాఁ గాసించి
 చెలితాడు కాసెపై బలియఁజొట్టి
 దేహంబు కప్పుగా లోహకంచుకలీల
 జగి విగిల నల్లజగు రమర్చి

Animal fights were also popular pastimes in the early mediaeval period. The Western Calukya king, Sōmēśvara, devotes a full chapter to these *vinōdas* in his *Abhilaṣitārthacintamani*. In that chapter, he describes elephant fights, buffalo fights, bull fights, cock fights, ram fights and horse fights and the like, besides duels between men. In this connection he gives the different dimensions of the arena for each of the contests, and the method of preparing it. There are allusions to these fights in the contemporary literature. Elephant and horse fights however, appear to have become obsolete in the Reddi period; for, they are not alluded to in any of the contemporary Telugu works. Accounts of foreign travellers also attest to the existence of duel fights. Marco Polo writes about the duels he witnessed in South India. "If any one desires," writes he, "to offer a gross insult to another, when he meets him, he spits this tumbul leaf or its juice in his face. The other immediately runs before the king, relates the insult that has been offered him and demands leave to fight the offender. The king supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for, this the king forbids⁶⁸."

The account of the duel given by Koravi Gōparaju is almost corroborated to the letter by that given by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official, who was in the service of the Portuguese government in India from about 1500 A. D., to about 1516 17 A. D., that is, exactly a century after the close of Kumāragiri Reddī's reign. His account is as follows :

పరిశ్రమలయిన పక్షిప్రయోగములు

విద్యార్థులయందును చూడఁబడినవి

విద్యార్థులు చరితముగాఁ జేర్చి పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు. — Ibid, V. 15.

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు

విద్యార్థులందఱును పోరాటములు. — Ibid, V. 47.

vv. 228-887.

Anantāmātya compares the fight between the prince Pāvakalōma and an asura in his work *Bhōjarājīyam* to the fight of bulls, rams, cocks and male-buffaloes.⁷² The ballad of the Palnāṣi heroes, *Palnāṣivīracaritra*, gives a lively description of cock-fighting⁷³ as practised in the mediaeval period. Cock-fighting was one of the main reasons for the annihilation of the Ēkāṅga heroes of Palnāṣu.⁷⁴ In fact, these animal fights were not new to the period under review. They were in vogue in the country, centuries before the Redḍi rule. They had been a regular feature of the social life of the people.

Sports and Games:

The Telugu literature of this period alludes to some of the childrens' sports and games which were in vogue in those times, like kite-flying and plying with tops. The latter game is fully described in the *Palnāṣivīracaritra*.⁷⁵ Besides these there were others like *raguṇḍipudḡuṇḍulāṭa*, *kundena*, *guḍiguḍiguṇḍjambulāṭa*, *oppplavindulayāṭa*, *sariguṇḍulāṭa*, *ciṭṭapḍilāṭa*, *gḍraṇḍulāṭa*, *cerahantalayāṭa*, *cappaṭlu-petṭuṭa*, *digudiḡudikkomuntāa*, and *dāguḍumūṭāṭa*.⁷⁶ Of these, some are completely forgotten, and others, like *guḍiguḍiguṇḍjama*, *ciṭṭapḍilāṭa*, *kundena*, and *dāguḍumutalu* (hide and seek), are popular in the countryside even today.

There were some indoor games and recreations which were generally played by young men and women. These were more commonly played in the aristocratic families. These were *anjisogaṭālu*,

72. Vide, V, Pr. 118.

73. The institution of cock-fighting was common both to India and the island of Java. Nicolo de Conti described cock-fighting, which he had witnessed in Java thus in his account of travels. "The amusement most in vogue amongst them (the Javanese) is cock-fighting. Several persons will produce their birds for fighting each maintaining that he will be the conqueror. Those who are present to witness the sports make bets amongst themselves upon these combatants, and the cock that remains conqueror decides the winning bet". — Major, Conti, p. 16.

74. v. 119.

75. Pv. Cr., pp. 42-47.

76. "పాంసంగ రాసుకొనోసుకొనాట,

సుంకెన నడిసుడిసుంకెంబులాట,

యప్పలవీరమలయాట, వల్కలుం

కప్పల్లు శిల్పాట, సరిసుంకెంబులాట,

నేరపాంశలయాట, సిల్లపేట్లాట,

కోరంటలాట, హనుడుమూతలాట

దీకొని దినుదినుదిక్కిమసాట

... — Pv. Cr., II, p. 460.

accanagaṇḍlu, *ōmanaguṇṭalu*, and *jūdamu*". Of these *sogaṭālu* and *jūdamu* are nothing but dice and gambling, which were the favourite pastimes of princes and princesses, kings and queens, and paramours and their favourite concubines. It may be because the number of dice used in the game was five that the game is called *anjisogaṭālu* (*anji* means five). *Netlamu* means gambling and also a bet. It appears that there are ten kinds of bets.¹⁸ *Nettamāṭu* (gambling) is referred to in the Telugu works of this age.¹⁹ The game of *accanagaṇḍlu* is a favourite game even at the present day with young girls, in all castes in the Telugu country. As the name itself implies, it was played with small pebbles (*kaṇḍlu* - plural form of *kallu*, a stone). They are tossed up and caught on the back of the hand. This game, also called *accanagāyālu*, may be played by either two or more persons. *Ōmanaguṇṭalu* is another popular indoor game. It is played in many of the families in the Telugu country even at the present day. This game in common parlance is called *Vāmanaguṇṭalu*. It consists of two foldable planks either of wood or of metal, in the shape of fish etc., with a row of seven depressions in each plank. It is generally played by two persons, each being in charge of one side consisting of seven depressions. Each of the seven hollows in each plank, is filled with thirteen small round pebbles or tamarind seeds, as it is now done. Each of the players who succeeds in depleting the hollows of the pieces in the other side, is considered the

77. "సరిలేని యుగంబు లటా
లరుదగు జూదంబు నెత్తె మచ్చిన గంధున
దిరమగు నోమనగుంటలు
సరిసత మెయి నాడుచున్న సతులం గనయు." —Bj. Rj., V. v. 36.

87. "పక్షవిధముల నెత్తె బుల
శక్తిని యె నెత్తె మడగె జయ్యిన నది త
వృక్ష మగు ద్యూతవికల్పలు
ప్రళంస యొనరించ నావృపతి లక్ష్యపనె." —Ibid, VII, v. 129.

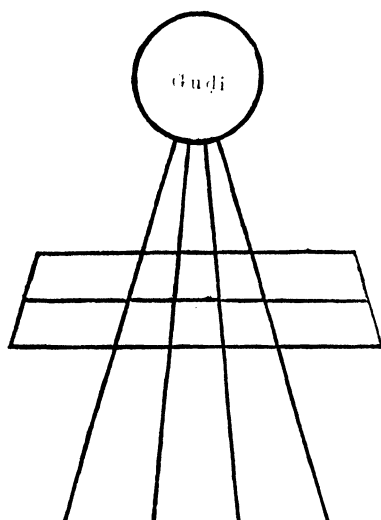
79. Sm. Dv., II, VI, v. 90.

The terminology connected with gambling is known from the Telugu works *Bhojarājyam* and *Sinhāsanaadvatimsila*: for instance, we come across terms, like *netlapu sarelu* (pawns or pieces used in the game of gambling), *palaka* (a dice board), 'pachalu' (dice in gambling) etc. The following passages from the latter work mentioned above, may be noted with interest.

- "స దియు జూదంబును దగయును
గాగ నా గేటపడిన యచ్చులలో నేయచ్చెనె..." — II, X, v. 87.
"తలంపు గతి విచ్చునోపన గాయ మనగా" —Ibid.

winner. This game is called *pallūṅguḍi* in Tamil meaning fourteen pits. Sometimes, a person also plays it singly, when it forms a kind of *solitaire*.

There was another interesting game, not necessarily an indoor one, a gambling using three tigers as pawns in the game⁸⁰, called *pulī-jūdama*, or *pululu mēkalu*⁸¹ in Telugu, that is, tigers and goats. It is played even now in the interior villages in Andhra by the common folk both youngsters and elders. Till very recently it was popular among the higher classes also. In Tamil it is called *padinaṅḍanpuli*. This game is now slowly dying out.



Pulī-jūdama

The game is played, with stones on any ground surface marked out with a diagram, as shown in the margin, by only two persons, one representing the three tigers, and the other, representing the goats, altogether fifteen in number. One takes three large stones which are called *pululu*, and the other has about fifteen small stones called *mēkalu*. The stones are moved from point to point on the figure, the objects of the game being for the tigers to eat up the goats, and for the goats to hem in the tigers and arrest their movement. The apex of the triangle is called either *koṇḍa* or *guḍi*, and the tiger that is stationed there never leaves his post. It can be occupied by a goat, only

if the tiger is absent there and not otherwise.

80. “అక్షరములు మూడు పెట్టెలు
మూడు పెట్టెలు, మూడు పెట్టెలు మూడు పెట్టెలు
మూడు పెట్టెలు మూడు పెట్టెలు
మూడు పెట్టెలు మూడు పెట్టెలు” — Sm. Dr., II, X, v. 91.

81. From Mr. Chann Chandra Das Gupta's paper published in J.R.A.S.B., Vol. VIII (Letters), pp. 151-155 (1942), we come to know that this game is also played in the

Such were the games and amusements which were in vogue in the Reddi period. There might have been many more means of recreation; but here are described only those which are referred to in the literature of the period.

Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam, and is called *Bam blang beh khla*, which term literally means "to eat goat, to drive tiger"—a name almost akin to the Telugu one, '*pululu, mēkalu*', tigers and goats. The rule of the game, as well as the diagram used also, is almost the same as that in practice in the Telugu country. We are further told that a similar game "as far as the rule of the game is concerned but with altogether a new diagram, is prevalent in the United Provinces, Bengal, and in the Central Provinces."

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHITECTURE AND PAINTING

The age of the Reddi kings was particularly marked by a revival of Hindu arts in general; yet, any school of Architecture, patronised and specially developed by them, does not seem to have flourished. Their name is not associated with any of the great temples in the coastal Andhra country. Though it was a period of Hindu religious revival and of an intensely religious atmosphere, it is interesting to note the absence of any great temples ascribed to the Reddi monarchs, the custodians of art-culture, handed over to them by their predecessors, the Kakatiyas of Warangal. This absence may possibly be accounted for in either of two ways, namely, the temples built by the Reddi kings must have been mostly destroyed during the period of Muslim invasions, and in the subsequent periods of Hindu-Muslim rivalry; or it may be that the Reddi kings, having been busy in setting right things, that were undone by the Muslim kings during their occupation of the country, did not newly build any great temples, but got the partly-destroyed temples re-constructed, the dilapidated ones repaired, and the defiled ones re-consecrated. It cannot be argued that the Reddi kings who were religious to the core, did not evince much interest in the construction and preservation of the temple, that exercised great influence on the culture of the Hindu nation in olden days.

Gṛharāja-saudha :

It is, however, interesting to note that, as far as architecture is concerned, the name of the Reddi kings is associated, in tradition, with the construction of what is called *gṛharāja-saudha* or *gṛharāju-mṇḍa*. The *Konḍaviṭṭi-danḍakavile* and the *Local records* give currency to an old traditional story relating to poet Srinātha. The story runs thus: Once Srinātha visited the court of king Harihara II of Vijayanagar. While he was there Harihara II expressed his desire to build a single-pillared palace, impossible for others to build. Out of vanity to proclaim the greatness of his patron-lord, Srinātha told Harihara II a lie that such a palace was already constructed by his patron at Konḍaviṭṭu. Astonished at this statement, Harihara II sent his spies to Konḍaviṭṭu to find out the truth. Fearing that it would bring dishonour on him as well as on his master if the lie was discovered, Srinātha prayed to his tutelary god, and got such a palace erected at Konḍaviṭṭu instantaneously. It is said that a crab tree, commonly called baubal

(*Mymiosa Arabica*), which was as tall as seven palmyra trees, and as broad as to be circumscribed by seven cables (*cāṭu mōkulu* of fixed length,) was brought from the village of Navulūru, and employed in the construction of the one-pillared mansion of *gṛharāja-mēda*. Having come to know the truth of Srinātha's statement, king Harihara II was pleased much, and bestowed upon him many honours and presents.

Though this story has no historical basis whatsoever, it seems however true, that there was a great mansion called *gṛharāja mēda* at Koṇḍaviḍu. Its existence is attested to by the inscriptions of the Redḍi kings. It has, however, to be pointed out here that neither Srinātha, nor his patron king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi, had anything to do with this special type of building. It was due to king Kumārāgiri Redḍi, an artist (*kalāvan*) in every sense, who raised many types of buildings, including this famous *gṛharāja-samṭha*. The (Gōpavaram¹ and the Komaragirivaram² grants of Kāṭaya Vēma Redḍi, dated in Saka 1317 and Saka 1330, describe the activities of king Kumārāgiri Redḍi as follows: Vasantarāya (another name of Kumārāgiri) constructed many pleasure houses (*līlāgṛhān*) with gold and precious stones, a lofty palatial mansion, termed *gṛharāja-prāsada* with pinnacles (*prāsādam-annata śikhā gṛharāja-samjñam*), pleasure-ponds (*kriḍāsarāṁsi*) and pleasure chariots (*kāṭi-radhūn*), and sported with his beloved women³ (*prigūbhī*). This earliest reference to *gṛharāja prāsada*, in the records mentioned above, clearly proves that it was constructed by Kumārāgiri Redḍi, and not by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi or any other. References to this *gṛharāja mēda* are found in a *cāṭu* verse⁴ current in the Telugu country, which furnishes the periods of rule of individual Redḍi kings, and the duration of their aggregate rule, and also in the Phiraṅgipuram inscription⁵ of

1. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 213 v. 20.

2. Ibid, pp. 205 ff.

3. “लीलागृहान् कनकवज्रचयैरनकान्
प्रासादमुन्नतशिख्यागृहगजमंजम्
क्रीडासंगमि च विधाय वसन्तगयः
कैलीस्थानमि महागमतप्रियाभिः॥ — v. 18.

4. ‘పెదె నోమటి వేమన యిరువదేండ్లు
రానవేమన్న నాల్గవేండ్లు చుల నేరె
మించి కట్టిరి గృహరాజుమేడ కొండ
ఓట నూతీండ్లు రెడ్ల ధూవిదిత యశు...’ —Ct. Mm., I. p. 31.

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff; A. Phiraṅgipuram inscription, p. 314.

Peda Kōmaṣi Vēma. From the verse in the Phiraṅgipuram record referring to this *sandha*, we come to know that goddess Lakṣmī⁶ was enthroned and worshipped there with all civilities. This fact is further corroborated by the *kaiḥiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu that it was the abode of the goddess Ādilakṣmī Kāmāśvari⁷.

6. “अश्वान्तम् गृहगजमोघनिवमलक्ष्मीकराभ्यन्तर

क्रांडाभोद्धतालवृन्तनटन प्रभाविर्विन्तारितः

वायुः केसरवायनामुरभिता यस्यार्थिचिन्तामगां

द्रांगाचामगिदानकेलिजनितं स्वेदाम्भसां जालकम्॥” --Ibid., v. 12.

7. The following passage referring to *Gīharaju-mēda* is taken from the *Kaiḥiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu.

“ఈ గిహరు మేదా బాగు రెడ్లవారు కట్టించిన బహుమతలైన కోనేరు ప్రస్తుతి. ఈ కుడేకవారు రెడ్లవారియొక్క రాజ్యముల అని చెప్పినారు. ఈ కోనేటికి పశ్చిమం బాగు అయిన గిహరు బాగుమేదాబ్బ అని ప్రస్తుతి. రెడ్లవారు పురుషత్వంచేసి కాలమందు కోమటి వేమారెడ్లవారు శ్రీనాథునివారియొక్క పుణ్యవంశేన నవలూక పోతురాజు దేవాలయం దగ్గరప్రస్తు యేడుతాళ్ళ పొడుగున్నా, యేడు పాతలు తిరిగి పొవున్నా గల తుమ్మచెట్టు తెప్పించి స్తంభంగా చెక్కించి వంటిస్తంభం మీద కట్టించి తమకు యిష్టమైన అదిలక్ష్మీ కామేశ్వరీ అమ్మవారికి సింహాసన సానముగా ఏర్పరిచి వైభవమును జరిగించి యీ మేదాశిఖరానకు బొగ్గిపారు వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామిని దేవాలయానకు మకరతోరణం కట్టించినారట. ఇక్కడ వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామివారు ప్రస్తు కొంత సహజ తూర్పుగా ప్రాసాదం. ఈ మేదాను తమవనే గడ్డిగాలభావి అనే కోనేరు ప్రస్తుతి.”

—Sr. Sr., p. 109.

“.....నేరువైన కామాక్షీలను శిల్పలయ స్తంభం చెక్కించి (వేదకోమటి వేమారెడ్లవారు) తుమ్మవారు గిహరు బాగుమేదాబ్బ ప్రమరాజగ్గముల దగ్గర వంటిస్తంభం స్థాపనముమేద కట్టించి బహుమతలూనుగా పంపిరింగులు యేర్పరిచి స్వర్ణ రత్నములు పాతకలద్యారా తోరణంబులు కలశంబులు గన్నా ముగా యేర్పరిచి అదికోమటవలెన గిహరు బాగు పొధాగ్గి సింహాసనంబు అందు నిమ యిష్టవేదపుత్రుల అదిలక్ష్మీ కామేశ్వరీ మహాదేవిని వేంచేపుచేసి యీమేద శిఖరానకు బొగ్గిపారు వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామివారి దేవాలయశిఖరానకున్న బంగారపు పుటలు మువ్వలు పరికరములగుల మకరతోరణము కట్టించి భేరిభాంకార మృదంగ వాద్యవాదంబులు పుబలంబుగా మ్రోయ నాజ్ఞించి అదిలక్ష్మీ కామేశ్వరీ మహాదేవిని పూజిస్తూప్రస్తు నయచూచు...”

—Kf. Kd., p. 9.

This special type of buildings called *Gṛharājū-meda* finds mention in the contemporary Telugu work *Śrīraṅgamahātmyam*, while describing the mansions in a town newly built by a king *.

The type of building called *Gṛharājū-meda*, is described in the *Bhaviṣya*, *Agni*, and the *Garuḍa Purāṇas*. It is a form of divine edifice. According to these Purāṇas divine edifices or temples are mainly grouped, in accordance with the shape or plan in their construction, under five heads, namely, *Vairāja*, *Puspaka*, *Kailasa*, *Malika* and *Trivṛṇapa*. "The first of the above classes of the divine edifice is characterised by a rectangular shape, the second resembling the first in structure; while the third and the fifth classes are respectively built circular and octagonal, the fourth class being constructed in a way so as to resemble the segments of a circle. Each of the above classes of temples is divided into nine sub-divisions, thus giving rise to forty-five different structures of temples..... The nine temples that owe their origin to the genus *Puspaka*, are named *Valabhī*, *Gṛharāja*, *Śālāgrha*, *Mandira*, *Viśala*, *Brahma-mandira*, *Bhavana*, *Prabhava* (and) *Śibikārcama*." "From this it is obvious that *gṛharājū-saudha* is a rectangular-shaped temple belonging to the genus of *Puspaka*. The Purāṇas state that these five

8. "...నక్షత్రం (నక్షత్రం) పేరేన నక్షత్రం..." -IV, v. 998.

9. The *Agni Purāṇa* names this group *Maṇika*.

10. M. N. Dutt - The *Agni Purāṇa* (Translation), Vol. I, Chap. IV, p. 421, vv. 7 to 30. The names of some of these nine temples, as given in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, differ from those given above. They are as follows: (1) *Badari*, (2) the *Gṛharāja*, (3) the *Salāgrha*, (4) the *Mandira*, (5) the *Vimāna*, (6) the *Brahmamandira*, (7) the *Varana*, (8) *Uttamira*, and (9) the *Sibikārcama* - Vide, M. N. Dutt- The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, (Translation), Ch. XLVII, pp. 115-116. There is, however, no variation in the name of the second of the nine temples belonging to the genus, *Puspaka*, according to both the lists. It is *Gṛharāja*. According to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* the second of the five groups of divine edifices, "is marked in quadrilateral shape," "The general characteristic features of a divine edifice are detailed in the *Garuḍa*, the *Agni* and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas*. Of these, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* furnishes interesting details."-vide Ch. XLVII.

वैराजः पुष्पकश्चान्यः केनासौ मणिकस्तथा

लिविष्टपञ्च पञ्चैव मेरुमूर्धनि संस्थिताः

चतुर्गुणस्तु तत्राद्यो द्वितीयोपि तदायतः * 12.

वृत्तो वृत्तायतश्चान्यो लघुश्चपि पञ्चमः

एकैको नवधा भेदैश्चत्वारिंशच्च पञ्च च * 13.

groups of divine edifices are "eminently fit to be the abodes of all deities", and "in which their images may be safely installed." From the Phiraṅgipuram stone inscription we may safely conclude that the temple of *gṛharāja-saudha* at Koṇḍaviḍu was dedicated to the goddess Lakṣmī (Ādi Lakṣmī Kāmēśvarī, according to the *Kaifiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu). The cruel hand of Time levelled to the ground this *gṛharāja-saudha*, which was specially built and richly decorated by the royal-artist Kumaragiri Redḍi.

In spite of the absence of great temples ascribed to the Redḍi kings, there is inscriptional evidence to show that building activity was not altogether absent during their rule. The first of the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu to take interest in this kind of activity was Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Redḍi kingdom. He built steps to the holy places of Srisaīlam and Ahōbālam and to the holy *tirtha* Pātala Gaṅgā (at the former place), to make them easy of reach to thousands of pilgrims that visited them and earned their gratitude. This was considered an achievement in those days and was much praised by one and all. Its volume of popularity can be easily gauged by the great number of references to this act of king Vēma Redḍi, both in contemporary literature and in the records of the Redḍi kings. Vēma Redḍi's son Anavēma built in the Bhīma-nāthanagaru at Paksharam many maṇḍapas (*natya*, *kalyāṇa*, *hīma*, *santāra* and others), temples for *dyagalingas*, (high pyramidal *gōpuras* towers over the gates), *pātala-gṛhas* (under-ground chambers, compound

प्रसादः प्रथमो मेरुद्वितीयो मन्दरस्तथा

विमानं च तथा भद्रः सर्वतोभद्र एव च ॥ 14.

चरुको नन्दको नन्दिवर्धमानस्तथाऽपरः

श्रीवल्लश्चैति वैराजान्ववाये च समुत्थिताः ॥ 15.

वल्लभी गृहगजश्च शालागृहं च मन्दिरम्

विशालश्चममो ब्रह्ममन्दिरं भुवने तथा ॥ 16.

प्रभवः शिबिका वेश्म नवैते पुष्पकोद्भवाः

वल्लयो दुन्दुभिः पद्मो महापद्मक एव च ॥ 17.

वर्धनी वान्य उष्णीषः शङ्खश्च कलशस्तथा

खट्वक्षश्च तथाऽप्येते वृत्तः कैलासमम्भवाः ॥ 18.

walls and other structures.¹¹ It was under his orders that the *vīraśīrmaṇḍapa*, at Srisaillam was constructed.¹² Pōtāsāni, wife of Kaṭiyam Mācinōḍu, an officer of Kaṭaya Vēma Reḍḍi, built a stone compound wall (*tirucūṭṭalika*) for god Bhīmēśvara of Dakshāram, for the merit of Kaṭaya Vēma, his queens, and their son Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, and his queens.¹³ Her husband Kaṭiyam Maci Nēḍu constructed an *āsthanamaṇḍapa* for god Bhīmēśvara at Dakshāram for the merit of his lord Kaṭaya Vēma, his queens, and their son, Komara giri and his queens.¹⁴ Naraya Peddi, an officer of Allāḍa Reḍḍi constructed at Palivela (East Godavari district) a *silā-maṇḍapa* with a *kalyaṇaṭṭedi*¹⁵ (marriage altar) for god Koppēśvara for the merit of his lord. Mañcella Narahari Nēḍu, another officer of Allāḍa Reḍḍi of Rajamahēndravaram, constructed a twenty pillared *kalyāṇā-maṇḍapa* (marriage pavilion) sixteen hastas long and eight hastas broad, to god Rāmēśvara¹⁶ at Pālakollu (Kṣīrāramapuri) (West Godavari district). Beṇḍapūḍi Annamantri, minister of Allaya Vēma Reḍḍi, constructed, in front of Bhīmēśvara at Dakshāram, a twelve pillared *gōpura-maṇḍapa*¹⁷ in stone on the banks of the Sapta-Gōḍavari.

11. S.I.L., Vol. IV, No. 1379. This inscription is in verse which was composed by Prakāśa Bharatīyogi. The date of this record is Śaka 1303. King Anavema seems to have built a house called *Anavemanagaru* after his name at Sindhachalam for god Sindhadrinatha in his temple. *Anavemanagaru* is mentioned in an inscription at Sindhachalam (S.I.L., VI. No. 806).
- 11a. Ep. Coll. No. 20 of 1915. See above, chapter, IV. (Pt. II) p. 342.
12. Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 325 ff.
13. Ibid.
14. S. I. L., Vol. V, No. 113, (date, Śaka 1338).
15. Ibid. No. 133. (date, Śaka 1338).
16. S. I. L., Vol. IV, No. 1381 (date, Śaka 1350). The different meritorious acts (structural) of Beṇḍapūḍi Annamantri are enumerated in the following verse in the *Bhīmēśvara Turāṇam*, a work dedicated to him. This verse also refers to the *gōpura-maṇḍapa* on the banks of the Sapta-Godavari.

రాజమహేంద్రదుర్గమునఁ గావించె (తి)

వీరభదురకుఁ బొక్కారేఖ

నిలిపె మార్కండేయనీలకంఠునిమూల

రామేశుఁ దమతల్లినామకముగ

సంగమేశ్వరదివ్యకంఠులింగమునకుఁ

గల్పించెఁ గల్యాణగర్భగృహము

దక్షనాక్షికయందుఁ దగుణేనుకూలిక

మొగలివాకిట ధామమును రివిచె

పొక్కితావని గోపుర పొక్కిరిణిమున

సప్తముని సింధుసోపాన సరణికెలర

దీర్చె భవనము భీమయజ్ఞేప్రసంగ

మంత్ర దేవయ యన్నయామార్త్యమరుదు. — I, v. 74.

It is found in the story of Uṣāpariṇaya. In this story Citralākṣha promises to Uṣā, daughter of Bāṇāsura, to paint the most beautiful youths belonging to various classes, and requests her to recognise the youth whom she had seen in her dream. Taking this opportunity Pōtana, the author, displays his knowledge of the process of painting a picture, probably as was done by his contemporary artists. This passage shows that the *paṭa* or the canvas, *vajra* (Vajralēpa), the five colours placed in different (golden and silver) saucers were the essential things required for painting a picture. The passages in the afore-said works, the *Kumārasambhavam* and the *Andhra Bhāgavatam*, may be in a way, taken to indicate the continuity, in practice, of the art of Painting in the Andhra country.

The number of colours used in painting was five (*panca-ranniyalu*) according to the passage from Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam*; but according to Śrinātha they were only four. Pōtana did not name the five colours; but Śrinātha, while describing the dawn in a beautiful verse in *Sīsā metre*, gives out their names as white, black, yellow and red. The poet compares the early sunshine to a painter's brush (*tūlikā*), employed to paint the universe with the above-named colours, which were mentioned in a poetic way. Some of the whiteness in the ripe moonlight (*taṭapi-cennela*) served to form the newly-prepared miry shell liquid (representing the white colour), the hue of the tender darkness the black liquid, the ripe flower-dust of the lotus buds which woke up from sleep the yellow colour, and the scarlet-coloured early tender twilight the beautiful red colour." *Abhilaṣitarthacintāmaṇi* also mentions only

స్థలంబునను నని ముల్లోకంబులం జేగు గతిగన వయోరూపసంపన్నులైన పురుషు
ముఖ్యుల నన్నయ గోచర సామధేయంబులతోడ వాగ్దాసి యాయశంతునైన యప్పటంబు
చన ముదటికిం దెచ్చియుంచి యిప్పటంబునం దగులసి వాగు లేగు, సావధానంబున
నాకర్ణింపుమని యిట్లు అనియె" — An. Bg. II, Pr. 346, p. 881.

The different stages in painting a picture on canvas, according to Pōtana, are well explained with quotations from ancient texts, like *Silparaṇa* and *Abhilaṣitarthacintāmaṇi*, by Mr. C. Sivaramamurthy in his article, "A passage on painting in Pōtana's *Bhāgavata*", contributed to the J. O. R., VI, pp. 184 ff.

21. "తటిపి పెన్నెలలోని ధావర్ణ్య మొకకొంత

సవసుధాకర్దమ దృవము గాఁగఁ

జెన్నారి పొన్నారి చిలుక చీడటిచాయ

యనలు కొల్పిన మఝీరసము గాఁగ

నిద్ర) మేల్కొందిన నెత్తెమ్మ మొగడలు

పరువంపు పుప్పొంగు హరిదళముగఁ

these four *varṇas*, namely, *śvīta* (white) *śōṇa* (red), *pīta* (yellow), and *kṛṣṇa* (black.)”

కొంత వన్నయ లేద నోటనంబ కంబయ
కమనయ కాటరాంబయ గంబ
వర్ణముల గూడి యాచిన వ్యవహారమున
జలము చిత్రించు చూలిక నంద పైన
కొమరుల బ్రాహ్మణుల నూనూగు కొనమయిండు
పొత్తి కడనవమాణిక్యపరక పయ్యె.” —Ka. Kh., I., v. 123.

There seems to be some mistake in the last four lines. The comparison made in the above lines is not aptly concluded in the last lines. This verse is taken from the printed copies of the work. The idea underlying the verse is however apparent. The last line of the above verse has to be probably emended as “పొత్తి కడనవమాణిక్యపరక పయ్యె”, as suggested by Pandit Śrī D. Venkata Ramana Sastri Garu of the Andhra University.

22. శ్వేతేషు పూయేచ్ఛక్ల శోగోపుదరదं తథా
రక్తేష్వలక్తశకలం లోहितం గౌరీకం తథా
పీనేషు हरितालं स्यात् कृष्णोक्जलमिष्यते
शुद्धा वर्णा इमे प्रोक्ता श्वत्वारश्चिवसंश्रयः” —(J.O.R., Vol. VI, p. 186).

CHAPTER IX.

LITERATURE

The post-Kākatiya period may rightly be called the spring-time of both the Sanskrit and Telugu literatures. Kings of this period set the fashion to patronise poets and scholars, and accept dedication of books from them. The king's lead was taken up by their ministers, commanders, and other lesser lights who extended their patronage to the men of letters. During the mediæval period, it was held that, of the seven meritorious acts (*Saptasantanas*), that make one's name eternal, getting dedication of a *kṛti* or a book was perhaps the most important. Those who could afford, perpetuated their memory on earth by performing these seven acts of merit, which were said to endure long and keep the doer's name green in the minds of people, for many generations to come. These ideas and ideals were not a little responsible for giving a strong impetus to the literary renaissance in the Telugu country during the period under review.

The early post-Kākatiya period which witnessed the growth of new Hindu kingdoms, mainly of the Paṇṭa Redḍis of Koṇḍaviṭṭu, of the Yādava kṣatriyas of Vijayanagar, and of the Padma Velamas Nāyakas of Rājakoṇḍa, can properly be marked as the age of commentary, the principal literary form in vogue then, in the dominion of Sanskrit literature. This statement should not be interpreted to mean that no *kāvya*s, *nāṭaka*s or other literary compositions, were produced during this period. There were no doubt poets, who had written *gadya*, *padya*, *campu*, and *dr̥ṣya* kāvyas; yet, commentary or *vyākhyāna* was the chief literary form that characterised this age of the revival of Hindu *dharma*.

People had no patience or leisure to spend the whole period of *brahmacarya* in *gurukulas*, sitting at the feet of the *guru* as in days of yore and acquire proficiency in several *vidya*s, because of the disturbed social circumstances in the country. Moreover, the political conditions were such that they compelled many a youth of the intellectual class to equip themselves, like their brethren of the fourth caste, to protect not only their family and king but also their religious heritage. The number of brāhmins, who took to civil and military duties in the State during the Redḍi period, was, as stated previously, far greater than in any of the previous periods, and these were obliged primarily to attend to the administrative duties rather than to the study of literature, and religion. There was not enough time for the study of Vedic

literature, and consequently the ability to understand the Vēdas, Śāstras and Kāvya was gradually on the wane. The intellectuals painfully realised that they could not afford to neglect this study, as their sole ambition was to revive *dharma* as envisaged by the Śāstras, and refashion Vedism to suit the requirements of the age, in order to rejuvenate the Hindu society that it might hold its own against the new peril of Islam. Therefore, a thorough knowledge of the past literature, traditional usages and customs was a great necessity. And in consequence, commentaries on ancient religious texts were prepared and made available to the needy.

During this period, while the Reddi kings toiled hard to set right all that was undone by the Mussalmans, by re-establishing brāhmins, the custodians of Vēdic learning and spiritual culture, in their own *agrahāras*, and by reviving Vedic sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, the kings of Vijayanagar, under the guidance of the sage, Vidyāranya, had the proud privilege of getting the Vēdas commented upon by a band of able scholars, who flourished under their patronage. It became the sacred duty, voluntarily taken up, by the rulers of this age, to maintain and patronise as many Vēdic scholars and men of letters as they could, and hence, the court of each king was adorned with poets and scholars learned in the Vēdas, and Sciences.

Writing Material:

Kings of this age were not mere figure-heads. They were educated with care from their child-hood, and properly trained. The works they had to study were written mostly on palm leaves, with an iron style.¹ Travellers who visited India in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries noted this fact. John of Montecervino writes, "They have indeed an alphabet which they use to keep their accounts, and to write prayers or charms for their idols, albeit they have no paper, but write upon leaves of trees like unto palm leaves"². Nicolo de Conti states that all Indians, with the exception of the inhabitants of Cambay, write on the leaves of trees, of which they make very beautiful books³. Conti refers to the *ladi* tree when he writes, "There is also a tree called *lāl*, the leaves of which are extremely large, and upon which they write, for throughout all India they do not use paper excepting in the city of Cambay⁴. The above statements of

1. "చిత్రమములు గలవము" నిరసించి... —Rk. Cr., II, p. 46.

2. *Foreign Notices*, p. 188.

3. Major, Conti, p. 81.

4. *Ibid.* Conti, p. 18.

the foreign travellers are only partially true; for, paper, though rarely used, was not quite unknown. A stray *cāṭu* verse, ascribed to Srinātha, states that brahman accountants of the Vyāpāri sect used to write their accounts on paper with pen and ink⁴. That paper was in use in the Redḍi period is further confirmed by another important literary work of this age, the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, produced in the court of the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram. From the introductory verses in this work we come to know that Ariyēṭi Annamantri, minister of Allaya Vēmā Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, used to send to Sultan Ahmad Shāh⁵ his despatches in Persian language written on paper. These evidences are enough to prove the existence of paper, of course hand-made, and its use as writing material in the Redḍi period. Its limited supply, and its abnormal price probably induced people of those times to write their books, accounts and letters on palm leaves, which were available in plenty and cost nothing. Paper available in small quantities at great price, was in all probability requisitioned by the State, and used only for State documents and accounts. All books, like the Purāṇas, Śāstras, Itihāsas, and Prabandhas were palm-leaf manuscripts. Copying of classical and religious works on *tāla-patras* or *bhūrja patras* developed into a regular profession. Expert scribes with a beautiful hand were requisitioned by kings, nobles and those who could afford to remunerate them, to copy works of their choice. Calligraphy became an art and was rewarded properly. In olden days this was one of the methods to propagate knowledge. Besides the palm-leaf manuscripts, there were works written on a different material also, cloth. Arahts, viz., the Jains and the Buddhists, used, though rarely, to write their religious works on cloth¹ with pen and ink in Nagari characters.

Education :

Education imparted to the princes differed much from that given to the general public. There is not much evidence to ascertain the

5. “దస్తాల్-ఎన్ మసిబ్బుల్-ఎన్ గలముల్-ఎన్ బహుల్-ఎన్ వ్యాసావల్-ఎన్ గూగల్-ఎన్”.

-- Ct. Mm., I. p. 128.

6. “అన్నయమంత్రేశ్వరుఁ డామృదుఁడొ.....భూమిపై
త్వన్నిధికిన్ సముచితముగ నేమమహిమ కేంద్రం నా
జ్యోత్స్నతి సందతాభ్యుదయమొందగ బాదసిభాష వ్రాసినన్
గన్నులపండుకై యనుగు కాకతమండలి వర్ణపర్ణమన్.”—Bh. Pr., I, v. 73.

7. “పటమలందు నాగరశిష్య స్రుష్టుటముగ
వరమషీ తూలి కారేభ వ్రాసినట్టి
యర్హతాగమ గంధ్ర మత్యాదరమన...”—Ka. Kh., VI, v. 74.

nature of education imparted to students in general and the institutions in which it was taught. From time immemorial the brāhman *agrahāras*, *maṭhas*, and temples, the Jain *basadis* and the Buddhist monasteries, had been the acknowledged national educational institutions for imparting knowledge to the pupils of the respective religious persuasions. Temple, *agrahāra* and *maṭha*, all played a very prominent part in the mediaeval times as media to diffuse knowledge and culture. Royal patronage and private munificence supported education in ancient times, although there was no separate educational department in the administrative machinery, as at present. Reading of Purāṇas became a regular institution for educating people in general, in *agrahāras*,⁸ *maṭhas* and temples, which was maintained by land grants. Even those who never learnt to read and write, were thus educated in the Hindu lore and were able to discuss subtle questions relating to daily life and *dharma*.

There must have been also *piā* schools, set up by private individuals, to teach boys to read and write, and as much arithmetic as was necessary for daily life. It is likely that boys of the first three castes and rarely those of the fourth, sought admission to these schools. Princes of the second caste and particularly a few children of the nobles of the fourth caste received special higher education under eminent scholars. Brāhman boys in general appear to have resorted to the *gurukulas* in *agrahāras*. Technical or vocational education was imparted to boys by *ācāris* or technical and industrial experts, in their own houses, and the student was, from the beginning of his educational career, an apprentice, and got himself trained under his master directly, in the particular trade he had chosen. It was generally considered, in days of yore, to be a gross delinquency for one to discard his family-trade and heritage, and to take up a new one.

Subjects of Study for Princes :

The education of princes was intended to make them able warriors as well as good scholars. The Telugu kāvya, *Sōḍaiaikumāra-caritra*, by Vennelakanṭi Annaya furnishes, in a conventional way, a list of arts and sciences that a prince had to study, namely, Vēdas Vēdāṅgas, Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Dharma Śāstras, *Āyurvēda*, *Dhanurvēda*, *Bharata Śāstra*, *Kama Śāstra*, works on Rājanīti, like *Kaṁandaka*, *Caṇakya*, *Bhārgavya* and *Kauṇṭapadanta*, kāvyas, *lakṣana-granthas*, *nāṭakas*⁹ etc.

8. ".....వీనుల కెల్ల జేనియల్"

వినుకొం బురాణానాశ్శ్రములు సమైక్య విభక్తిగాంచి యమృతం

జననధం జేరి మొక్కిన...." —Sm. Dv., II, iii, v. 13.

9. Sk. Cr., I, v. 84.

None of the traditional arts and sciences of the Hindus was left out of this list. Rājanīti seems to have been one of the important subjects of study for a prince. It may be because of its importance that a great number of Sanskrit works on this subject were rendered into Telugu, as is clear from a perusal of *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, an anthology of verse, on Rājanīti in Telugu, compiled by Maḍiki Singana, a poet of this period. This anthology contains verses taken, as stated previously, from many works on nīti (polity), like *Nītisara*, *Dhṛtarāṣṭranīti*, *Vīdurānīti*, and from the Purāṇas, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* etc. All these works on Polity must have been extant till the time of the author. The existence of most of these works now is known only from the verses quoted in the *Sakalanītisammataṁ*. *Rukmāṅgadācaritra* by Praudhakavi Mallana, another Telugu Kāvya of the same period, states that princes of the ruling family learnt the art of riding elephants, horses and chariots, and of wielding different kinds of weapons," besides studying kāvya, nāṭaka, alaṅkāra, Śāstra, Purāṇa and Itihāsa. Another list provided by another contemporary Telugu work, *Bhṛ̥jarājīyaṁ*, consists of Vēdas, Dharma-saṁhitas, *Aśva Śāstra* (the science relating to horses), *Sāmaja-sikṣā*, the science dealing with the training of elephants), the art of wielding weapons, Rājanīti (Political), music and other arts." All these lists are more or less conventional. It is unnecessary to take note of all the lists furnished by the contemporary Telugu works. It seems however, certain that, considering the high level of scholarship in general, of the kings of this age, a prince was required to study Rājanīti, kāvya, nāṭaka, alaṅkāra and music, and Dharma Śāstras to some extent, and to have a good knowledge in the Purāṇa and the Itihāsa, and to acquire skill in *Aśva Śāstra*, *Sāmaja-sikṣā*, and in the art of wielding weapons. This meant a good study of Sanskrit literature for a number of years at the feet of the *guru*, and thorough training in the arts of warfare. This equipment in education qualified the prince for the royal court and for the field of battle as well. With such equipment the kings of those times were able to follow the literary and philosophical discussions held in their courts and to appreciate and adequately reward scholarship. How effective, in its own way, that education was, can be gauged by the results it had produced. Some of the kings of this age were brilliant scholars and poets, besides being great warriors. The literature produced by them and under their patronage in their courts and kingdoms, was of no mean order.

10. Rk. Cr., I, pr. 147.

11. Bh. Rj., IV, v. 220.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The literature of this period consisted of many new works of merit on Rhetoric, Music and Dance, besides commentaries on old Scientific works, Kavyas and Nāṭakas. Among king-poets and patrons of literature, mention should be made first of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, alias Vasantarāja, son of Anavōta Reḍḍi. He was a well-read Sanskrit scholar and an adept in music and dance. He was the author of a work on Nāṭya which he named *Vasantarājīya* after himself. This work is now lost. Its existence is known only from the commentaries on Kālidāsa's dramas, written by his brother-in-law and prime minister, Kaṭaya Vēma. From the commentary on *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, we come to know that Kumāragiri wrote his *Vasantarājīyam*, after going through the old Scientific works on this subject of sages, like Bharata, and kings like Bhōja, all experts in *Nāṭyaveda* ("Nāṭyavēdārthavēdinām")¹. He spent his time in the study of literature, in the company of beautiful courtisans who were skilled in music and dance, in the celebration of *Vasantōtsavas* or spring festivals and in perpetuating *Sapta santānas*¹⁵. Many learned scholars who were proficient in music and dance must have thronged to his court in search of patronage.

King Kumāragiri was fortunate to have an eminent Sanskrit scholar, Kaṭaya Vēma, as his minister and brother-in-law. Kaṭaya Vēma was also a great patron of men of letters (*karinam-āśrayaḥ*). Commanded by his master Kumāragiri, and in accordance with the method defined by him in his *Vasantarājīyam*, Kaṭaya Vēma commented upon the dramas of Kālidāsa, and named his commentary *Kumāragiri-rājīyam*¹⁶, after his lord.

12. मुनीनां भरतादीनां भोजादीनांच भृमुत्राम्
शास्त्राणि सम्यगालांच्य नाट्यवेदार्थवेदिनाम्
प्रोक्तं वसन्तराजेन कुमारगिरिभृमुत्रा
नाम्नावसन्तराजीयं नाट्यशास्त्रं यदुत्तमम् ॥ — *Sakuntala-vyakhyā*.

13. भाष्यं नाम समग्रमादृशमतिस्नेहैकपालं यतो
वीरं काटयवेम मुध्दतरिपुध्वमो नियुज्य स्वयम्
नित्यं नन्दति नर्तगैरभिनवैः कान्तैर्वसन्तोत्सवैः
सन्तानाभ्युदयैः कुमारगिरिभृपालो नृपालोत्तमः ॥ — *Maṭavika-vyakhyā*

13. तलोक्तेनैव मार्गेण दशिताशेषलक्षणः
कवीनामाश्रयो मन्त्री काटभूपतनूभवः

The next illustrious king famed for his scholarship and patronage among the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu is Peda Kōmaṭi's son, king Vēma Redḍi, the successor of Kumāragiri. Srinātha was a *Vidyādhikārī* in his court. Srinātha styles his patron *Sarvajñacakravartī*,¹⁵ a title which finds mention for the first time in Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's earliest Kurunūtala stone record dated in Śaka 1326. This fact enables us to conclude that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma acquired it even as a prince, before his accession to the throne, by virtue of his scholarship, both in the Arts and Sciences.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was the greatest of the king-poets of the Redḍi dynasty. If his predecessor Kumāragiri was an expert in Music and its allied subject Dance, Vēma was proficient both in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*. He is the author of *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* in Sanskrit, a treatise on Rhetoric, on the lines of Maṃmaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*. This work condemns the *anumāna* of Mahimabhaṭṭa. Here and there in this work we find many verses in praise of the author. They do not seem to have been written to illustrate the *alaṃkāras*. It therefore appears that Vēma was fond of incorporating in his work, verses sung in his praise by different poets visiting his court. Of the old author's cited in this *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* special mention should be made of one Kusumāyudha.¹⁶ None of his works has come to light. He appears to have been a prince of the Mudigoṇḍa Cālukya line that flourished in Telingānā (Hyderabad State). From the Mogaliceruvula grant¹⁷ of

मोयं वेमविभुः कुमारगिरिणा राज्ञा नियुक्तः कृती
नाख्यानं त्रितयं कृतं कृतधिया श्रीकाळिदामेनय
तस्योदीर्णरसार्णवस्य रसिकश्शकुन्तलादेस्वयम्
व्याख्यानं कुरुते कुमारगिरिराजीयाख्यमस्मैद्वितम् ॥

— Ibid, v. 19.

"The commentary indicates that the author was a sound scholar and able expositor. He penetrates into the suggested sense of the word and seems naturally able to appreciate beauty in poetry. The commentary is undoubtedly of a high order; but does not explain minor points, and is not, therefore, fully serviceable to young students."—Patankar's *Abhijñāna Sakuntalam*.

15. चूडामणिर्नुपाणां दुर्मदपरिपन्थिशिखरिदम्भोळिः
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

—Ālapāḍu grant, Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 325.

16. "Among the poets Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmahbūpāla quotes, is one Kusumāyudha." — M. Krishnamacharya's *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 779.
17. "This grant was published by C. Bendall, M. A., M. R. A. S., in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XXXII (1903), pp. 281 ff) under the title "Grant of Kusumāyudha IV". The text of this inscription is full of mistakes. It is a very important

Kusumāyudha IV, we come to know that, besides the donor of the grant, three more princes of the same name preceded him. Hence it is difficult to establish the identity of Kusumāyudha referred to in the above mentioned work. Kumārasvāmi Sōmapithi, the well known commentator on Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudriyam* often quotes this work in his commentary.

Among the works quoted in the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* it is interesting to note that a *bhāṇa*, and a *kāvya*, both having the name *Viranārāyaṇacaritam*, are said to have been written by Vēma himself. The existence of these works is only known from the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*. The author refers to them as *yathā mamaiva bhāṇe* and *yathā mamaiva kāvye Viranārāyaṇacarite*. *Viranārāyaṇa* is one of the titles of Vēma.

Another noteworthy work of Vēma, recently reclaimed from oblivion, is his *Śaṅgītacintāmaṇi*, a treatise on Music. Only two incomplete manuscript copies of this work are found in the Travancore Palace Library. They begin with the description of *vīṇa* in the *vādyā* portion and go up to the *nṛtta* portion (chapter XV) describing the *dēśi nṛttas*.¹⁸ The subject of the *Śaṅgītacintāmaṇi*, according to the catalogue of the Trivendram Palace Library, is 'a description of the science of music dealing with the variations of *rāgas* due to changes in the *svaras*, the harmony of *rasa* and *rāga*, the deviations in *rasas* caused by *nṛttas* and *rāgas*' etc.

Besides the works described above, Vēma was the author of two commentaries. *Śṛṅgaradīpikā* and *Saptaiśisāraṭīkā*. The former is commentary on *Amarukaśataka*, a *Śṛṅgāra-kvāya* "essentially a collection of pictures of love" by Amaruka, and the latter on the *Saptaiśi*, an anthology of verse, compiled by the Sātavāhana king, Hala. Of the many commentaries on the *Amarukaśataka* *Śṛṅgaradīpikā* written by Vēma, and *Rasikasañjivini* written by Arjunadēva, a descendant of Bhōja, king of Mālava, are considered to be the greatest.¹⁹

document to the history of the Eastern Calukyas of Veṅgi. The date of the grant is not given. We may, however, assign Kusumāyudha IV tentatively to the tenth century.

18. D. C. S. M., (Trivendram), vol. VII, Nos. 1417 and 1418, pp. 2407-2410.

The colophon of this work runs thus:

“इति सकलकलाप्रवीण श्रीवीरनारायण देवभूपालविरचिते संगीतचिन्तामणौ”

It is interesting to note the absence of the title *Sarvajñacakravartī*.

19. See chapter VIII, on "Games and Amusements", p. 433.

20. Arjunadēva's *Rasikasañjivini* appears to have been written nearly two hundred years earlier than *Śṛṅgaradīpikā*. Vide, introduction, p. 2 to the *Amarukaśataka* of Amaruka with the commentary of Arjunadēva—Kāvya-mālā Series, No. 18.

In the introductory verses Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma describes his descent from a brother of king Prōlaya Vēma I, the builder of steps to Śrīśailam and Pataḷagaṅga,²¹ and states that, once, after hearing the hundred ślōkas of Amaruka from poets who visited his court, he thought of commenting on them to reveal their meaning. This is how the commentary, *Śrīṅgārādīpikā*, came into existence.

Saptasāṭisāraṭīkā, Vēma's commentary on Hala's *Saptasāṭi*, is also called *Bhāvadīpikā*. From among the seven hundred *prakṛiḷ gāthas* in the Hala's anthology Vēma selected only one hundred of the choicest *gāthas* and commented upon them.

Sivaliṅga, a Redḍi prince of the Kandukūru branch, was another reputed Sanskrit scholar. He wrote a commentary, by name *Tattva-prakāśikā*,²² on Haradatta's *Śrīśailaśrūtisūktimālā*, a poetical work in one hundred and fifty ślōkas describing god Śiva as the supreme lord. The author, Haradattācārya,²³ "tries to prove that God Śiva is the highest person described in Vēdic passages as the prime origin of the world", and "the work is therefore also called *Śrūtisūktimālā*" or "*Caturvēda-tātparyasaṅgraha*"²⁴.

In the introductory verses of his *Tattvaparakāśikā*, the author Sivaliṅga traces his descent from a brother of Prōlaya Vēma. He was the brother of Sōmēśa, and the son of Kōmaṭi Redḍi, the great grandson of Mallā Redḍi, younger brother of Prōlaya Vēma. His capital was Skandapuri (Kandukuru) in the Nellore district. The Pedapūḍi grant, dated in Śaka 1326, refers to him as *Bharatamata-Pataṅga*²⁵, a sun to *Bharatamata*.

21. Two verses, one describing the achievements of Prōlaya Vēma, the seventh *cakravartī*, and the other describing the descent of his brother Maca, found in the Phiraṅgi-puram record of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI. *Three inscriptions of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu*, pp. 813 ff, A), composed by his *Vidyadhikari*, Śrīnatha, find mention in the *Śrīṅgārādīpikā*. This lends support to the view that king-Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was in the habit of incorporating in his works, ślōkas relating to himself or to his family composed by other poets. The various facts relating to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's works were ably and critically discussed in his "*Śrīṅgara Śrīnatham*" by Śrī Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri Garu.

22. D. C. S. M., (Madras), Vol. XXVII, Nos. 15082 and 15083.

23. Haradatta is generally believed to have flourished in the 9th century (Vide C. S. M. R., No. 4307).

24. D. C. S. M., (Madras), Vol. XXVII, Introduction, pp. i - ii.

25. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-42,

भरतमतपतङ्गस्मत्यरिवाणचङ्गः

कृतरिपुमदभङ्गस्सद्गुणव्यूहतुङ्गः

In this connection it has to be pointed out that there is another manuscript copy of the same commentary found in the Government Manuscripts Library, Madras.²⁶ It is interesting to note that its authorship is, however, attributed to one Īsvara haṭṭa, son of Kavivādi-bhēruṇḍa Nṛsimhayajva. This raises doubts about its authorship. It seems, however, quite possible to conclude in either of the two ways, namely, that Sivaliṅgā Redḍi wrote the commentary himself with the help of his protege Īsvaraḥaṭṭa, or that the latter wrote it under the patronage and at the command of the former who might have also commented on some of the stanzas.²⁷

King Virabhadra Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram is known to have been an expert in both *Saṅgita* and *Sāhitya*. Poet Śrīnātha praises him as "*Sāhityakalā saṅgita - lakṣya - lakṣaṇa - bhāṅgī-saracājñā*."²⁸ It is, however, not known if he had written any work.

Redḍi kings, like Prōlaya Vēma, his sons Anavōta and Anavēma were also great scholars, though they are not known to have been authors. They lavished their patronage on many men of letters who visited their courts. Prōlaya Vēma, like his descendants on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu, extended his liberality to Sanskrit and Telugu poets and scholars. His court was adorned by the learned Sanskrit scholar, Mahādōva of the Sōṣam family. He was an ancestor of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, a great Sanskrit scholar and poet who flourished in the sixteenth century. Sōṣam, the family name of Mahādōva, got changed into Lolla, it is said, by virtue of his having been the pupil of Lollaḥabhaṭṭa, the reputed commentator on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*. Mahādōva was at first the court-poet of the kings of Vijayanagar.

कलितसुकृतसङ्गस्यक्तपापान्तरङ्ग

स्म जयति शिवलिङ्गः क्षमापदेशाभुजङ्गः॥

The verses in the Polapudi record are faulty here and there. They can be corrected with the help of the *Tattvaparakasika* : for, the verses in the above record describing the donor's family, are almost the same and in the same order as those in the *Tattvaparakasika*. The first line in the *Tattvaparakasika* runs thus

भगवन्मत्पतङ्गस्मत्परितोचङ्गः This seems to be the correct reading.

26. C. S. M., (Madras), R. No. 4307.

27. Some scholars hold that Īsvaraḥaṭṭa was the real author of the *Srutisūktimālā*. Vide, introd., D. C. S. M., (Madras) Vol. XXVII.

28. Ka. Kh., V, v. 338.

Later on he went to Koṇḍaviḍu, where he seems to have been the *Vidyādhikārī* of king Vēma Redḍi.³¹

Learned men of the time of Anavōta and his brother Anavōma are not known to us with the exception of two poets, Bālasarasvatī and Trilōcanācārya, the writers of their copper-plate records. Bālasarasvatī was the composer of all the grants of the king Anavōta. He simply stated that he was the *vidvan* of king Anavōta and the writer of his *dharma-śāsanas*. He does not give any details about himself in the *Śūsana-karyas* he had written. He survived his patron Anavōta. He was also the writer of Anavōma's Drujjavaram, Ippugallu and Paccani Taṇḍipargu grants and the Śrisaṭṭam stone record. From these records we come to know that he lived till Śaka 1300 (1378 A. D.). It is not known if he produced any work.

After Bālasarasvatī's death, his place was taken by Trilōcanācārya,³² another poet of eminence. He was the composer of Anavōma's records, other than those mentioned above. He describes himself as one "who is learned in the doctrine of Śiva (*Śīrāgamaviśāradaḥ*), who was born of a race of poets, (*karikulābharaḥ*), the stringing of whose words is like the sweet-sounding spray drops of the impetuous Mandākinī, which dances on the coil of the matted hair of the great Dancer (*Māhānāṭajātācchātāntaḥamaṇḍa - Mandākinīkalakṣaṇītakāṅkaṇa-
vrajavijrumbhīnāggumphaṇaḥ*), and who is the favourite of Śarādā (*Śārādāvalabhaḥ*)."³³ We do not know any more details about him. Another Sanskrit scholar who was honoured by Anavōta was Kōlacala Peddi Bhaṭṭa, an elder brother, according to tradition, of the famous commentator, Kōlaca Malli-nātha. He was the recipient of a *ṇṭhi* in the village of Kollūru from Anavōta.

- 2). यः कर्णाटवनुन्मग्निसमहास्थानमुवर्धयितो
यो नित्यं निकषयितो नृपगृहे योगम्यपृश्वाशितुः
श्रीमल्लोलुप्तमर्दृशिष्य इति यो लोलाग्र्यया श्रूयते
श्रीशेषान्वयशेखरस्सहिमहादेवो विपश्चिन्महान् ॥

The terms, *surarṇāyitaḥ* and *nikaṣayitaḥ* in the above verse, indirectly help to suggest that Mahādeva was a simple *surarṇa* in the *Karṇāṭavasundharādhyaṇa-mahāsthana*: and a *nikaṣa*, (a touchstone in testing probably the proficiency of scholars in different sciences) in the court of king, Vēma Redḍi.

30. The writer of the Vanapalli plates of Anavōma dated in Śaka 1300 is Trilōcanācārya. This grant was made in the cyclic year, Siddharthin, on the fourteenth tithi of the dark half of the month of Magha. The Śrisaṭṭam record of Anavōma written by Bālasarasvatī, is dated in Śaka 1299, Piṅgala, in the month of Magha. So Bālasarasvatī must have died within the interval of these two records.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, V. 20 (Translation, p. 65).

King Anavēma was a great patron of Letters. There is reason to believe that he extended his patronage not only to the poets mentioned above, but to many more. In fact, a verse in his Vānapalli plates states that "the wealth of Lord Anavēma existed only for the enrichment of learned men and their eloquence for his glorification." " He had the title *bahusahasra-suvārṇadāna santōṣita-mahākaviśvara*, " one who pleased great poets with the gift of many thousands of *suvārṇas* or gold coins. He was extolled for his munificence and liberality in a number of *cāṭus* both in Sanskrit and Telugu. Tradition preserves even to this day some of the stories relating to his liberality." The Telugu poet, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūraṇṇa, the author of the Telugu *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* informs us that the early Redḍi kings, like Anavēma and Allaya Vīrabhadra, acquired great fame by means of *kṛtīs*, literary works,

32. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, V. 20 (Translation, p. 65).

अन्नं वमप्रभोर्नक्ष्मीर्विवृथानां विभृतये
तस्यैव कीर्तयेज्जाता तेषामपि सगम्बती ॥ - V. 20, p. 62.

33. Ep. coll., No. 23 of 1915.

34. One of such popular stories is this. It is said that a poet of the Āruvela (Six thousand) sect of brahmanas, reputed for his ready wit and humour, once visited the court of king Anavēma, and praised him in the following verse :

अनवेममहीपाल स्वभ्यस्तु तव चाद्वे
आद्वे रिपुदोदेगडचन्द्रमण्डनगद्वे ॥

The king was much pleased with the poetic beauty and paid him three thousand *suvārṇas*. The poet thereupon told the king that he himself had given *nalqu-velu* four thousand (*velu* is the plural of *vegi*, a thousand and *nalqu* means four in Telugu). Since the letter *re* in the above verse occurs four times, he humorously represented to the king that he had given four *velu*, and that it would not be befitting the king's prestige to offer less than what he had given. The king then ordered four thousand to be given to the poet. Thereupon the poet remarked that it would not be honourable to the king to return to him the same four *velu* (four thousand). The king then gave him five thousand (*aidu-velu*). The poet then respectfully pointed out to the king that he was a member of the Āruvela (Six thousand) sect, and that it was beneath his dignity to accept less than that amount. Much pleased with his ready wit, the king ordered that he be paid six thousand *suvārṇas*. The poet then represented to the king that it is not a great thing to give what is his by birth-right, as he was one of the six thousand community. The king then paid him seven thousand, whereupon the poet protested that it was an inauspicious number both to himself and to the king. At last it is said that king Anavēma was pleased to pay the poet eight thousand *suvārṇas*. This story current in the Telugu country, well illustrates the character of king Anavēma and depicts the cultured man in him. It further testifies to his love of poetry, wit and humour.

dedicated to them.³⁵ Yet it is strange to note that not even a single work, either in Sanskrit or Telugu, dedicated to king Anavēma is extant today.

As stated already, Anavēma's successor, king Kumāragiri was a patron of letters; but the only poet of his reign known to us is Annaya, the composer of his Anaparti grant, dated in Saka 1312. Annaya was the son of Pinnaya and grandson of Manuma Durgasudhi. None of his works, if any, is known to us.

Kumāragiri, successor of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was, as we already know, a great supporter of learning, besides being himself a brilliant scholar and poet. Many poets and scholars resorted to his court. The great Telugu poet, Srinātha, was the *Vidyadhikāri* (Superintendent of learning) in his court, and examined the scholarship and talent of those who visited his lord's court in search of patronage³⁶. However, the names of such poets are not preserved to us either in literature or in inscriptions.

The two jewels that adorned king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court were Srinātha and Vāmanabhaṭṭa Baṇa. The former was a great Vēdic scholar, proficient in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajus*, the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika Darśanas*, the *Sāṅkhya Siddhānta yōga*, the *Śaiva Āgamas*, the *Smṛitis* and the *Purāṇas*, and in many languages, like Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Saurasēnī. His knowledge in the science of Dance and Music also was profound. He used to read the *Purāṇas* for his patron Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma³⁷. His works in Sanskrit have not yet come to light. He was the composer of all the copper-plate grants of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, including the Phiraṅgipuram stone record. These records bear testimony to his great poetical talent in Sanskrit also. It is generally believed that he was the author of the Sanskrit work, *Gōḍāvarīkhaṇḍam*, said to be one of the fifty *khaṇḍas* of the Ādi Purāṇa, *Mahāskāṇḍam*. His translation of the Prākṛit work, Hāla's *Sattasai* (*Saptaśatī*) into

35. ఆనవేమ మండలేశ్వరుఁ
 శును నల్లయ పీఠభద్రుఁడును మొదలుగఁ గ
 ల్గిన తొంటి రెడ్డిరాజులు
 ఘన కీర్తులు గనిరి కృతిముఖంబున ననుచున్.

36. “భాషించినాడెపు బహుదేశ బుధులతో
 విద్యాపరీక్షణ వేళలందు...” — Bh. Pr., I, v. 23.

37. Hr. VI., I, vv. 8, and 12; Bh. Pr., I, v. 23; Sr. Nd., I, v. 13; and Ct. Mm., II, p. 23.

Telugu, speaks of his erudition in Prakrit. He was, however, a greater poet in Telugu than in Sanskrit, and will be adverted to again, while reviewing the contemporary Telugu literature.

The second brilliant jewel of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, was the son of Kōmaṭiyajva and grandson of Varadaṅgaicēti of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa seems to have spent his early life at Vijayanagar in educating himself. From his work *Śabdacandrikā* we come to know that he was a disciple of the celebrated sage Vidyāraṇya, the spiritual guru and the political guide of Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's attachment to the flourishing capital of Vijayanagar and his acquaintance with it may be inferred from his drama *Śṅgarabhūṣaṇabhāṇa*, which is said to have been enacted on the festive occasion (*caitrajātrāmahōtsava*) of god Virūpakṣa of the Pampatīrtha. In this work the poet exhibits his vanity by saying that he was good both in poetry and prose unlike the ancient poets, Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, who were only experts in one of them. *Sahityaśūdhāmāṇi*, one of his many titles, finds mention in this *bhāṇa*.³⁸

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa was a versatile writer. He wrote three dramas, namely, *Kanakakṣhākalyāṇam*, *Uṣāpariṇayam* and *Pūrvaṭi-pariṇayam*, besides the *Śṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa*, referred to above. Of these, *Kanakakṣhākalyāṇam* in four acts and *Uṣāpariṇayam* in five acts have not yet been printed. The former appears to have been written at the instance of Lakṣmīsa Daṇḍadhipa³⁹ of the Viṣṇuvardhanakula,

38. “पद्येपटीयान् किन् कालिदासो

गद्येऽपीयान् किन् भट्टबाणः

पद्ये च गद्ये च परं पटीयान्

वत्सान्वयो वामनभट्टबाणः॥”

“..... निस्सामान्यविकासया कवितया जागर्तिवत्सान्वयः

श्रीमान्वामनभट्टबाणमुकविस्साहित्यचूडामणिः॥ —Sr. Bh.

This drama was printed at the Arsha Press, Vizagapatam in Telugu, and in the Grantha Pradats'ini Series, Adyar, and in the Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay (*Kaṣṇamala series*) in Sanskrit.

39. जातोविश्रुतविष्णुवर्धनकुले जागर्ति.....यी

गीतस्फोतयशस्तुधाधवलितब्रह्मण्डमित्यन्तरः

who is identical with Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanātha, one of the ministers of Dēvarāya I.^{39a} From the introductory S'lokas in the drama, *Pārvatī-pariṇayam* (in five acts) and from the colophon at the end of the fourth *aiika* of the *Kanakalakṣhākalyāṇam*, we come to know that the poet had also the titles, *kaviśāreṇabhauma* and *gadyakaviśāreṇabhauma*, in addition to *Sāhityacūṭmaṇi* and *Sāhitya sāmṛājyadhurandhara*.

Besides the dramas referred to above, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa wrote two padya-kāvya, *Nalābhyaṇḍayam* and *Rāghunāthābhyaṇḍayam*, and one gadya-kāvya by name *Vemabhūpālacaritam*, otherwise known as *Vīra-nārāyaṇacaritam*, a minor kāvya called *Haṁsasamudāsam*, and two lexicons, namely, *Śabadaratnakaram* and *Śabdacandrikā*. Of these works *Vemabhūpālacaritam* is a biography of his patron, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēṁabhūpāla. The author herein describes the expeditions of Vēṁabhūpāla, the hero of his romantic prose kāvya, in all quarters, in a grandiloquent style, emulating the example of Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the author of the *Kadambarī*. This work, though historically unimportant, contains charming descriptions, like those in the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacaritam* in full blown ornate language. *Gadyakaviśāreṇabhauma*, the author's title, finds mention in the colophons of this gadya kāvya.⁴⁰

ओंमायीवशुक्तिमोक्तिकगणिलोकेकैकरक्षामणिः
 श्रीमा...पमिन्धुकोम्पुममणिलेक्ष्मीशदग्गध्रिपः ॥
 तेन च कुलक्रमागत
 कवितासौरभ्यपरिगतोन्मेषः
 उपलालनीयमहिमा
 वा...जागर्ति वामनोवाणः ॥

The above s'lokas are found in the Adyar copy of this drama. We do not find the first of the above s'lokas in the copy in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The next s'loka beginning with *tena* is much damaged in the copy in the Manuscripts Library. At the end of the fourth *aiika* of this drama the colophon runs thus:

इति श्रीमद्वन्मकुलतिरुक् गद्यकविमार्दशौम पडभाषावल्लभ
 साहित्यसाम्राज्यधुरन्धर श्रीवामनभट्टवाणविरचितं
 कनकलेखाकल्याणनामनाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

39-a. S. I. I. IV. Vol. No. 267.

40. It may be interesting to note here that many beautiful passages from the *Vemabhūpālacaritam* are found incorporated verbatim with Telugu inflections in the Telugu work, *Bhimakhaṇḍam*, or *Bhimēśvara Puraṇam*, written by the Telugu

Of the two *padya-kavyas*, the *Nalābhyudayam* in eight cantos deals with the story of Nala; and the other *kavya* *Raghunāthacaritam* describes the story of Rāma in thirty cantos. Vāmanabhāṭṭa Bāṇa does not seem to have produced any other work.⁴¹

poet, Śrīnātha. The passages describing Trilingadēśa in Vāmanabhāṭṭa Bāṇa's *Vemabhūpalacaritam* are almost the same as those employed in describing Dakṣaramapura in the *Bhimakhaṇḍam*. Many such parallel and identical passages can be picked up from both the works (Vide, Śrī Kuruganti Sitaramayya's article entitled *Vāmanabhāṭṭa Bāṇa and Śrīnātha* in the Telugu monthly *Bharati*, Vol. 13, No. 5, May number, 1936. In his article he quoted many identical passages from both the works). This identity raises the question about the original authorship of these passages, whether it was Śrīnātha's or Vāmanabhāṭṭa Bāṇa's? Both of them were great Sanskrit poets and scholars, both were patronised by king Pedā Komaṭi Vema, and hence both were contemporaries and probably intimate friends. It might be that Śrīnātha lent a helping hand to his friend, Vēmanabhāṭṭa Bāṇa in the composition of *Viranarayana-caritam*. This fact, however has to be noted. Of the two works, *Viranarayana-caritam* and *Bhimakhaṇḍam* the former is earlier in date than latter. It was written in the reign of Pedā Komaṭi Vema (A.D. 1402-1420); and the *Bhimakhaṇḍam* was written some time after 1428 A. D. Whether he had a hand or not Śrīnātha would not have hesitated to incorporate, in his work *Bhimakhaṇḍam*, some of the beautiful passages from the *Viranarayana-caritam*. It was a habit with Śrīnātha to take from Sanskrit, ideas beautifully expressed, and *śamāsas* nicely composed, wherever they are found, and to incorporate them in his works; not that he was incapable of coining such *śamāsas* or expressing such ideas, but simply because he was naturally fond of such beautiful passages. This may be well illustrated by the following example. The Sanskrit śloka given below is found in the Drujavarāma grant of king, Anavāma dated in 1371 A. D.

वसन्तराश्रय वसन्तकेलौ

कस्तूरिकारेणु चयाम्बुवाहः

क्षिप्रं हिमाम्बुघनवर्षधारा

कर्पूरखण्डः करकाविक्रीणाः ॥—O. P., No. 15 of 1922-23.

Śrīnātha rendered this śloka into Telugu and appropriately utilised it in his *Bhimakhaṇḍam*, while describing the *Vasantamahōtsava* in god Bhīmanātha's town, Dakṣhāram, celebrated by the devas. The Telugu verse in the *Bhimakhaṇḍam* runs thus :

“బసంతు కస్తూరి కామేఘపటలమునకు

శీకరాసారమయ్యై గొడ్డంగి నీరు

వలుదవడగండ్లనయ్యై నవ్వున మనకు

గామినలు చల్ల కర్పూరఖండవికృతి.”—Bh. Pr., V, v. 123.

41. The late Śrī M. Krishnamachariar, author of “*The History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature*,” mentions *Bṛhatkathamañjari*, as one of the works of Vāmanabhāṭṭa Bāṇa. He writes. “Of his *Bṛhatkathamañjari* only the portion of it, dealing with the story of Kālamāra, is now available.” (page - 216). He quotes for his authority a manuscript in the Adyar Library, Madras, (Cat II, 4). I examined

Another poet Nṛsimha, brother of Viśvanathakavi, and son of Gangādhara, appears to have flourished during the rule of the Reddis. He was the author of *Kādambarī*, a drama in five acts. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma refers to this work in his *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*. It is thus evident that *Kādambarī* was earlier in date than the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Nṛsimha's *Kādambarī* attained great fame by Vēma's time. Nṛsimha's brother Viśvanatha may be identical with Viśvanātha, the author of the Sanskrit drama *Saugandhikāharana*⁴². Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa must have, therefore, been a contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma, the grand uncle of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

The kings of Rājamahēndravaram were equally famous for their patronage of learning. The *ṛitti* holders in the *agrahāras* which they granted, were all great scholars, learned in the Vēdas and the Sāstras. However, we come to know of only two poets of their court, namely, Srīvallabha of the Kaṇva *gōtra*, son of Lakṣmi and Srīvallabha, and Sarasvatibhaṭṭa of the Srīvatsa *gōtra*. The former was the composer of the grants of Kaṭaya Vēma and of Anavōta Redḍi, nephew of Allāḍa Redḍi,⁴³ and the latter was the writer of the

the manuscript concerned. It contains two incomplete works, one the *Kadambari*, written by Bapa, and the other, an unnamed work on five leaves. The first leaf in this work is lost. From the closing passage written on page four, we come to know that it is the end of the *Velalacaturvimsatika*. The last leaf containing the colophon states that it was written by Bapa. There is nothing in it to prove that the author of that work is the same Vamanabhaṭṭa Bapa who adorned the court of king Peda-Kōmaṭi Vēma.

S'ri M. Krishnamachariar writes that Vamanabhaṭṭa Bapa migrated to the court of king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma when about thirty years old (Vide, his "*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 25). No evidence is cited for this statement.

42. The late S'ri M. Krishnamachariar identifies Viśvanātha, the brother of Nṛsimha with the author of *Saugandhikaharana*, and his father with Gangadharamahakavi, praised by Gaṅgadevī, consort of the Vijayanagar prince, Kumarakampannōḷeyar, in her *Madhuravijayam*, alias *Virakamparajacaritam*, and states that he was the son of Agastya's sister (see his "*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 652). Agastya, as it is now acknowledged, was Vidyānātha, the author of *Prataparudrayasōbhāṣanam*, and the court poet of Kakati Prataparudradeva. Krishnamachariar's identifications seem probable. On their strength Nṛsimha may be said to have flourished in the early post Kakatiya period.
43. S'ri M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., reveals to us another Sanskrit poet who was a contemporary of Allāḍa Redḍi and his son Vēma Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram. In his valuable articles on the commentaries on the *Saṅgitaratnakaram* published in the *Bharati* (1936, November issue, Vol. XVIII, pp. 625 ff), he informs us that Śiṅgaribhaṭṭa or Śiṅganabhaṭṭa, son of Mayibhaṭṭa, was honoured by Allāḍa Redḍi and caused delight to the mind of his son, Vēma Redḍi, and that he, later on, wrote a commentary on the *Saṅgitaratnakaram* in the Andhra language at the request

Vēṃavaram grant of Allaya Vēma. Sarasvatībhaṭṭa had the titles *kaṇibrahma* and *padavākya-pramaṇavit*. “

The copper plate records discovered in the coastal region acquaint us with some more poets, namely,

1. Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (*kaṇir* = *Vedantapūragah*)
2. Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa of the Ātrēya *gōtra* (*kaṇiḥ*)
3. Kandaya Peddibhaṭṭa of the Śaunka *gōtra*
4. Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

Both the poets, Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa and Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa, held *rṛttis* in the *agrahāra* of Vilasa, granted by the Musunūri chief, Prōlaya Nāyaka. Of these Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa may be probably identical with his namesake, the author of the *Kādambarīnāṭaka*, who was also a Bhāradvāja *gōtrin*. This identification gains support from the fact that he was nearer in time to Viśvanātha kavi, the author of the *Saugandhikāharaṇa*, and to the *nubhākavi* Gaṅgādhara. Kandaya Peddibhaṭṭa was the recipient of the *agrahāra* of Prōlavaram by Prōlaya Nāyaka's cousin, Kāpaya Nāyaka. He performed a *saṭrayāga* in the Sriśailam country, and is said to have written a commentary on the *Gīrīśahasra* or *Śīrasahasranāma*. This work has not yet come to light. Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the last of the above list, was the recipient of the village of Ālapaḍu as an *agrahāra* from king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in Saka 1334, and belonged to a famous family of poets and

of the Vijayanagar ruler, Praudha Devaraya. From this it may be concluded that Siṅgaribhaṭṭa, after living for sometime in the court of Allaya Reddi, and his son, Vēma Reddi, migrated to Vijayanagar, and adorned the court of Praudha Dēvarāya (Dēvarāya II).

“आस्ते सिङ्गरिभट्टमूरिरिति ऋग्वेद....

ऋग्वेदाख्यानमृतिमायिभट्टनयो ब(सः)लाळराट्पूजितः

तस्मादल्लयवेमभूपसुमनस्सन्तोषमापूरयन्

.....संगतीरस्ताकर

स्येयं प्रौढनरेन्द्रपालन....तेनसा ॥

प्रौढदेवनरनायकाङ्कित.....” Etc.

scholars. His father Mādhavārya was a poet of great renown, and had the title *Sikalakavisārabhauma*. It is for future research to unearth the works, if there were any, of Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa and of Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa.

Similarly, we come to know of many scholars learned in sciences, but not their works, from the records of this period. The Musunūri chief, Prōlaya Nāyaka, the liberator of the land, gathered around him a number of learned brāhmins, proficient in different sciences, and supported them. His Vilasa grant mentions seventy eight donees, of whom there were mathematicians, grammarians, philologists, logicians, philosophers, jurists and experts in the Āgamas, and sacrificial lore. The names of some such scholars proficient in various sciences, known from the records of the period, are given below in a tabular form, along with the phrases and passages therein used, indicating their proficiency in the special subjects of their study. This list is not exhaustive.

Name	Gōtra	Subjects mastered.
Ananta	Śrīvatsa	<i>Jyotirjñāh</i>
Anantabhaṭṭa	Harita	<i>Vedānta-Śabda śāstra-kṛtāra-</i> <i>maḥ</i>
Bolliabhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	<i>Āgamēṣu prauḍhaḥ Ganita-</i> <i>marmavit.</i>
Carakūri Keśavārya		<i>Vyākhyatā-sakala-vidyānam</i>
Ciṭṭaya	Gautama	<i>Kṛtadvividha Mimāṃsah,</i> <i>tirṇa Vyākaraṇambudhiḥ</i>
Dēcibhaṭṭa	Kapi	<i>Paṭanakyapramāṇavit</i>
Errayāvadhāni	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Yajurjātādēśacarcādyava-</i> <i>dhānapracandadhīḥ.</i>
Gaḍḍapalli Peddibhaṭṭa	Bharadvāja	<i>Śabdaśāstra-Patāñjaliḥ</i>
Haribhaṭṭa	Lōhita	<i>Śātōgra- Veda ŚāstrānāmVyā-</i> <i>karta</i>
Inguvu Mallubhaṭṭa	Śaunaka	<i>Śaḍdarśanīnartakiva jihvāgrē</i> <i>yasya nr̥tyati</i>
Īśvara }	Parāśara	<i>Gurutantraviśaradaḥ</i>
Īśvara }		
Kaṅḡā Bharatasudhi	Ātrēya	<i>Mimāṃsamāmsalah, Śabda-</i> <i>paṭuh Tarkōpi karkaśah</i>
Kēśava	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Smṛtijñāh</i>
Mallubhaṭṭa	Saunaka	<i>Citravadhanō-Yajusī</i>
Malarāva Mādhavasudhi	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Śaḍdarśanyādividyānām-</i> <i>yasya jihva viḥārabhūḥ</i>
Maṇḍapāka Rāma	Parāśara	<i>Vyākartā-kartā-sāṅga- Yajuh</i> <i>Śrauteṣu citrakṛt.</i>
candrasudhi.		

Name	Gotra	Subjects mastered.
Muḍiya Siṅganārya	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Vidrān Sangīta-Sāhitya-Sāstranārga-vicakṣaṇaḥ</i>
Pannāla Kommaya	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Ṣaḍdarśanī-vyākriyābhir-jihvāyasya-vijrmbhatā</i>
Peda Bhavanabhaṭṭa	Bharadvāja	<i>Pāṇinis-Śabdaśāsanam-cūlukit=āpāragambhira-Gaṇit=ārṇavaḥ</i>
Pedapūṇi Tallayarya	Harita	<i>Pudavākya-pramaṇānam-vyākhyatā</i>
Peda Siddhyabhaṭṭa	Bharadvāja	<i>Jyōtirdṛṣṭajagadvidhaḥ</i>
Peñcēṭi Dēvarebhaṭṭa	„	<i>Śivāgamaviśāradaḥ Veda Śāstra Purāṇajñāḥ</i>
Perumaḍimakhī	Gautama	<i>Vyakartāsarvaśāstrāṇām</i>
Pina Bhāvanabhaṭṭa	Bharadvāja	<i>Jyōtiśśāstram-mahad-yasya ṛtiyam-iva-lōcanam</i>
Pōtappaya	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Dharmaśāstra-kṛtāśramah</i>
Pōtibhaṭṭa	Srīvatsa	<i>Śabdaśāsanavīt</i>
Pōṇūri Vallabhasudhi	Sanḍilya	<i>Brahmā-Yajusī-Śāstrāṇām vyākhyatā</i>
Prēkōṭi Nārāyaṇamakhī	Ātrēya	<i>Tārlikas-Tantrikas-Sāma śabdikō-gājñīkah-kaviḥ</i>
Rāmaya	Kaśyapa	<i>Gaṇita-Brahmabirudah</i>
Sānkara	„	<i>Ṣaḍdarśanapaṭh karitakṛti</i>
Siṅgayajva Perumaḍimakhī	Gautama	<i>Śāstrāṇām vyākhyātā</i>
Singayārya	Harita	<i>Mīmāṃsā Śabda-Tarkabhūḥ</i>
Sōmayārya	Bharadvāja	<i>Jyōtīrvit</i>
Vennyārya	Kauśika	<i>Śāstravyākhyādhurandharah</i>
Vidyā Viśvēśvara	Sanḍilya	<i>Kaviḥ</i>
Vissayārya	Saunaka	<i>Citrāradhānī Yajusī</i>
Viśvēśvara	Srīvatsa	<i>Vaiyasikamatapraudhaḥ</i>
Guḍimeṭṭa Sarvadēvamakhī	Harita	<i>Vyākhyātākhila-Śāstrāṇām</i>
Nādhubaṭṭopādhyāya	Kapi	<i>Vyākhyātā</i>

A perusal of the above list shows that *Vyakarana*, *Jyautiṣa*, *Gaṇita*, and *Mīmāṃsa*, were extensively studied in the coastal Andhra, in the times under review. None of the works of the many commentators on *Ṣaḍdarśanas* and *Śāstras* has come to light. This list is given with a view to help future research to discover any of the works written by them. It is well worth noting that the study of *Gurutantra* (*Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*) was still continued in Andhra in the middle ages. There were even scholars who mastered the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla Yajur Vēda*. Kāmāyārya, son of Vallabhārya of the Maṇḍavelli family,

is described as *Śatapathī* (*Vidvān Śatapathī Kamayāryah Śukla Yajuh paṭuh-v 76*) in the Koṅkuduru plates of Allaya Doḍḍa Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram. The same grant informs us that Mallayārya of the Narlūri family studied completely *Rig Veda* along with the *Brahmaṇas* (*Brahmaṇavṛtti Rig Veda-pāragah*).

In this period many great astronomers flourished in the coastal country, and specially developed the science under the patronage of the Redḍi kings and other chiefs. This fact is borne out by the copper-plate records of the period. Gaṇapati of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* was "an ocean of knowledge of the *Vēdas* and the Sciences" (*Veda-Śāstraviññānasindhuḥ*), and was well versed in *Prāśnāśṭaka*, a branch of Astronomy. He was the recipient of the village of Prōlavaram as an *agrahāra* from Nāmaya Nāyaka of the Virasāmanta family of Piṭhāpuram. We come to know of a very renowned family of astronomers belonging to the Haritasa *gōtra*, who were patronised by the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. The genealogy of these *daivajñas* is given below.

Narasimha
(*Paravādikuñjaraghaṭasimhaḥ*)
|
Bhimēsvarayaajva
Yāgavidhānāśālī
|
Pōtibhaṭṭa
(*Śaṭtarkakarkaśālāpaprakriyāparamēśvaraḥ*)
|
Guṇḍayārya
(*Puṇḍarikadrśavidyākhaṇḍacandrahr̥tōbhidhā*)
performer of the Paṇḍarikayāga
|
Peddiyajva (*Brahma-Sūryādisiddhāntasindhu-manthānak =*
ādriḥ; Daivajñacūḍāmaṇḥ Yajurāmṇayavedī;
Nityānnānavratī)

Ramacandra
(*Brahma-Sūryādisiddhānta-rahasyārthaikavēdī*)

Gaṅgādhara

The titles and phrases noted against each name in the above table, testify to the greatness of this learned family of astronomers. Peddiyajva, also called Peddibhaṭṭa, adorned the court of king Anavēma, and received from his patron the village of Paccani Taṇḍiparḡu (Tenali taluk, Guntur District) in Śaka 1296. He was also an elder contemporary of kings, Kumāragiri and his cousin Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons visited the court of Peda Kōmaṭi

Vēma after his accession to the throne, and found ready support from that learned king *Sarvajñacakravarti*. His minister, Māmiḍi Siṅga-nāmatya, a descendant of Chittaya⁴⁵ of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, was a profound scholar in Astronomy, and wrote *Gūḍharthadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sōmasiddhānta*. He might have helped Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons to some extent, in getting the royal patronage, for, he was himself an astronomer of no mean ability. In the work *Srīṅāra Nāṣadham* which he accepted dedication from poet Śrinātha, he was referred to as *kavitāsiddhānta sarvajña* and *pañcāṅgaśhīranamantrarakṣaṇakalāprauḍha*⁴⁶. He must have well appreciated the merit of Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons, and lent a helping hand to them. Peddibhaṭṭa received from Kōmaṭi Vēma two villages Kaluvamula and Nandamūru as *agrahāras* in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.), and Śaka 1333 (1411 A.D.) respectively. Peddibhaṭṭa's son Rāmacandra also was a great astronomer. He was the recipient of the village of Rudravaram from the same king in Śaka 1341 (1419 A.D.). Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons became the ornaments of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court.

The science of Astronomy seems to have been patronised by the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu from long before the time of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The Kōḍūru grant of Anavōtā Redḍi brings to light two more astronomers, Narasiṃhajyautiṣika of the Vasiṣṭha *gōtra*, and Tallaya of Kōḍūru. Though there were such great astronomers, it is strange that no astronomical work written by any one of them, with the exception of *Gūḍharthadīpikā* which is extant, has come to light.

"There is a class of philosophers", writes Conti, "found throughout all India called Brahmans who devote themselves much to

45. अस्ति श्रीमद्भद्रद्वाजगोत्रे श्रीलियभूषणम्

पेदुक्कयसन्मन्त्रिवंशंभोधिमुधाकरः ॥

नसा श्रीचिद्व्याख्यभ्य पीतो मामिडिमन्त्रिणः

तनुजः पेदनार्यस्य श्रीनृसिंहे महायशः ॥

पेदकोमटिवेमेन्द्रमन्त्रिणा तेन धीमता

ज्योतिर्विद्यानिराघाटसरस्वत्पारदृश्वना ॥

सिङ्गयामात्यरत्नेन भुवि लोकहितैषिणा

क्रियते सोममिन्द्रान्तव्याख्यागूढार्थदीपिका ॥

(C. S. M. Madras, R. No. 1715).

46. "నానీచిత్తపరీక్షయి, నయనాకాశ్య విజ్ఞానావస్థయి

శ్రీంకృష్ణసుకామయూప సమతానీకృతానంతర్ముఖ..." —Sr. Nd., VI, v. 144.

"పంచాంగశీలయ త్రైవిదియల శాస్త్రంబు..." —Ibid, I, v. 10.

CHAPTER IX

Astronomy and the prediction of future events. They are men of superior cultivation, and are distinguished by a greater sanctity of life and manners."⁴⁷ The kings of *Rajamahēndravaram* also patronised scholars well-versed in Astronomy. Pinnaya, son of Singaya of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, who adorned the court of Anavōtā Redḍi, son of Anavōla of *Rajamahēndravaram*, was proficient in the sciences of *Jyautiṣa* and *Sakuna*, and had the titles *Jyōtirmārganirargaḷa*, and *Śakuna - Brahmā*. He received from Anavōtā the village of Chikkāla, re-named Prōlaya-Komaragiripuram, as an *agrahāra* in *Saka* 1344. This village is identical with Kommuchikkāla in the West Godavari district (*Bhimavaram taluk*).

There were some more astronomers, like *Narāyaṇa*, son of *Kācibhaṭṭa* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, and *Annaya*, son of *Gōpalabhaṭṭa* of the *Haritasa gōtra*, who were patronised by *Annadēva Cōḷa* and other chiefs, and received shares in the *agrahāras* donated by them.

Another science which found ready patronage from the kings of this period was *Āyurvēda*. Grants of this period bring to light a great family of *Āyurvēdic* physicians, namely, the *Parahitas* of the *Ātrēya gōtra*. The family traces its descent from one *Parahita*, a *sarpavyādhicikitsaka*, who is said to have obtained that honorific title by saving a serpent suffering agony, by extracting a bone sticking up between its jaws, and healing the wound."⁴⁸ Members of this *paṇḍita* family of *Parahita* were experts in medicine, especially in *sarpacikitsa* and *visavaidyā*. Those who practised medicine in days of yore were called *paṇḍitas*. Any number of examples may be cited in support of this statement."⁴⁹ That is why *Parahita's* family is termed *Paṇḍitānam-kulam* in inscriptions..

47. Major. Conti. p. 25.

48. प॒रहित॑स्स॒र्पव्याधि॑चि॒क्त्सि॒त्सकः॑ । v. 54.

दीर्घा॑स्थि॒म्यूत॑वक्रो॒भय॑पु॒टम॑सकृ॒दर्श॑यन्तं स्वमा॒स्यं
दृष्ट॑वा॒वल्मी॑कपा॒श्वे भु॑जग॒वरमु॑पेत्या भयो यः कृ॒पाळुः
कृ॒त्वा स॒म्यक्चि॑क्त्सि॒त्साम॑चि॒र म॑परु॒जा तेन॑ दत्ता॒भय॑श्री
र॒न्यार्थो॑पक्रम॒ त्वात्पर॑हित॒भिष॑जो नाम॒तस्यार्थ॑यु॒क्तम्॥ v. 55.

—Kaluvaçēgu grant.

49. The *Kopḍaviḍu* record (S.I.I. IV. No. 699) of king *Sadāsiva Rāya* of *Vijayanagar* dated in *S'*. 1468, registers grants of land to many *paṇḍitas*, evidently physicians.

The chiefs of Koṅṅkoṇḍa, and the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram extended their patronage to the members of the Parahita family. Siṅḡaya Nāyaka of Koṅṅkoṇḍa made a grant of the village of Akkalapūṇḍi ⁵⁰ to the Āyurvēdic physician, Parahita of the Ātrēya family in Saka 1290. Anitalli, queen of Allaya Vīrabhadra-Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, made a gift of the village of Kaluvacēṅṅu ⁵¹ (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari district) to Parahita, son of Kālanāthabhaṭṭa ⁵² of the same family in Saka 1345. With the help of the two grants mentioned above, the genealogy of the Parahita family may be traced as shown in the table below.

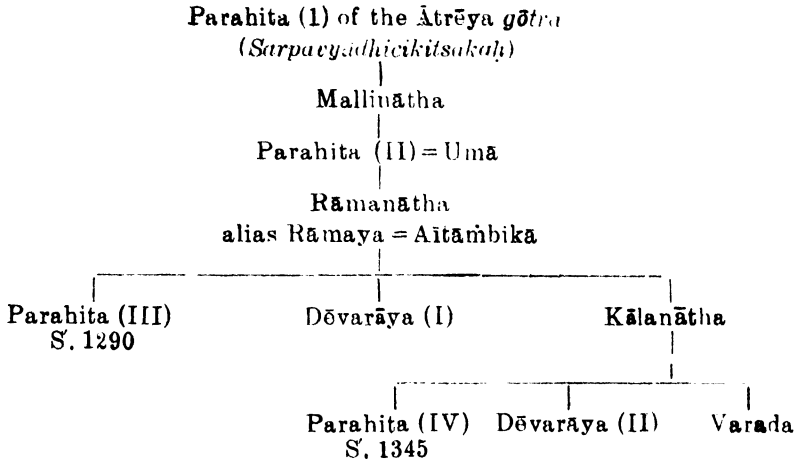
both veterinary and Āyurvedic, of whom "Āśvavaidyulu Lakṣmaṇa paṇḍitulu", was one. Among the donees, it is interesting to note that there was one Parahita Paṇḍita also, a member of the Parahita family. This inscription shows that the members of the Parahita family maintained their reputation even during the Vijayanagar period, and can be traced in inscriptions until almost the end of the sixteenth century. A record (S.I.I., IV, No. 1374) at Dākshāram registers the gift made by one Annaya Paṇḍita of the Gautama gōtra, who is referred to therein as *Vaidyendra*.

The Āśvayurvēdavaidya Vasudeva is referred to in a record (S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 180) as Vasudēva Paṇḍita, son of Ananta Paṇḍita of the Ātrēya gōtra. Some of these Paṇḍitas were also Sthanadhipatis of temples (S.I.I., Vol., V, No. 189). Mallikarjuna, Maṭṭicena, and Śrīpati, the three reputed Śivacāryas, that go by the name of *Aradhyatrayam* in the Andhra country, were also called Mallikarjuna Paṇḍita, Maṭṭicena Paṇḍita, and Śrīpati Paṇḍita. Here also the term Paṇḍita, I believe, connotes that they were experts in Medicine. Names of Śivacāryas with the suffix paṇḍita, like Śrīkaṇṭha Paṇḍita, and Sōmes'vara Paṇḍita, are met with in ancient inscriptions (vide, Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 94 and 98). These Śivacāryas, whether of the Kalamukha, Paś'upata, or of any other school, are known to have been experts in medicine. They established hospitals for the public. The *Kōḍiya maṭha* or Kedarēs'vara temple, at Belagamve of the Kālamukha Śaivas contained a hospital in it (*nānanathayrōgiṇararōgabhiṣajyasthanam*, the place for the treatment of diseases, given to the destitute and the sick (Ep. Carn, Vol. VII, SK. 102). The Paś'upata Śaiva teacher, Viśvēśvara Śiva of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* established a maternity hospital at Mandaḍam in the Guntur district, during the reign of Rudramadevi, daughter of Kākati Gaṇapatiadeva (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff).

50. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII pp. 59 ff.

51. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

52. Members of the Kālanāthabhaṭṭa family, who are now living in the West Godavari district, claim to be the descendants of Parahita IV's father, Kālanāthabhaṭṭa, after whom, they say, their family got its name.



Parahita II was one who knew the secrets of all the Āgamas (*sarvāgamārthalatvajñāḥ*). He is said to have got the name Parahita by practising *sarpacikitsa*.⁵³ His son Rāmanātha also was an expert in the treatment of diseases. Parahita III was a great Vēdic scholar and physician. He is said to have taught the *Yajur Veda*, and the *Āyurvēda* to his students, and accomplished the object of his life. He was the recipient of Akkalapūṇḍi. Parahita IV received the village of Kaluvecēṅu as an *agrahāra* from king Vīrabhadra Redḍi and his queen Anitalli, in Saka 1345. He was eulogised as *vaidikakarmakarmathamatih*, *Śivārcanātatparaḥ*, *dīnajanāvanah*, and *Āyur-Yajur-Vēdanit*.

Kings of Koṇḍaviḍu also, especially Peda Kōmaṭi Vāma, supported the science of *Ayurvēda*. His Ponnupalli records register grants of villages to eminent Āyurvēdic physicians. The donee of one⁵⁴ of these grants, dated in Saka 1326, was one Bhāskarārya, a Yajurvēdin, son of Parahita of the Kāśyapa gōtra and of the Āpastamba Sūtra. Bhāskarā was a *Pāṇḍitendra* and a member of the Parahita family that received its name by saving a serpent.⁵⁵ He had the title

53. "...सर्पचिकित्सामकरोत्तदुपज्ञा परहिताभिधानश्रीः"

—v. 56. Kaluvecēṅu grant.

54. The text of this record is given in Sr. Sr., (Vide, Appendix pages 14 and 15.)

55. "....द्विजन्मानाम्।

मगद्वकशल्यव्याधिर्मर्प्राणाभिरक्षणात्

Bhāḍka Dhanvantari. The grant referred to above shows clearly that there were two branches of the same Parahita family, with two different *gōtras*, one of the Ātrēya *gōtra* and the other of the Kāsyapa *gōtra*. It is really enigmatic how the descendants of the same Parahita belonged to two different *gōtras*. The other Ponnupalli grant⁵⁶, issued in Saka 1330, records the gift of that village to Siṅganārya of the Kāsyapa *gōtra*, another very great scholar and Āyurvēdic physician well versed in the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, in the *Paṭaṅjali Mahābhāṣya*, in the *Vaiśeṣika*, *Nyāya*, and *Mīmāṃsā Dṛṣṭāntas*⁵⁷. He was the son of Viḷḷayārya, grandson of Bhāskarārya, and great-grandson of Periyaviḷḷa.

His genealogy, as given in this grant, is as follows :—

Periyaviḷḷa of the Kāsyapa *gōtra*
|
Bhāskarārya
|
Viḷḷayārya
|
Siṅganārya (Donee)

The donees of the two Ponnupalli grants under discussion appear to belong to the same family, and to the same Kāsyapa *gōtra*. Siṅganārya's grandfather Bhāskara is, in all probability, identical

आमेदुषां पण्डितानां कुले परहितमिधाम
जातायापस्तम्बमूले सूत्रमार्गानुसारिणि
काश्यपाय यजुःशाखाध्यायिने मुकृतात्मने
भूलोकधन्वन्तरये सतः परहितस्य च
पुत्राय भास्करार्याय पण्डितेन्द्राय धीमते . . .”

— Ponnupalli grant, 16.

The text of this grant was published by Sri Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu, in his *Sṛṅgāra Sṛṅmatham* as an appendix, in pages 14 to 16. The donee's *gōtra* was Kāsyapa and not Bhāradvāja, as stated in the text of the book (Vide, Sr. Sr., p. 112).

56. Sr. Sr., Vide, Appendix, p.

57. नत्त्रे श्रीपेर्यविळ्ळुस्य कल्याणमुगालिनः
अकर्तृकाणां माङ्गानामाद्यानां वचनां निधेः
श्रीमदृभौष्कगर्गस्य पौत्राय ब्रह्मवादिनः
अष्टादशानां विद्यानामभ्वन्यस्य महेंद्रमु

with the donee of the first set dated in Saka 1326. The name of his father Parahita seems to be the common title of the members of this family, his real name being Feriyaviḷla. Periyaviḷla and Viḷlayārya are strange names and are not common among the Andhras. Judged by their names they appear to have been Drāviḍa brāhmins.⁵⁸ If this surmise is correct, it is no wonder if the *gōtras* of the donees of the Ponnupalli records and those of the Akkalapūṇḍi and the Kaluvacōḡu grants are different. Then, how could the Drāviḍa brāhmins claim to be members of the same Parahita family? Parahitas of the Ātrēya *gōtra* were an old family. It was flourishing in the Andhra from almost the beginning of the Redḍi period. No such antiquity can be postulated, with the evidence available to us, to the Ponnupalli family. Members of the latter family were probably the pupils of the Parahitas, and learnt from them *Parahita-vaidya*, a special school of medicine, probably relating to *sarpacikitsā* or *viṣa vaidya*, to be more comprehensive. Hence, they may be taken as Parahita's cultural descendants, who maintained and nurtured this medical art. In ancient times, there were such descendants in the sphere of religion (a pupil or disciple considered himself to be the son of his *guru*), and in the sphere of politics (a king's subordinate considered himself to be his son). In the same way, members of the Ponnupalli family belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* appears to have styled themselves as the descendants of Parahita *Paṇḍita* in the sphere of culture (medical art).

There is a treatise on Medicine in Sanskrit called "*Parahita-saṁhitā*"⁵⁹, in the Government Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras,

पुत्राय विष्णुवार्यस्य वेदवेदाङ्गवेदिनः
 आयुर्वेदञ्च साष्टाङ्गं निर्निगेधमधीनिने
 फणिराजमहाभाष्यफक्किापरमेषिने
 कर्मब्रह्मपरामर्शमीमांसामांमन्त्रात्मने
 कणभुग्नधितग्रन्थिमिन्दुमन्थानभृभृते
 अश्वपादमतप्रेक्षपक्ष्मलीकृतचेतसे
 तस्मै काश्यपगोत्राय मिङ्गनार्यायधीमते
 शान्ताय शिवभक्ताय यजुराम्नायवेदिने...

—Ponnupalli grant, No. II, p. 16.

58. We find even to-day Drāviḍa brahmins of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* at Ponnupalli.

59. The colophon at the end of this work (D.C.S.M. (Madras), Vol. XXIII, No. 13346) runs thus :

इति श्रीनाथपणि डतस्यकृतो परहितसंहिताया मष्टमखण्डे अष्टमाध्यायः ॥

ascribed to one Srinatha Paṇḍita of the Parahita family. The work contains the *Aṣṭāṅgakaṇḍa* in eight *adhikāras*, of which the beginning is wanting in the first *adhikāra*. The names of the sections with the exception of the first which is unknown, are given below:

- 1
- 2 *Kaumāratantrādhikārah*
- 3 *Bhūtavidyādhikārah*
- 4 *Dahacikitsādhikārah*
- 5 *Śalyādhikārah*
- 6 *Sarvaśalyādhikārah*
- 7 *Rasāyanādhikārah*
- 8 *Vājīkaraṇādhikārah*

Why this work was called Parahita Samhita, and what the extent and speciality of this work was, have yet to be ascertained. *Parahitaviṣṇusiddhanta*, probably another work on Medicine, is alluded to in the colophon to the first chapter of *Nṛsiṃhaśāstram*⁶⁰, a medical treatise written by a certain Nṛsiṃha Paṇḍita of unknown date.

We do not know if *Parahitasamhita* and *Prarahitaviṣṇusiddhanta* are allied works on the same subject, and if the latter is extant.

Rasa-raiḍya, or treatment of diseases with mercurial preparations, was greatly developed during this period, because of the impetus given by the Siddha cult of the Navanāthas. The Navanāthas and their disciples were experts in *Vādas* (metallurgical sciences), specially in *Rasavāda*. They used *Rasa* or mercury for curing diseases. In the *Rasakacchapatam*,⁶¹ a treatise dealing with the purification of mercury, and the preparation of different kinds of mercurial powders and medicines, the author Nagēśa or Nāgarjuna gives, in the beginning of the work, a list of names of medical works *Rasa Śāstras* which he consulted in writing that work. We find, among the authors of these

60. Ibid, No. 13167.

The colophon runs thus :

इति श्रीपतिरहितविष्णुमिद्वान्तमागगदिसूर्यविरचित परिडित श्रीनृसिंहकृतौ
नित्यानन्दनानाशाम्भसंमताद्यशीति वातनिदानेन[न]नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

61. Ibid, No. 13192.

ताक्षर्य धन्वन्तरिव्यासं पीयूषं पारदं शुभम्
व्यालिनागार्जुनं चैव गोविन्दं लोकनायकम् ॥

works, Vyāḷi and Nāgārjuna, two of the nine Nātha Siddhas (Nava-nāthas) mentioned. The latter is described as *Rasa-Śāstra-nirmāta* in the Telugu work *Nīvanāthacaritra*.

An interesting feature of the times under review was the appointment of a special royal physician in each court, called the *prāṇācūrya* (the guardian of king's life), to look after the health of the king. Parahita III was the *prāṇācūrya* of Singaya Nayaka of Kōṅṇa. Lakṣmaṇācārya⁶² was the *prāṇācūrya* of prince Bukka II, son of Harihararāya II of Vijayanagar. The kings of those days, being constantly under fear of Viṣa-prayōga, did not readily take food (sweets and other edibles), cloths, jewels and ornaments, sent to them by their subordinates or equals as tributes or presents, without getting them examined by an expert medical officer. This seems to be the reason for the appointment of a *prāṇācūrya*, a special medical officer attached to the king. We find, in the ordinary Telugu kāvyas of the period, like *Rukmāṅgadacaritra*,⁶³ works which have nothing to do with Political science, verses relating to *viṣaparikṣa*, in a discourse on *rāja-nīti*, a prince ought to know.

Any account of literature of either Telugu or Sanskrit during the Redḍi period cannot be complete without referring to the literary activity, in the kingdom of the Rēceḡla chiefs of Rājukōṇḍa and Dēvarakōṇḍa. The Redḍi and the Rēceḡla kings vied with one another in extending their patronage to poets and scholars, and in producing literary works. Both were equals in maintaining political grandeur, in extending patronage to men of letters, in scholarship and military skill. If Singabhūpāla of Rājukōṇḍa was a *sarvaḡṇa*, king Pedā Kōmaṭi Vēma of Kōṇḍaviḍu also had the same title. Poet Srinātha, the court poet of the Redḍi kings, visited the Rājukōṇḍa court also, and was honoured by the Rēceḡla chiefs. He was the cultural link, as it were, that connected Kōṇḍaviḍu and Rājukōṇḍa, the two rival houses.

62. Further Sources, I, No. 34-a.

63. “వివిధాన్యము లొరు లంపన
నవనిని నొగుచు గుడువఁ బెట్టి యతనికి జేరఁ
బవు తెఱిగి భుక్తిఁ గొనఁదగు
బ్రవిమలమతి భక్త్యభోజ్య వాసీయాగుల్.

ఽనపతి యస్యస్య హాలఁడు

పనిచిఁ భూషణసుగంధ పరిభాసంబుల్

మునుమున్ను పూనఁగాదగ

దెనయఁగ విషయఁతృప్తం గు తెఱిగినదాకన్.” —Rk. Cr., III, vv. 18-19.

Singabhūpala II, also called Kumārasīṅga, was a great Sanskrit poet and scholar, and the author of the *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a treatise on Rhetoric in Sanskrit. He was the son of Anavōta I, and grandson of Siṅga I. The term kumara seems to have been particularly applied to grandsons named after their grandfathers. Anavōta I's grandson who was named after his grandfather, had also the name of Kumārānavōta or Anavōta II. Himself a great scholar and poet, Siṅga II gathered round him noted scholars and poets, like Viśvēśvara and Appayārya. He quotes profusely in his work, prose passages and ślōkas in illustration of different *lakṣya*s from different dramas. Of these some dramas appear to have been written by himself and some by others. A majority of these works are not now extant.

Recently *Ratnapāñcalikā*, otherwise called *Kuvalayāvaḷi*, a drama written in Sanskrit by Singabhūpala II, was discovered in the Travancore Palace Library, and published. This drama in four acts describes the marriage of lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Kuvalayāvaḷi. *Pratigandhabhairava* and *khaḍgānārāyaṇa*, the well known titles of Kumāra Siṅga, find mention in this work. This drama is stated to have been enacted on the occasion of the *vasantayātrāmahōtsava* of god Prasanna Gōpāladēva residing at Rājāsaila (Rajukonda). In this drama, the author describes himself as *lalītakavītilāsa - caturāṇana*. His protegee Bonmukaṇṭhi Appayārya pays a high compliment to Siṅga II by extolling him as *sarvajña* in his *Amarakōśavyākhyā*.⁶⁴ He says that, if a work was examined by the *Lakṣya - lakṣaṇavēdī* Kumāra Siṅga, it

64. “विद्यदेवनाततावकगुणे सर्वज्ञचूडामगो....”

—C. S. M. (Madras), R. 2672, p. 59.

“कुमारसिङ्गभूपेन लक्ष्यलक्षणवेदिना

शोधितश्चेदयं ग्रन्थः किं शोभ्यं शोभकान्तरैः

कुमारसिङ्गभूपेन यः कदापि न शोधितः

स ग्रन्थः शोधितोऽप्यन्यैः किं व्यवहियते बुधैः॥

काव्यालङ्कारनानार्थतत्त्वभावितमानसः

कुमारसिङ्गभूपाल एक एवास्ति नापरः॥ — Ibid, R. No. 1401; R. N. 1170.

जैवातृकं बुधगुरुं निलयं कलानाम्

सर्वज्ञमूर्धमणिमाश्रितशुद्धपक्षम् ।

श्रीबोम्मकण्ट्युपपदाङ्कितमप्पयार्यं

सर्वेष्टितोषितसुरं द्विजराजमाहुः॥ — Ibid.

was unnecessary to go through it again, and that, if it did not merit the appreciation of Siṅga, it was of no avail even if it was corrected by others. Besides the two works *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* and *Ratnapāñcālikā*, Siṅga II also wrote *Saṅgītasudhākaram*,⁶⁵ a commentary on Śārṅga-dhara's *Saṅgītaratnākaram*.⁶⁶ This work also was recently discovered in the Mahārāṣṭra country and is now in the course of publication.

Now, let us see if we can fix the date of Siṅgabhūpāla's works. It seems that only the date of *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* may be fixed roughly, and not the dates of other works. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* was earlier in date than *Cumatkāraçandrikā* written by Viśvėsvara, the court-poet of Siṅga II. This is clear from the fact that Viśvėsvara frequently quotes the former in his work. Bhōganātha, the *narmasācivā* of the Vijayanagar Prince, Saṅgama II, and the composer of his Bitraguṇṭa grant⁶⁷, dated in Śaka 1278 (1356 A., D.) quotes in his *Alankarasudhānīdhī*,

65. Of this work the first chapter on *Śvaralakṣaṇa* was printed at Calcutta in 1880. In this printed copy the colophon runs thus: '*Siṅghobhūpalavracitayam.....Saṅgītasudhākarakṣayam*...' But the colophon to the first chapter in the manuscript copy recently discovered, reads differently. According to this, the author of the first, third, and the fifth chapters is a certain Gaṅgādharma, son of Bhaṭṭa Śrīṅga-nātha, the dharmadhikari of Maharajadhiraja Śrī Gōpinātha, the ruler of the Narmadatāṭa country. But again the authorship of the second, fourth, and sixth chapters is attributed to the Andhramaṇḍala-theśvara, Siṅgabhūpāla, son of Anavota, who is no doubt Kumaraśiṅga. It is difficult to account for this discrepancy in the colophons of this work, and to establish the identity of Gaṅgādharma. The usual practice of describing the genealogy of the author in the introductory verses is not followed in this work. In its stead we find the following verse.

अतिगम्भीरं विषये कतिपयवेद्येतिहग्रन्थे
सम्यग्व्याख्याकुशलः सर्वज्ञः सिङ्गभूपणकैकः

66. Śārṅgadhara, the author of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, was the son of Sōḍhala, a contemporary and the Śrīkaraṇādhipa of the Yadava king, Siṅghapādava who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. R. G. Bhandarkar writes thus in his *Early History of the Dekkan* in connection with the above commentary: "There is a commentary on this work attributed to a king of the name of Siṅga who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Siṅga appears, in all likelihood, to be Siṅghapa; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case"-(Vide the *Early History of the Dekkan* III edition (1928), pages 194-195). The commentary in the above passage is, no doubt, the same as the one described above. Siṅga, "the paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle" was not Siṅghapa, the Yadva king of the Mahārāṣṭra country, but the Rēcēla chief, Kumāra Siṅga.

67. "मक्षमाचक्रदिशाविलामि विभुना तिग्मांशुहारश्रिया
विश्रामक्षणाविश्वरङ्गमयताकल्पं यशोज्योतिषाम्

another treatise on Rhetoric, verses from *Maṅha* and *Camatkāracandrikā* illustrating *cakrabandha*⁶⁸. *Alaṅkārasudhanidhi* must have been written about Śaka 1280, or Śaka 1300 at the latest. Before this date, Viśvēśvara completed his *Camatkāracandrikā*. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a still earlier work than *Camatkāracandrikā*, must have been written long before the latter one. Hence, it may be concluded that Singa II wrote his work, while he was a prince during his father's reign, some time about Śaka 1290, that is, 1368 A.D.

Next to Siṅgabhūpāla, his son Ravu Mādhava Nāyaka (Mādhava Nāyaka) has to be mentioned among the king-poets and scholars of the Rūceṅga family. The stone record of his wife Nāgambikā at Nāgarām, a village to the north of Rājukonḍa, reveals the fact that Mādhava wrote in Śaka 1349, *Rājhaṇḍyam*,⁶⁹ a commentary on *Śrīmad Rāmayaṇa*, and offered it at the lotus feet of god Śrī Rāma. This work is now lost.

As already stated, Viśvēśvara, the author of the *Camatkāracandrikā* was patronised by Singa II. He was a pupil of Kāśīśvaramiśra, the author of *Rasamīmāṃsa*, now extinct. Viśvēśvara's *Camatkāracandrikā* is purely a *lakṣaṇagrantha* in eight *vilāsas*. The verses in this work illustrative of the several *lakṣaṇas*, are all in praise of the author's patron. While giving an estimate of the work, Dr. V. Raghavan writes,

विद्वत्कान्ति मुगपहप्रविशदाविभूतकृत्नागमा
मांधाना न च तद्विग्रेषविदुः याति द्विषां नोपमाम्(?) ॥

"This round (of the *Cakrabandha*) reads *Camatkāracandrikā*, seventh round reads *Viśvapātikavi*, and the ninth round reads *Siṅgabhūyasaḥ*" quoted from Śrī M. Doraswamiya's article on "*Siṅgabhūpāla - His date*", in T.S.V. Vol. I pp. 51, 56. Śrī Doraswamiya writes thus: "Bhōganātha is the elder brother of Vidyāranya, the great minister of the Vijayanagar empire. *Alaṅkārasudhanidhi* was written during the reign of Harihara II (1380) of Vijayanagar. Viśvēśvara appears to be a scion of the Vidyāranya family from the author's genealogy given in *Alaṅkārasudhanidhi*, and of the same Bhāradvāja *gotra*, and this with his great learning has commanded an honorific mention in Bhōganātha's works." Ibid, p. 54.

68. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 31 ff.

69. Vv. Cr., Appendix, No. 12 p. 45, v. 17.

शाकाख्येनिधिवार्धिगमशशिगेप्यन्दे स्वङ्गे शुभे
भासेप्याश्वयुजे रघूद्वहपदे यो राघवीयाह्वयम्
टीकामर्धपटुप्रबोधघटनामाणिक्यपुष्पाञ्जलिम्
कृत्वा गजति रावु माधवन्तपो गमायणस्यश्रिय ॥

'The most noteworthy part of this work is its treatment of *rīti*..... He (Viśvēśvara) combines Rudraṭa and Daṇḍin, adds something himself and christens *Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍīya* and *Pāñcālī* as *Kōmalā*, *Kaṭhina* and *Mīra*..... Another approach is that of *camatkāra*, which is poetic delight which comprehends all poetic elements from *Guṇa*, and *Śabdālaṅkāra* to *Rasa* and *Dhvani*. It is on the basis of this *camatkāra* which is *tōkōttarāhlada* that Jagannātha gives his most comprehensive definition of poetry.....Almost the first regular treatise on Poetics to make approach through this *camatkāra* is *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśvēśvara".⁷⁰

There were some more poets of the Rōceṣa court to be taken into account. One of them, Nāganātha, son of Paśupati Paṇḍita, and a pupil of Viśvēśvara, was the author of the drama, *Madanavilāsa Bhāṇa*. He was the court poet of Anavōta I and the composer of his Ainavolu stone record⁷¹ dated in Śaka 1291, i. e., 1369 A. D. It is likely that Paśupati Nāganātha, the court poet of Anavōta I was the author of the drama, *Anavōtanāyākīyam*, now extant, referred to in Kumāra Siṅga's *Rasārṇava-sudhākaram*.

Peddana Pōtarāja, the minister of Māda Nāyaka I, was the author of the Umāmahēśvaram stone record⁷² of his master, dated in Śaka 1298. The verses in this record bear eloquent testimony to his scholarship and poetical talent.

Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya was another great scholar-poet who adorned the court of Siṅga II. He wrote a commentary⁷³ (*Amarakōṭṭavyākhyā*) on the *Amarakōṭṭa* of Amarasimha. From this *vyākhyā* we come to know that he had another name, Māra Pōta. It is likely that his full name was Pōtappaya which, in ordinary parlance, became Appaya.

70. Vide Dr. V. Raghavan's excellent article on "The Camathkaracandrika of Viśvēśvara", in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVI, Pages, 131-139. Could this Viśvēśvara be Viśvanātha, the brother of Nṛsiṃha, the author of the drama *Kadambari*? Viśvēśvara also belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (Vide, T. S. V., Vol. I, p. 54). The nearness in time between Viśvēśvara and Nṛsiṃha, and their common *gōtra* may lend some weight to the suggestion of the identity of the former with Viśvanātha, brother of the latter poet.

71. Vide Vv. Cr., Appendix No. 4 pp. 20 ff.

72. Ibid, No 10, pp. 35-36, v. 32.

73. व्याचष्टामरसिंहनाथरचिन्तं ग्रन्थं निघण्टूत्तमम्

ख्यातं शिष्यहितार्थमप्ययमुधीः श्रीमारपोताभिधः ॥

—C. S. M., (Madras), R. 1401 (End.)

Another poet of the Rāceṅḡa court was Śākalya Mallubhaṭṭa. *Pratāpacaritra*, a late quasi-historical Telugu prose work, purporting to describe the history of the Kakatiyas of Waraṅgal, states that he was one of the poets of Prataparudra's court. Though much reliance cannot be placed on this work, yet, there is reason to believe that he flourished in the post-Kakatiya period also. (Vide, chapter on Religion above and Telugu literature below). He must have been a contemporary of the Rāceṅḡa chief Siṅga I. This conjecture finds confirmation from another piece of evidence. A śloka⁷⁴ in praise of Harihara I in the *Prasaṅgaratnaṭī*, a Sanskrit work of the latter half of the fourteenth century, suggests that Śākalya Malla was for some time in the Vijayanagar court. From the *Guruparamparāprabhaṭa*⁷⁵, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian work, we come to know that he was in the Rāceṅḡa court also, though it is not definitely known if he was there either in his early or later life, either after, or before his stay at Vijayanagar.

Śākalya Malla was the son of Śākalya Mādhavasudhi. He wrote a grammar on the Sanskrit language, two kavyas, *Nirṇōṭhya Rāmāyaṇam*, and *Udāra-Rāghavam*, and a lexicon by name *Avyaya-saṅgrha-nighaṇṭu*, of which the grammar and the *kāmāyana*⁷⁶ are now lost; *Udāra-Rāghavam* and *Avayayasāṅgrha-nighaṇṭu* are now extant.

74. “अदो नारद शक किंनुगतो भूलोकमालाकितुम्
को राजा भुवि विक्रमी हरिहरोद्यतो कियन्मण्डलम्
आपूर्वाणिवमापरणिवमसावण.....
पूर्णस्तवृपया गजेन्द्रविजयी शकल्लहयमल्लः कविः॥

—Mss. No. 5- 4-10; and 7-6-17.

75. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 222.

76. He is known to have written a Sanskrit grammar and *Nirṇōṭhya Rāmāyaṇam* from the Telugu works of Appakavi and Mariṅgaṇṭi Siṅgarācārya, very late Telugu poets.

“సంస్కృతమునకు నాంధ్రభాషకును దోష్ట
లక్షణములు శాకల్యమల్లన మధించి
విన్నకోని పెద్దన ముదిరి పద్యములు
క్షితి నొనర్చిరి లోకోపకృతికిఁ బెన్ను.”—Ap. Kv.

“మును రామాయణమున్ నిరోధ్యముగ నింపుల్మీఱ శాకల్య మ
ల్లన తా సంస్కృతభాషఁ జేసె నన నాంధ్రుల జెప్పల్ నిండఁగా
వినుటేకాని ధరితిపై నిజముగా విక్షింప లే చుట్టి డేఁ
జమఁగించేసెద నెల్లదం గవులకుఁ దృష్టాంతమై యేర్పడె.”—Dn. Cr.

The *kāvya Udāra-Rāghavam*, as is now available, is incomplete and contains only nine *sargas*. The ninth *sarga* stops with the story of *Śarpaṇanāsikācheda*. It is from the colophon of this work that we come to know that he was the son of Madhavabhaṭṭa.⁷⁷ *Aryayasāṅgrahanighaṇṭu*⁷⁸ was a lexicon of *avyayas* or indeclinables. From this lexicon we come to know that Śakalya Mallubhaṭṭa had the title *caturbhāṣākavitāpitāmahaṅka*, which suggests that he was a poet in four languages.

These were about the chief Sanskrit poets that flourished, and the works they produced, in the times under review.

Religious works, particularly *stōtras*, *aṣṭakas*, and *gadyas*, written by early poets, find frequent mention in the Telugu works of this period and were very popular. In this category particular mention should be made of works like *Nilakaṇṭhastava*, *Mahimastōtra*, *Anāmayastava*, *Halāyudhastōtra*, *Maṭhanastava*, *Saṁsāramāyāstava*, *Malayarājastōtra*, *Baṇagadya*, *Kūḷidasagadya* and so on. Pālkuṅiki Sōmanātha mentions these works in his *Paṇḍitārāṭhyacaritra*. *Nilakaṇṭhastōtra* was particularly very popular during this period among the Saivas. The Telugu poets, Śrīnātha and Pōtarāja, also mention this *stōtra* in their works, along with some others.

Pratapacaritra also corroborates the fact that he was the author of *Niroṣṭhya Rāmāyana* (Vide A. S. P. P. pp. Vol. VII p. 298-99.) Sakhavelli Mallikarjunabhaṭṭa, mentioned in the manuscript copies of this *Pratapacaritra* (this was also published in the *Saivapracurini* series, anubandham 3, Waraṅgal, p. 60) is no other than Śakalya Mallubhaṭṭa.

77. “इति श्रीमत्सुम्वस्वमा कवितरधुनाथदत्तवर्गप्रसादमहजसंस्वतः
श्रीशाल्यपदाङ्कितमाववसुध्रीनय कविमहाचार्यविरचिते
उदारगवये महाकाव्ये...”

Vide, M. Seshagiri Sastri's Report on Tamil manuscripts Vol. 1 pp. 3-4 (1896-97). Also Bhandarkar's list of Sanskrit manuscripts (1893).

78. The colophon of this work runs thus :

“इति चतुर्भाषाकवितापिनामहाङ्क शाकल्यमल्लुभट्टविरचिते
ताव्ययसंग्रहनिघण्टुः समाप्तः”

TELUGU LITERATURE

With the re-establishment of independence in the country, Telugu literature entered on a new phase of developmet. Before this period it found favour only with *maṇḍalikas* or feudatory chiefs, while Sanskrit enjoyed royal favour and patronage from the sovereign lords of the land. Kings lavished their patronage on Sanskrit scholars and poets. It was traditional for kings of sovereign status to patronise Sanskrit and Prakrit. Kings of the Telugu country also adhered to that custom. The reputed Andhra Sātavāhana monarch Hāla, himself a great poet in Prakrit patronised Prakrit poets. The Viṣṇukūṇḍins, the independent rulers of the seaboard of the Andhra country, encouraged Sanskrit learning. Janāśraya Mādhavavarman of this dynasty wrote *Janāśrayi Chandas*, a treatise on Prosody, in Sanskrit. The Eastern Caḷukyas of Vēṅgī, the successors of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings, granted several *agrahāras* to brāhman scholars who were experts in Vēlas and Sāstras. The Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal also supported Sanskrit scholars and poets, while their subordinates patronised the Telugu poets.

Supporting Sanskrit had been one of the conventional duties of the sovereigns of the land from ancient times. Contrary to this custom, the Eastern Caḷukya king, Raja Raja I, supported Telugu learning and encouraged Nannayabhaṭṭa, his court poet, to translate the Sanskrit *Mahabhārata* into Telugu. It was the only welcome deviation from the prevalent custom prior to the Redḍi period. In fact, with the birth of the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, Telugu attained the dignity of being the vehicle of poetic thought. It became classical. From the time of Raja Rāja I Caḷukya, the Andhra *maṇḍalikas* the men of the soil, who owned their allegiance to the Caḷukya Cōḷa monarchs (the descendants of Raja Rāja's son, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I), took up voluntarily the duty of supporting their native language Telugu as against Sanskrit, and accepted dedication of Telugu works. Ever since that time, the subordinate *maṇḍalikas* of the coastal Andhra country took pride in patronising Telugu poets, and well earned the title of *sukavikīra-sahakāras*. The stone records of the *maṇḍalika* subordinates of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contain many Telugu poems of great merit, which can well stand comparison in poetic beauty, diction and *alaṅkāra* with any classical Telugu poem produced during that age. Hence, from the beginning of the mediaeval period which witnessed great many changes in religious and social spheres, Telugu, the language of the common man, found ready support in the courts of the

subordinate *maṇḍalika* families. Political subjection affected the Telugu literature also, and lowered its rank and status from that of Sanskrit and Prakṛit. Sanskrit, the language of the Vēdas and the Śāstrās, the fountain-heads of Hindu culture, having been supported by the sovereign kings of the land, enjoyed a sovereign status, and Telugu was relegated to a secondary rank. Suzerain lords and Sanskrit scholars looked down upon the Telugu poets and Telugu literature, and were loathe to recognise the merit of the Telugu poetry. This attitude of the Sankritists and independent monarchs towards Telugu literature continued till the time of the revival of the Hindu monarchy in the post-Kākatīya period.

In the period under review, along with the rise of the Redḍi power wielding the suzerain authority over a great extent of territory, Telugu also emerged from its subservient position, and proudly occupied an equal, if not a superior, status to Sanskrit, and shared the royal patronage equally. The Redḍi kings lavished their liberality equally on both the Sanskrit and Telugu poets. The triumph of the people and the nobles of the land in winning their freedom and independence was not a little responsible for this change in outlook. The people of the land were successful in overthrowing the mighty Delhi Sultānate, and in re-establishing their right over their beloved country; and Telugu, the language of land, asserted itself and won its due place in the academic field. With the appointment of the Telugu poet Śrīnātha as the *Vidyādhikāri* in the court of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Telugu definitely scored over Sanskrit. Śrīnātha, the greatest Telugu poet of the age, was the examiner of scholarship in both Sanskrit and Telugu languages of those who visited his patron's court.

Another important factor that contributed to the rise in status of the Telugu poet is the crushing defeat of Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa, the greatest Sanskrit scholar-poet of the age, at the hands of Śrīnātha, his Telugu contemporary. This one incident was eloquent in declaring the efficiency of scholarship in classical languages also of the Telugu poet. In fact, it was a thorough knowledge and mastery in Sanskrit that helped one to become a great Telugu poet. This thorough study of both the languages also contributed to enhance the prestige of the Telugu poet and raised him in the estimation of the general public, as well as of the scholarly world. For the first time in the literary history of the Telugu country, the Telugu poet shedding his inferiority complex, raised his head high and enjoyed proudly the royal patronage extended to him by the sovereign lords of this period.

This was the most important and welcome change that came over Telugu in the period under review. Because the Telugu poet of this age gained equal status in the royal court and shared royal patronage with the Sanskrit poet, great honour was done to him in later times as being borne in a palanquin by an emperor of no less a standing than Kṛṣṇa-deva-raya.

Telugu literature produced during this age fully reflected the spirit and conditions of the times. The times necessitated the diffusion of the Hindu religion and religious principles, and the consolidation of the Hindus in a united front against the aggressive Islam, which had already become a menace to the Hindu life and religion. Educating the common people in the *dharma* of the land was a necessity. As a matter of fact, the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, written by the poet-seers, Nannayabhatta and Tikkana Sōmayāji, already prepared the ground. That Telugu work attained popularity in the Andhra country, from Warāṅgal to Nellore, propagated the principles and precepts of the Hindu religion, and became a mighty, though subtle, force in the land, in the unification of the Andhra people. It imparted knowledge, both secular and spiritual, to the common people, and trained them to have a common religious outlook, moral code, and a set of principles that shaped and guided their worldly life. The *Andhra Mahābhārata* laid, in fact, the foundations on which the structure of Andhra culture was built, and prepared the ground for the religious unity in the Andhra land which was essential to resist successfully the aggression of Islam.

The Telugu poets of this age sought to consolidate still further what was achieved before. The temporary Muslim occupation of the country impressed upon the leaders of the Hindu thought the necessity to train the common man to be brave and daring, and yet noble and religious minded. With this end in view, Telugu literature took the lead to popularise and propagate the new turn the religion had taken, and all that the new religious cults stood for and represented. The *Kāilasa* and the *Vaikuṇṭha*, the final ideal abodes after death, for the pious Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas respectively, and the charming *svarga* for heroes who died in battle and virtuous persons leading a religious life, were the bewitching temptations placed before the people, and hells of different kinds with innumerable sorts of torture and punishments, were held out as the proper abode of the sinners and the irreligious, who did not live a life in accordance with the accepted principles of religion. A perusal of the works produced during this age will show how well the Telugu literature accomplished the task assigned to it.

Telugu poets tried their best to present to people the *dharma* as envisaged and propounded by the two important cults, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, in as concrete a form as possible, with the help of Purāṇic themes, and the stories of kings who staked their all to achieve an object or to fulfil a religious vow, and thereby acquired name and eternal fame. In this way, the Telugu literature of the period tried to educate the common man in *dharma* as the sole means and basis to achieve the object in life, placed before him the great ideal of *mokṣa*, final emancipation, and encouraged him to follow the example of the heroes of the kāvya. It was the privilege of the Telugu poet of this age to instruct the common man to develop a broad religious outlook, to make him strong in head and heart to resist successfully the onslaught of the invading fanatic Muslim, and to sacrifice his life voluntarily, and unflinchingly if necessary. The impermanence of life, and the permanence of fame, and all-potent virtues were placed before people to induce them to rise to the occasion. This aim and object made Telugu literature descend to the level of the ordinary man. Telugu works, like *Paṇḍitāṇḍhyacaritra*, *Vikramārkaacaritra*, *Sinhāsanaśrīprīṭhika*, *Bhōjarājyam*, *Kēṣarabāluacaritra* and *Sōḍaḍa-kumāracaritra*, all these fired the imagination of people and impressed upon their mind that life was worth sacrificing for a noble end either temporal or spiritual. They induced the readers and hearers to do great deeds and to achieve the objects they sought for. Faith in the vows taken, the *vratas* performed, the deities worshipped, the *mantras* chanted, or the religious practices observed, was inculcated by the religious and biographical works, like *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇam*, *Bhāgavatam*, *Rāmāyaṇam*, *Padma Purāṇam*, and *Harivamśam*, *Vīrabhadra vijayam*, *Śivalilīlāśam*, *Haravilāsam*, *Śivarātrimahātmyam*, *Rukmāṅgadacaritra*, or (*Ēkādāśīratamahātmyam*), *Harīścandraacaritra*, and *Navanathacaritra*. *Sthalamāhātmyas*, or legendary accounts of holy places, such as *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, the *Śrīraṅgamāhātmyam* and the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* (*Dākṣarāmayam*), the prominent works of this period, which sang the glory and sanctity of Kāśī, Śrīraṅgam and Dākṣharam (East Godavari district), drove home the geographical unity of the Hindus under the pretext of religion, and encouraged one and all to go on pilgrimage and travel for acquiring merit. These legends about holy places current in the country, induced people to visit them and get absolved of their sins. In this way, all forms of literature tried to create a religious unity in spite of the difference in cults, and to evolve a common code of religious practice. The Telugu poet generally made admirable use of the old material, traditional stories of ancient kings of the land, and Purāṇic themes and interpreted them in accordance with the tenets of neo-Hinduism.

The new outlook in literature brought about some innovations, notable among them being a new style, for narrating old themes with power and vigour, and for presenting them as lucidly as possible. The Telugu poet individually evolved a technique of his own, a variation in style, by employing dexterously the Telugu, and the Sanskrit words, and the *śabda* and *artha alaṅkāras*. The next innovation was realistic descriptions in consonance with the theme. To make the *kāvya* interesting and appealing to the senses, nature for the first time was also brought into play in a romantic fashion. The Telugu *kāvya* of this age was made appealing with vivid descriptions of nature. We find in the extant Telugu *kāvya* the Cakōra birds (Greek partridges) merry and feasting on the nectar of the moon; and mild breezes carrying fragrance of flowers which they had looted while passing through flower gardens, blowing gently over a pair of secret lovers, or the new married couples in royal palaces. By the time we come to the Reddi period, Telugu, which drew its inspiration before from the classical Sanskrit, well established its reputation as a language of poetic expression.

Errā Pregaḍa :

The first poet known to us to have adorned the court of the Reddi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu was Errā Pregaḍa, also called Saṁbhudāsa. He was the son of Sūrya or Sūranārya of the Srīvatsa *gōtra*. His forefathers seem to have been the natives of Vēgināḍu. His grandfather is said to have been one of the *vṛtti*-holders of 'Karāvartī' in Vēgināḍu. Later on, his forefathers migrated to Pākanāḍu, south of the Guṇḍlakamma and settled at Guḍḍūru (Kandukur taluk, Nellore district). Errā Pregaḍa was a great devotee of Siva. He was consequently known as Saṁbhudāsa. His guru was a famous Śaiva teacher, named Saṅkaraśvamin. While living at Guḍḍūru, Errā Pregaḍa became the favourite poet of Prōlaya Vēma's brother, Mallā Reddī, who rewarded him amply. After the foundation of the Reddi kingdom, Mallā Reddī took him to his brother Vēma, and presented the poet to him. Since then Errā Pregaḍa became the court-poet of the Reddi kings of Addaṅki.

1. "నేచినాటం గరావర్తి వృత్తి మంతుఁ

వనస్సుఁ దెలిపితనూరి కంసారివరణ

కమల మధుకరపతి సారవిమలయశుఁడు." Nr. Pr., I, v. 15.

Karāvartī seems to be a mistake. There is no village called Karāvartī in Vēgināḍu. There are villages bearing a similar name to it. They are Kakarapartī and Rāpartī. I believe Karāvartī is a mistake of the scribe for 'Kakarapartī' which is an *agrahara* still in existence. Errā Pregaḍa was fifth in descent from his ancestor Bhīmamantri, the recipient of many honours from Coḍa II (Śaka 1084—Śaka 1093) of the Durjaya family of Velanāḍu.

Errā Pregaḍa's works are known to be four in number, namely (1) the portion of the *Araṇyaparva* of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* which was left unfinished by Nannaya Bhaṭṭa and Tikkana Sōmayāji; (2) *Lakṣmī Nṛsiṃhāvatāram* or *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇam* (3) *Rāmāyaṇam* and (4) the *Hari-namāṣam*.

It is not known when and under whose patronage Errā Pregaḍa translated *Araṇyaparvaśeṣam* into Telugu. This work brought him great name and fame in the literary circles. In translating this portion Errā Pregaḍa followed the method adopted by the previous authors of that work, and made it almost indistinguishable in style from what had been written by his predecessors. The style of Errā Pregaḍa in his *Vaṇaparvaśeṣam* is on a par with the two great and individual styles of Nannayabhaṭṭa and Tikkana Sōmayāji. The dignity of the style, his skill in translation, and his proficiency in both Sanskrit and Telugu, earned for him the title of *Prabandhacarcamācvara*,² and an equal rank with the other two eminent authors. It is interesting to note that Errā Pregaḍa completed the *Araṇyaparvaśeṣam* of the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, not in his name but, in the name of Nannayabhaṭṭa who dedicated his work to the Eastern Gajekya king, Rāja Rāja I. These three authors of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* have the distinguishing common term, *Kavitrāyaṇam* and were the guides of the later classical Telugu poets, who strictly followed their example in the matter of language, grammar, prosody and application. The completion of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* was strictly in keeping with the spirit of the age. In the political sphere, the Andhras emerged successfully from the dark period of suffering and foreign domination, and in the literary sphere, with the translation of the portion left out of the *Vaṇaparva* in Telugu, the composition of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* was completed. With the re-establishment of Hindu independence and the revival of the Hindu *dharma*, the *Mahābhārata*, the story of the successful struggle of the Pāṇḍavas against their opponents the Kauravas, was completed in Telugu, and presented to the Andhras in its entirety.

Errā Pregaḍa's next work is the *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇam*. He took the story of Lakṣmī Nṛsiṃhāvatāram from the *Bṛhadāṇḍa Purāṇam* as the theme of this *mahāprabandha*, and expanded it into a beautiful *kavya* which he dedicated to god Nṛsiṃha, the presiding deity of the famous holy place

2. “ఉన్నత సంస్కృతాది చతురోక్తి పదంబులం గావ్యకర్తనై
యెన్నికవైవం బ్రబంధ పరమేశం ననంగ నరణ్యపర్వతే
పోన్నయ మంధ్రభాష సుజనోత్పవ మెప్పుంగ నిర్వహించి తా
నన్నయధర్మ తిక్కనవివాధుల కెక్కిన ఛక్ర పెంపున.”—Nr. Pr., I, v. 17.

of Ahōbalam, in the Kurnool district. Though the precise date of the composition of this work is not known, it was certainly written after the completion of the *Vanaparvaiṣam* of the *Mahābhārata*, for the latter work is referred to in the former.

From his later work *Harivamśam*, Eṙṙā Pregaḍa is known to have written a work on *Rāmāyaṇa* at the request of Prōlaya Vēma. A stone record³ of Śaka 1320 at Kandukūru, belonging to Rāca Vēma, grandson of Mallā Redḍi, also corroborates this fact. This work exists now only in name. Many verses, however, from this *Rāmāyaṇa* were quoted in works on Prosody, that is, *lakṣṇagranthas*. Particularly, Kūcimañci Timmakavi, a Telugu poet of the eighteenth century, cited many verses⁴ in his *Sarvalakṣaṇāsūrasaṅgraham*, from this *Rāmāyaṇa*, not mentioned by others. It is probable that he possessed a copy of this work to quote so elaborately. If this surmise is correct, it may be concluded that this *Rāmāyaṇa* was extant till his time.

The *Harivamśam* was the last work which Eṙṙā Pregaḍa had written at the request and under the patronage of Prōlaya Vēma. Probably, this was the only work which he dedicated to his patron; for the poet describes herein Vēma's family-glory. The *Harivamśam* consisting of the *Pūrva* and *Uttara bhāgas* is Eṙṙā Pregaḍa's *magnum opus*. It reveals his austere personality. Essentially, he was a pious devotee. He does not use hyperbole even while describing his patron, which is a rare quality seldom found in the poets of this age. The work leaves the impression on our mind that the poet endeavoured also to instruct in the objective representation of life in addition to delight the age in which he lived. Literature had a purpose and was a means to achieve an end. Eṙṙā Pregaḍa's *Harivamśam* breathes out the gentle fragrance of simplicity and subjective devotion.

Śrīgiri :

Another poet patronised by Prōlaya Vēma was Pramathakavi Śrīgiri, popularly known as Śrīgiri Ayyangāru. Ayyagāru or Ayyangāru is a Telugu term of respect suffixed generally to the names of Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. He was a late contemporary of the Kakātīya monarch Pratāparudra and an early contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma. A record⁵ at Mōgallu (Bhimavaram taluk, West Godavari district) dated in

3. N. D. I., II, Kn. 35, v. 8.

4. Śrī Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu collected all these verses in his article entitled *Eṙṙā Pregaḍa Rāmāyaṇamu* in the Telugu journal *Bharati* (June number, 1989).

5. Ep. Coll., No. 758 of 1920.

Saka 1237 corresponding to the cyclic year Rākṣasa, registers gift of lands to this Śrīgirikavi, and proves his contemporaneity with the last Kākatīya monarch. Another undated record⁶, at the same place, of the time of king Ana Vēma, registers a gift of lands again to the same poet, probably by the king himself. This king is identical with Prōlaya Vēma. This Pramathakavi Śrīgiri seems to be the same as Śrīgirikavi, the author of the story of the Navanāthas, in *padya bandhas* (verses) mentioned by Gaurana in his work *Nava Nāṭha Caritra*. Śrīgiri outlived to witness the re-establishment of the Hindu dharma by the Musunūri chiefs and Prōlaya Vēma.

Jakkana :

Another poet of the coastal region belonging to this period was Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārka-caritra* describing the valiant deeds of king Vikramarka of Ujjain. Jakkana's patron Siddhaya, son of Jannaya and grandson of Siddhana of the Vennelakaṇṭi family, is described as having been prosperous by the grace of god Bhairava of Bellamkōṇḍa (in the Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district). It is likely that Bellamkōṇḍa was the native place of Siddhaya, the patron of Jakkana. He was a great accountant in the service of Vallabha Cāmanāmātya, an officer of Dēvarāya, king of Vijayanagar. Among the rulers of Vijayanagara there were two kings bearing the name of Dēvarāya, of whom Dēvarāya I ruled from 1406. A. D., to 1422 A. D., and his grandson Dēvarāya II, from 1422 A. D., to 1446 A. D. The Telugu work, *Vikramārka-caritra* does not furnish any clue to identify which of the above two kings was the contemporary and overlord of Siddhana, the poet's patron. Consequently, the date of Jakkana has not yet been satisfactorily settled, in spite of some attempts by Telugu scholars. Some synchronistic facts, mentioned in the introductory verses of *Vikramārka-caritra*, in the course of the description of the genealogical descent of Siddhana to whom the work was dedicated, enable us however to know roughly the time of Jakkana and his patron.

Jakkana is said to have been the grandson (*manumaṇḍu*) of Peddayamātya,⁷ a great poet, scholar, and a contemporary of the Telugu Cōḍa king, Tirukalāḍava of Nellore. There is considerable difficulty in the identification of this Tirukalāḍava also; for, there were two kings of Nellore bearing this name; the first was Cōḍa Tikka⁸ I, father of Manumasiddhi II, the patron of Tikkana Sōnayaḷi, and the other was

6. Ibid, No. 751 of 1920.

7. The suffixes *amātya*, *saciva* and *mantrin*, do not generally mean anything. It was a custom among the members of the Āgvēla sect of brahmins of this age to add these terms as suffixes to their names,

Tikka II, son of Manumasiddhi II. and grandson of Tikka I. Tikka II ruled in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. As Jakkana states that he was the grandson of Peddayamātya, it seems reasonable to identify the latter's patron Tirukalāḍīva with Tikka II. The following facts also indicate that he was probably Tikka II, son of Manumasiddhi II, and grandson of Tikka I. Sūraṇa Sōmayāji's grandson, Siddhana, father of Jannaya and a contemporary of the grandfather of poet Jakkana, is said to have been the *pradhāni* of Nannayagandhavārāṇa (the mast elephant of Nannaya). We have to ascertain who this Nannayagandhavārāṇa was. According to Kṛtana's *Deśakumāracarita* Bāca or Bhāskara, son of Siddhana, the paternal uncle of Tikka Sōmayāji, and minister of Cōḷa Tikka I, was a Nannayagandhavārāṇa. Nannaya in the phrase Nannayagandhavārāṇa seems to be the father of Tripurāntaka,⁹ the minister of Cōḷa Tikka. This Nannaya does not seem to be identical with Nannaya of Nannayagandhavārāṇa, to whom Siddhana, father of Jannaya, was the *pradhāni*; for, he would be too early to be the latter's contemporary. There was a chief of Nellore, probably of the Telugu Cōḷa family, by name Nane (Nanne or Nannaya) dīva Mahārāja, whose record¹⁰ is dated in Śaka 1197. This Nānedēva, or Nannayadīva, appears to be identical with Nannaya of Nannayagandhavārāṇa whose *pradhāni* was Siddhana. In the light of the above facts it seems reasonable to think that Jakkana's grandfather Peddayamātya and Siddhana's grandfather Siddhaya were contemporaries. Computing from Tikka II at the rate of thirty years on an average for each generation, say from 1285 A. D., we arrive at 1375 A. D., for the approximate date of Jakkana. Jakkana in this way comes to just about the beginning of the reign of Harihara II. Harihara's son, Dēvarāya I, was already a grown up prince ruling the Udayagiri Rājya, with Udayagiri as his capital, in Śaka 1304 (1382 A. D.). It seems therefore certain that Siddhana, the patron of Jakkana was a contemporary of Dēvarāya I. In whatever way we may reckon, Jakkana cannot come to the time of Dēvarāya II. Siddhana's master Vallabha Cāmanamātya, must have been an officer of Dēvarāya I, while he was ruling the Udayagiri Rājya^{10a}.

If Siddhana, the patron of Jakkana, was an officer of Dēvarāya I the ruler of the Udayagiri Rājya, his paternal uncle, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya, alias Bhāskara, who is said to have received an *agralāra* from

8. Tikka is only a variation of the term Tirukkalatti (dēva). Tiru means S'ri and Kalatti is Kalahasti. Tirukkalattideva means S'ri Kalahastideva, that is, God Kalahastis'vara of Kalahasti. The father of Manumasiddhi was named after that God. Tirukkalattideva changed in common parlance into Tikkadēva.

9. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 847.

10. N. D. I., I. A. 29, p. 239.

10a. Ibid II, Kn. 40.

king Redḍi Vēma, could be no other than Prōlaya Vēma, or his son Anavēma. This Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrana was removed from his great-grand father, Sūrana Sōmayāji by four generations. Sūrana Sōmayāji according to the introductory verses in the *Vikramārka-caritra*, was the recipient of the village of Eddanapūdi as an *agrabāra* from Rājendra Cōḷa, who is identical with the Velanāṇi chief, Rājendra Cōḷa II (1161 A. D., to 1181 A. D.). If Sūrana Sōmayāji is taken to have been a junior contemporary of Rājendra Cōḷa II, his great-grandson, Bhāskara, comes almost to the time of the Redḍi king, Prōlaya Vēma (1180 A. D. plus 120 = 1300 A. D.). So, if Redḍi Vēma was a contemporary and patron of Vennelakaṇṭi Bhāskara, his nephew, Siddhana, must have certainly lived in the time of Dēvarāya I¹¹.

Of Jakkana's works, only *Vikramārka-caritra* has come to light. Of the three varieties, (1) *prakhyaṭamulu*, stories that are well-known, (2) *utpādayamulu*, stories originally created, and (3) *mīṣṛamamulu*, those written with a blending of the first two varieties¹² of story compositions, Jakkana took up the third variety, in order to satisfy the desire of his patron Siddhana who preferred such a theme; and hence this story of king Vikramārka in *prabandha-kavya*. The quality of his poetry is high and it has an individuality of its own. The descriptions he indulges in are delightful to read. He skilfully weaves into his stanzas the Telugu adages and proverbs very appropriately in suitable contexts.

Jakkana's patron Siddhaya also was an author¹³. However, his works have not yet come to light. Siddhana's father Jannaya is said to have composed a *Śataka* in praise of God, Dēvakītanaya (Kṛṣṇa), and won his favour¹⁴.

An old work called *Dēvakīnandana Śatakam* of unknown authorship, is extant in the Telugu country. Each stanza in it ends with the *makuṭa* "Kṛṣṇa! Dēvakīnandanā!" It is likely that its author was

11. Dēvarāya I ruled the Udayagiri Rājya as its governor in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A. D. As Udayagiri was an important fortress, only princes of the royal blood were appointed as its governors from its inception.

12. V. Cr., I, v. 27.

13. "నవరసంబులయందు నవ్య నవ్యంబులు
కవిజనంబులు పెన్పుడగా నొనర్చె..." — Ibid, I, v. 50.

14. "పరమహృద్యంజనేన పర్య భరంబున
జేవేరసయు విధేయుఁ జేసె" — Ibid, I, v. 44.

Jannaya. There was another poet of note in the family of Vennelakaṇṭi Siddhana, who flourished in the early Reḍḍi period. He was Bhāskara or Sūrya alias Sūrana. Jakkana informs us that this Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya was patronised by the Reḍḍi king, Vēma. Sūrya, is described in the *Vikramārka-caritra* as *Vēla-Śāstra-saṁpanna* and *Kavindrakuñjara*¹⁵. None of his works is extant.

Vennelakaṇṭi people were a learned family of poets and scholars. They rose to fame during the Reḍḍi period. Themselves being poets, they supported great poets like Jakkana. Sūrana, the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* of the sixteenth century, states that he was a descendant of the Vennelakaṇṭi people,¹⁶ who dedicated their works to king Vēmaya Anavōta Reḍḍi, that is, Anavōta, son of Prōlaya Vēma. He does not, however, name the poet patronised by Anavōta Reḍḍi. Nor does he mention the name of the work dedicated to him.

Annaya :

Another poet, Annaya of the same Vennelakaṇṭi family, wrote a Telugu kāvya called *Sōḍasakumāra-caritra*. Very few copies of this work are extant. They are wanting in the beginning, *kṛtyādi*, of the first *āśvāsa*, which is usually devoted to a description of the author's family, or that of the poet's patron. We are thus deprived of the account of the author's family. The author Annaya dedicates his work to his own father, addressed as Ana Sūrya. Besides very many lacunae in the portion now extant, the third and fourth *āśvāsas* of the book also are lost. This work does not therefore help us to know if there was any relationship between the author's family and the family of Jakkana's patron Siddhaya; both, however, belong to the same Harita-sa-gōtra and to the Vennelakaṇṭi family. It seems to be hazardous to propound any theory identifying Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya referred to by Jakkana with Ana Sūrya¹⁷ father of Annaya, the author of *Sōḍasakumāra-caritra*. *Sōḍasakumāra-caritra* may, however,

15. Ibid, v. 62.

16. "ఈ పితృలయి పెచ్చు ననుభవ్యుడేపుడూ చూడం స్పృహవే
తీనది నామీగా ననికి నిల్చిన బాహునుం నేఁడూనిధుం
గానకుం దోలి పెన్నదని కనిన నేమయి యన్నవోరెఁడూ
నానికి నన్ను)బంధము లొసంగిన పెన్నెలకంటివారికింకా."—Vn. Pr., I.

17. No doubt it is tempting to do so. It is in a way possible to say that both the Sūryas are identical, but the available evidence does not fully support such an identification. In some of the stanzas in the *Sōḍasakumāra-caritra* Ana Sūrya is also mentioned as Annaya Sūrya. It is thus evident that Ana in Ana Sūrya is not a meaningless prefix; but really the contracted form of Annaya. Ana Sūrya

be assigned to the period under review. Judged by its diction, theme, and the tenor of descriptions, this *kāvya* cannot be assigned to a period later than the middle of the fifteenth century. It might even be an earlier work.

Annaya compares his father Sūrya with Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, Bhōja, Jagadēkamalla and Sarvajña Sōmēśvara, kings who were renowned for their patronage of letters¹⁸, and scholarship. Kṛṣṇa Kandāra might

generally mean Sūrya, son of Annaya. According to this interpretation Sūrya, the father of the author of *Ṣoḍaśakumāracaritra*, cannot be identified with Vennelakāṇṭi Sūrya, mentioned in the *Vikramārkaacaritra* of Jakkana; for, the father of the latter was Siddhana and not Annaya. It is possible to interpret Annaya Sūrya as Surya, grandson of Annaya. This usage, though rare, is not altogether uncommon in the Telugu country. Examples may be cited in support of the usage. Ramarāja Viṭhala, that is, Viṭhala, grandson of Ramaraja, is one such example from the history of Vijayanagar. It is unnecessary to multiply examples occurring in epigraphical literature. On this analogy, Sūrya might also be taken to be the grandson of Annaya of the Vennelakāṇṭi family. Jakkana's *Vikramārkaacaritra* does not come in our way, if such an interpretation is given, for, Jakkana does not mention the great-grandfather of his patron, Siddhana. In this way, we can tide over the difficulty, and say that both the Sūryas referred to above are identical. But the works under reference, namely *Ṣoḍaśakumāracaritra* and *Vikramārkaacaritra*, do not subscribe to this identity. Annaya, the author of the former work, describes his father Sūrya as a great minister well-versed in *Niti* (*narapali-nayavitha-nartaki-naṭyaraṇya*, II. v. 186; *Sri Bhargava-Kamandaka Vaidhavasēvopadharya-Vasavamantri prabharaviḍambadhiguna sōbhita saḍaṇya*"—VII, v. 1), as a sun in destroying the darkness namely the enemy forces, and as a *nātana Bharatacarya*, skilled in cleverly illustrating the secrets of dance (*Naṭya*), as described by Kobaḷa and others *Nāṭakamukha Kōhulaḍi - naṭyarahasyaśōdghaṭana-nipuṇaprajña-pāṭava-caturya*"—VIII, v. 91). Nowhere does Annaya state that his father was a poet. Nor does Jakkana describe Vennelakāṇṭi Sūrya as a *Bharatacarya*, and a great minister, an adept in the *Niti Sastras*. Hence it cannot be said that both the Sūryas, father of the author of *Ṣoḍaśakumāracaritra* and Siddhana's paternal uncle, were one and the same.

13. “సరసానందన సత్పుత్రాగమ పరీక్షా కృష్ణకందార భా

స్య నానారసభావ నిర్మథసభోజయ్యైవ విద్యానిరం

తర గోష్ఠీజగదేశవల్ల భూమ శాస్త్రగ్రంథ సిద్ధాంతవి

ప్రదవిష్ణానకవిత్వత్సర్వకలనా సర్వజ్ఞ సోమేశ్వరా.”—Sd. Cr., VII, v. 128.

In the above verse, each of these kings is praised for a special trait of his own. Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, i. e., the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III, is said to have been an adept in *satkaṭāṅgamaparikṣa*. Bhōja was skilled in *bhasaranānarasāhitea-nirmathana*. Jagadēkamalla was renowned for his *vidyanivāntaragōṣṭhi*, and Sōmēśvara, son of Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chōluka king of Kalyāna, is extolled as *bahusastra-grantha-siddhānta-vistara-viṣṇāna-kavitvatatvokāṇa-Sarvajña. Abhilaṣitarthacintanarāṇi* alias *Manasōllasa*, the encyclopaedic work of the latter king, appears to have been popular during the period under review.

be identical with the Raṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III¹⁹ of Mālkībēd. who ruled from 939 A. D., to 966 A. D., Bhōja was the king of Dhāra and the author of the *Sarasvatī-kamphābharaṇa*, a work on Rhetoric. Jagadēkamalla was the father of the Western Cālukya king, Āhavamalla. Sōmēśvara, and Sarvajña Sōmēśvara was his great-grandson Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara. Thus the *kāvya* came into existence after the twelfth century. The reference to the supernatural powers of the Siddhas, adverted to in the stories, the singing of the *Pārvatīkalyāṇa* during the celebration of a marriage, and some other things described therein, clearly indicate, as already stated, that this was a *kāvya* of this period.

The author Annaya wrote this work on the model of the *Daśakumāracaritra* of Kōtana and *Kṛṣṇabālucaritra* of Mañcana. This work narrates the stories of sixteen youths, sons of the king, ministers, purohitas and generals, in a charming style which differs considerably from the other story *kāvyas*. The difference in style between the old Telugu works and works of this period is apparent when one peruses the *kāvyas* of this period, works which were intended to catch popular imagination. These *kathā-kāvyas* represent in a way the several experiments in style to present themes to readers in as popular a manner as possible, without lowering the standard and dignity of the *kāvyas*, and conforming, at the same time, to the general rules of rhetoric, observed in composing a Sanskrit *kāvya*, the model for the Telugu poem.

The ascetic's staff, sandals, and quilt possessing magical powers, that we come across in *Vikramāditya caritra* and *Śṭhāśakumāra caritra*, are indicative of the beliefs of common people in the supernatural powers of the Siddhas and Yōgis, which are mostly due to the Siddha and Yōgie cults²⁰ prevailing in the period.

19. In this connection it should also be stated that the Yādava king, Kṛṣṇa of Devagiri, is also called Kṛṣṇa Kandāra. If it is held that the author of the work has not mentioned these kings in chronological order, Kṛṣṇa Kandāra may be identical with the Yādava king, Kṛṣṇa. However, as the Raṣṭrakūṭa king is known as Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, I prefer to identify the first king in the verse with the Raṣṭrakūṭa king. Kandāra is the Prākṛit form of the word Kṛṣṇa. He was also called Kṛṣṇa Kannara in popular parlance. In the *dvipada kavya Nava natha Caritra* written by Gaurana of this period there is a story about king Kṛṣṇa Kandāra (Vide, *Nava Natha Caritra*, pp. 262 ff.

20. Vide, Chapters, III and IV, on Religion and Social Customs.

Ananta:

Anantāmātya of Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, son of Tikkana and a native of Perumagūru situated in the doab formed by the Kṛṣṇā, the Bhīmarathī, and the Malāpaha, was a poet of this period. He was the great-grandson of Bayyana, who was a poet of no mean ability, and who received the title of *Bhavya bhārati*, from Tikkana Sōmayāji. His father, Tikkana, a devotee of god Andhra Vallabha of Srikakulam, spent his time in worship. Ananta's brother, Ciṭṭana, was also a poet. None of his works or those of his grandfather, Bayyana, have come to light. Ananta's native place, Perumagūru,²¹ is identical with the present village of Penamakūru in the Bezwada taluk, Kistna district. His guru was the great Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, Gōvinda Cakravarti, son of Tirumala Nallaṇḍi Cakravarti, popularly called Nallānu Cakravarti. Gōvinda Cakravarti had four elder brothers, named Tiruvēṅgaḷa Cakravarti, Aḷaghari Cakravarti, Aubala Cakravarti and Śrīdēva Cakravarti; all of them were the gurus of some local chief or other, and propagated Vaiṣṇavism in the Andhra country.

21. The late Śrī K. V. Lakṣmanarao places this village Perumagūru somewhere in the Nizam's dominions, identifying the Bhīmarathī and the Malāpaha with the rivers of the same name in the Raichur doab (A.V.S., Vol. II, p. 1008). This identification is not tenable. It is expressly stated that Ananta's father, Tikkana, was a worshipper of god Andhra Vallabha of Srikakulam in the Kistna district. His guru was, as will be shown later, a native of the Guntur district. Hence, Ananta also might have been a native of the coastal region. This supposition gets confirmed if the rivers Bhīmarathī and the Malāpaha are located in this region. The doab formed by the Bhīma, the Malāpaha and the Kṛṣṇā should be sought for either in the present Kistna district, or in the Guntur district. It is interesting to observe that both the rivers, Bhīmarathī and Malāpaha, are mentioned in the grants of the Redḍi kings and the Musunūri chiefs. One must admit that the Redḍi kingdom did not extend its power far into Telīṅana so as to include the Raichur doab. The village of Prolavaram granted by the Musunūri chief, Kapaya Nāyaka, is situated on the banks of the Malaghnī, that is, Malāpaha. This village is in the Gūdivāda taluk, Kistna district. The river Bhīmarathī forms the southern boundary of the village Īppugallu (Vide, part I, p. 111, f. n. 3) granted by king Anavēma Redḍi. Īppugallu, which is no other than the present Īḍpugallu, is in the Bezwada taluk of the same district. Again, the river Malāpahāri, the Malaghnī of the Prolavaram grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka referred to above, is mentioned, in the passage describing the boundaries of the village of Dṛujjavaram (the modern Jujjūru in the Nandigama taluk, Kistna district), granted by king Anavēma Redḍi to brahmins. So, the Malāpahāri and the Bhīmarathī are found in the Kistna district itself. It seems therefore, reasonable to look for Perumagūru on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. I am inclined to identify it with the present Penamakūru in the Bezwada taluk (Kistna district). Penamakūru seems to be the corrupt form of Perumagūru, a developed variant of the old Peruvāṅgūru of the Eastern Čalukya grants (Vide, Ep. Rep. 1914, para 6. p. 84).

Ananta was the author of three works, namely, *Bhōjarājīyam*, *Chandōdarpaṇam* and *Rasābharaṇam*. Of these the first mentioned work is a *kāvya* containing many interesting stories about Bhōjarāja, king of Dhārānagara. Ananta dedicated this work to god Nṛsimha of Ahōbalaṁ. *Chandōdarpaṇam* is a treatise on Prosody, written after *Bhōjarājīyam*.²² *Rasābharaṇam*, the last work in four *āśvāsas*, is a *lakṣaṇa-grantha* treating about Sṛṅgāra and other *rasas*. The date of its composition is given as Saka 1356 or 1434 A. D. The author dedicates this work to the god of Dhruvapaṭṭaṇa, on Tuesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha (Tuesday 25th January, 1435 A. D.). This seems to be the second Telugu work on Rhetoric, the first being the *Kāvya-lakṣāṇā-kāra-cūḍāmaṇi* of Vinnakōṭa Peddana.

Ananta appears to have written *Rasābharaṇa* in his middle age or in his later life, long after *Bhōjarājīyam*. Anantāmātya's guru, Gōvinda Cakravarti, the youngest son of Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, and the brother of Tirruveṅgaḷa Cakravarti, figures very early in a record²³ dated in Saka 1318 at Kāreṁpūḍi (Palnad taluk, Guntur district), which is still the abode of his descendants. Gōvinda Cakravarti's father, Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti also, is mentioned in two undated records²⁴ at Rompicherla (Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district). An inscription²⁵ at Chiyavaram dated in Saka 1326, corresponding to the cyclic year, Pārthiva, records the gift of that village to the Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, *Ṣaḍdarśanasthāpanācārya* Tiruvengala Cakravarti by Saṁbeṭa Yerakamparāja, one of the Vijayanagar officers. These records referring to the members of the Nallāṇḍi family clearly show that Anantāmātya lived in the early half of the fifteenth century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Srinātha and his patron, king Peda Kōmaḷi Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu. In his *kavi-stuti* which is a conventional feature of the *kāvyas* of this period, Ananta refers to the preceding Telugu poets, of whom Eṅṅaya-mantri, that is, Eṅṅā Pregaḍa was the latest.

Ananta's was a new experiment in poetry. He was not sure whether it would secure approbation and win recognition at the hands

22. “(అనింత) యొక్క ముద్రాపకము పూర్వకముగా కల్పము
యందు పంచమిధిమణి లగనమున భోజనమున చేర్చి
శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వర స్వామిని పూజించుటకు నుద్దేశము చేయుట
యందును ముద్రాపకమునందును కవిత్వమును వ్రాసెను.”—v. 132.

23. Ep. Coll., No. 556 of 1909. It records the decision of Gōvinda Cakravarti regarding certain sectarian privileges conferred on Baḍagulavāru of Palnadu.

24. Ibid, Nos. 300 and 301 of 1915.

25. Loo, Rec., Vol. XL, p. 516.

of his elder contemporaries in the field of literature. He, however, feels satisfied by assuring himself that the indistinct words of young children would delight parents more than the mature grand speech of their elder sons, and that, though his work cuts a new path, it would gain the appreciation of the public and serve them well, like the old classics, because the theme happens to be the account of the great king, Bhōja, who was an *adīrājasamāna*, equal to early kings, the stories narrated were instructive of *dharma*, and above all, god Nṛsimha, the lord of Ahōbala, was its *kr̥tīpati*.

Peddana :

The various attempts to mould the Telugu *kāvya* in order to make it attractive to readers, encouraged the growth of another kind of literature, namely, works on Rhetoric. Sanskrit *kāvya* was still the ideal form of literary composition that dominated the field, and the Telugu poet had no option except to adopt it and model his *kāvya* in accordance with the rules laid down in the Sanskrit works on Rhetoric to win the approbation of scholars. Already Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, Bhōja's *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa*, and Vidyanātha's *Pratāparudrīyam* acquired great renown in the Telugu country. They were very popular and were studied by scholars, both Sanskrit and Telugu. Their prototype *Kavyālaṅkāraśūdhāmāṇi*, the first work on Rhetoric in Telugu, was written by Peddana of the Vinnakōḷa family. He belonged to the Kausika *gōtra* and was the court-poet of the Cālukya prince, Viśvēśvara of Elamañci in the Kāṇṇa country, and dedicated his work to his patron. The date of Peddana, as well as of his patron Viśvēśvara, is definitely settled by the Pañchadhārāla pillar inscription of the latter. This inscription²⁶ written in Sanskrit, records the construction of a maṇḍapa in the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañcadhārāpurī (modern Pañchadharāla, in the Sarvasiddhi taluk, Vizagapatam district) in Śaka 1329, that is, 1407 A. D., by king Viśvēśvara. This record contains a verse which covertly alludes to the date of a victorious battle fought by Viśvēśvara against his enemies. The words employed therein yield a double meaning. While outwardly glorifying Viśvēśvara's valour, the verse informs us that the king defeated the Andhra army near Sarvasiddhi in Śaka 1324, corresponding to the cyclic year Citrabhānu.²⁷ An exact Telugu

26. Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 164 ff.

27. Ibid, XXV, pp. 385 ff.

गतिबाहुशक्तिभूमितिमपिगणयन् सर्वमिद्विषयमग्नम्।

सति चित्तमानुसाक्षिणिधरणीवराहादध्वावदम्बलम् ॥ v. 21, p. 170.

rendering * of this stanza with the same pun on words is found in the *Kāvyaṅkārācūdāmaṇi*. Since the same stanza is found both in the inscription and the Telugu work, it is likely that Peddana was the composer of the record as well. *Kāvyaṅkārācūdāmaṇi* may, therefore, be said to have been composed after this event, subsequent to Śaka 1324, that is, in the early years of the fifteenth century of the Christian era.

The verses in the *Kāvyaṅkārācūdāmaṇi*, composed in praise of king Viśvōśvara, to illustrate the *kāvya-guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*, highly testify to the poetical talents of the author. They are very simple and yet beautiful, and even without a theme this work is delightful to read on account of its poetic beauty.

Śivalēṅka Kommana :

Kommana was one of the poets patronised by prince Dodḍa Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi, of Rajamahēndravaram and the donor of the Koṅkuduru plates, dated in Śaka 1352.

Kommana is the author of two Telugu works, namely, *Vira Māheśvaram* and *Śivalilāriṇīśam*. Of these two, the former is now lost and its existence is known from some of the verses quoted in *lakṣaṇa-granthas*. Only one dilapidated and incomplete copy of the latter work, *Śivalilāriṇīśam*, containing only the first two *āśvāsas*, is extant, and now preserved in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The first *āśvāsa* of the work containing a description of the patron's family is full of lacunæ. Many stanzas in the introductory portion are lost and even the remaining ones contain many big gaps. Portions of a great many stanzas even in the second *āśvāsa* are moth-eaten. What little information could be gathered from the introductory verses in the first *āśvāsa*, is very valuable, as it confirms what has already been known from other sources about the conquests of the Redḍi kings of Rajamahēndravaram. The author of this history was successful in securing another copy of this rare manuscript through the courtesy of his friends. This copy also is incomplete though it contains one more *āśvāsa* than the previous copy. This copy, however, is very valuable as it furnishes some important information regarding its author Kommana, lacking in the previous copy. This advantage, however, is vitiated by the loss of the portion in the new copy describing the family of the author's patron,

28. “చతురుపాయ బాహు శక్తి క్షమానలిఁ

బాజిడిని నిత)ధాను సాక్షిఁ

బాతి సర్వసిద్ధుల మేది ధరించ

రాజమునకు నోడి రాచుచువు.” — VII, v. 41.

Bharati, Vol. V, pp. 489 ff.

Ḍoḍḍā Redḍi. The introductory portions in both the extant copies thus supplement each other to some extent and furnish valuable information regarding the patron's, as well as the poet's family. So, these portions in both the extant copies are blended together, arranging the respective stanzas in the two copies in their proper places, and the complete version of the introduction as now available is appended to this chapter. The details given below about the poet are taken exclusively from the new copy secured by the author of this work.

Śivalenka Gaṅgaya Śiṅgaya Niśśaṅkaya Abbaya = Ambamāmbā Kommaya (author)	was the surname of Kommaya, the author of the <i>Śivalīlāvitāsam</i> . He was the great-grandson of Gaṅgaya Śiṅganārya, that is, Śiṅganārya, son of Gaṅgaya, and grandson of Niśśaṅka-mantri, and son of Abbamantri and Ambamāmbā. He belongs to the Śrīvatsa <i>gōtra</i> , and Āpastamba <i>sūtra</i> and to the <i>Vijāvarṇīzarama</i> . His descent from his great-grandfather is shown in the margin. His great-grand father Śiṅgaya is said to have accepted dedication of the <i>Subhadrākalyāṇam</i> by a certain poet, Ūraya, in the presence of Tūrkaya. The identity of both Ūraya ²⁹ and Tūrkaya has yet to be established. Poet Kommaya furnishes no particulars either about his father Abbaya or his grandfather Niśśaṅkaya. Niśśaṅkaya is no
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doubt identical with Sivalenka Niśśaṅkanāthayya mentioned in an inscription³⁰ in the temple of god Mahānandīśvara near Prōlavaram (on the western bank of the Gōḍavarī in the West Godavari district), dated in Saka 1330, corresponding to the cyclic year Sarvadhārī. This record registers that Niśśaṅkanāthayya purchased some land from a brāhman of Kroppāka for god Mahānandagiriṅga. It is interesting to note that Niśśaṅkanātha's grandson, Kommaya, also is represented by another inscription³¹ of the same date at the same place, wherein he is referred to as Niśśaṅka Kommaya. The record furnishes details of the land in Kroppāka purchased by Annadēvarāja, son of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja, and granted to the temple of Mahanandīśvaralinga and its *sthanapati*, Niśśaṅka Kommaya. We thus come to know that he was the *sthanapati* of the temple of Mahānandīśvara at Prōlavaram, and a contemporary of Annadēva Cōḍa. These two records are of great importance to the history of Telugu Literature, as they enable us to know precisely the date of Kommana.

29. Could he be the ancestor of Ūrē Dēcaya?

30. Ep. Coll., No. 292 of 1920.

31. Ibid, No. 293 of 1920. The name is wrongly written as Niśśaṅku Kāmaya for Niśśaṅka Kommaya.

Following the convention set up by the previous Telugu poets, Kommana offers his respectful salutations to poets till Eṅṅā Pregaḍa.

There appears to have been some cynics in his day. It was usual for them to decry the writer for his lack of knowledge of Sanskrit, if he wrote a poem in Telugu, and of Telugu, if attempted in Sanskrit. They derided the poet that there was nothing new in the poem if written in old classical style, saying that whatever was stated, was all there before. They did not even lend their approval and recognition to a poem attempted on new lines breaking away from the past. Jakkana also corroborates the above statements. These statements indicate the mental attitude of the Sanskritists and orthodox people of the day towards the Telugu poets and the flourishing state of Telugu poetry. In spite of such cynics as these, common to all times, there were many poets of note who composed many works. A great number of Telugu works of this period was lost owing to political revolutions and wars, and to the ravages of time. The works that have actually come down to us are very limited in number, not even a fraction of the output of the age. As was the case with Anantamātya, Kommaya also felt difficult and small before great poets, both contemporaries and predecessors. In defence of writing his work *Śīralilāpilāsam* he puts forth the plea, that the ants also go the same path that the elephants tread.

Tripurāntaka :

Tripurāntaka, also called Tippana, was of the Ravipāṭi family. He is known to have written four works, namely, *Tripurāntakōḍāharaṇam*, *Madanavijayam*, *Candratārāḍi*, and *Ambikāśatakam*. Of these all are lost except the first work, an *udāharaṇa-grantha*. His other works are known only from the extant anthologies⁸² and *lakṣaṇa-grathas*, wherein some stray verses are cited from his works as examples, to illustrate a rule concerning poetics or a grammatical point. Tripurāntaka is also said to have written a Sanskrit drama by name *Premābhirāman* which is also lost.

82. Four verses from his *Tārāḍi* and three from his *Ambikāśatakam* are quoted in the anthologies of Padapaṭi Jagannāthakavi and of an unknown compiler. Two more verses from his *Ambikāśatakam* are found in the Telugu work, *Prayōgaratnakaram*. All these are found in the *Prabandharatnamāla*, edited by 'S'ri Pāṇḍit Prabhakara Sastri Garu. *Tripurāntakōḍāharaṇam* was edited and published at first by 'S'ri Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi Garu and later by 'S'ri Nidadavolu Venkatarao Garu with an excellent informative introduction.

Evidence is lacking to determine the date of Tripurāntaka. A *cāṣṭu* verse,³³ attributed to Tripurāntaka in praise of a certain Bhāskara, son of Rāyanamantri (Rāyana Bhāskara), is quoted by Appakavi (a late Telugu poet of the eighteenth century) in his *Appakaviyam*, a work on Prosody. This verse suggests that Tippana was a contemporary of Rāyana Bhāskara, governor of Vinukonda, whose identity and date have not yet been settled. However, another *cāṣṭu* verse³⁴ enables us to know that a certain Rāyana Bhāskara was an officer of Kaṭaya Vēma Redḍi, the prime minister and generalissimo of king Kumāragiri Redḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu. Another Rāyana Bhāskara was the governor of Vinukonda and Koṇḍapalli, and the recipient of many *agrahāras* and other honours from the Redḍi king Anavēma.³⁵ It is probable that both the Rāyana Bhāskaras, one, the contemporary of king Anavēma Redḍi, and the other, of his successor's minister, Kaṭaya Vēma, were identical. Tripurāntaka must have, therefore, been a contemporary of either king Anavēma or Kumāragiri, most probably the former.

33. “నరి బేపై రిపు డెల భాగ్యము భాషానాభుతా) వసుం
భరయం దొక్కఁడు మఱి) యయ్య పినుకొండ నాయనాచార్యభా
స్కరుడో యా నయిన్ సహస్రకరకాళి వే యున్న నే
తిరమై నానము నేయునో రిపుల హేతిక - వేయునో నాచార్యుడో?”

—Ap. Kv., III, v, 59.

34. “కలయఁ బసిండిగంటమనఁ గాటయవేమనమగ్నమందు న
తల్లముగ నాయని స్రభునిబొందు నాసిన నాసలహారలక్ష
గలగల గల్గగల్గ రన గంటకమంతులగుండె లన్నియున్
జలజల జల్లజల్ల రన సర్వవివర్యులు పోలపేలనన్.” —Ct. Mn., I.

35. “ఘనతరాదార్యదీక్షకల్పితానన్వ
కరనిబర్హసువర్ణకంకణండు
అనేను శీతనగాంతరరాత్నభా
మధ్యఃసురకీర్తిమండలండు
కొండపగ్గివిన్న కొండ దుర్గద్యయీ
దేశప్రభావనగ్గియుతుండు
నకలవనీపకసంతానయానిత
వస్తుప్రదానప్రవర్తనండు
ఋన్నవేమమహీశదత్తాగ్రహగ
మదకలాంగోళికార్యసన్నిధివిశేష
భూషణాద్యప్రభూతివిభూషితుండు
భానుతేజుండు రాయనభాస్కరుండు.”

—Sn. Pn.—D.C.T.M., III, No. 893, pp. 187-88.

Vallabharāya :

Vallabharāya was a remarkable poet of this age. He was the first dramatist known to us till now in Telugu. His drama *Kṛiḍābhī-rāmam* is of the variety of the *vidhī*, one of the *daśarūpakas*. All that we know of him is only from this single work which furnishes the author's genealogy, and some clues to know his approximate date.

From the introductory verses of this poetical drama, we come to know that the author's family hereditarily served the kings of Vijayanagar. The author's great-grandfather Candramātya was the minister of king Peda Bukkarāya, evidently, brother of king Harihara I of Vijayanagar, and Liṅganamantri, brother of the author's grandfather, served under Harihara, who was no other than Harihara II, son of Peda Bukkarāya. The author's father, Tripurāntaka also, was a junior contemporary of Harihara II, and served him as the superintendent of his treasury of precious stones (*ratna-bhāṇḍāra-sādhikāra-pragalbhu*), and the mast elephant of the governor of the fortress of Vinukoṇḍa³⁶ (*Śrutaparvatadurga-mahāpradhānarād-gandhagajambu*). It is clear from this that Vinukoṇḍa, originally a fort of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, formed, later on, after its conquest by king Bukka I during his eastern campaign³⁷ undertaken about Śaka 1286, part of the Vijayanagar kingdom about Śaka 1294,³⁸ and its governor was a subordinate of the Vijayanagar kings. Subsequently, the Redḍi king, Anavēma, recovered his lost possessions from his Vijayanagar contemporary, Harihara II, about Śaka 1299, the date of Anavēma's Śrīśailam record.³⁹ A verse⁴⁰ in a Telugu kāvya informs us that Rāyanamantri Bhāskara (Bhāskara, son of Rāyanamantri) was the governor of Vinukoṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli under king, Anavēma Redḍi, and was the recipient of several royal honours from his lord, as stated before, in another context. It is probable that, after his re-conquest of this region, Anavēma appointed Bhāskara as governor of Vinukoṇḍa. Bhāskara continued in office during the reign of Anavēma's successor also. " If Tippana was an officer attached to the fort of Vinukoṇḍa, it must be after its subjugation by the

36. "గంధవతీ పుష్కర పుష్పసర్వరసాను బిసప్రసాన పు
ష్పంధయసక్రమర్మ శ్రుతసర్వతరగమహాప్రధానరా
జ్గంధగజంబు తిప్పన....." — Kd. Rm., v. 22.

37. Mack. Mss., No. 15-6-19, *Kaifiyat of Duvvapāḍu*.

38. Ibid., No. 15-3-11; *Kaifiyats of Chāṅgalaviḍu in Eruva and Akkapalli*.

39. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

40. Vide, foot note 35 above.

41. Ct. Mm., I, p. 76. See f. n. 34 above.

Vijayanagar kings and before its re-conquest by king Anavōmā Redḍi. So, it is certain that Tippana alias Tripurāntaka flourished about Śaka 1294, that is, 1372 A. D. His son Vallabharāya, the author of *Kṛiḍābhirāmam*, must have been a contemporary of king Anavōma and his successor, Kumāragiri Redḍi, and lived about Śaka 1320, that is, in the last decade of the fourteenth century of the Christian era.

Kṛiḍābhirāmam is said to be an adaptation of the Sanskrit drama *Premābhirāmam* written by Rāvipāṭi Tippana. As *Premābhirāmam* is lost, it is not possible for us now to know whether the author closely followed the original text, or showed any originality of his own in any aspect. This drama is in the nature of a dialogue between two friends Gōvinda Mañcana Sarma, a brāhman, and Tiṭṭibha Seṭṭi, a vaiśya voluptuary, about the diverse entertainments, amusements, and all that they happened to witness in the course of their ramblings from morn to eve, through the highways and lanes in the exterior and interior parts of the city of Waraṅgal, the capital of the Kākatiya monarchs. It beautifully depicts the social life of the period, their tastes, sports, entertainments and so on. At the end of the work we are told that this drama was enacted by a dramatic troupe belonging to Dōṛa-samudra (Dwārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala Baḷḷālas) on the occasion of the festival (probably annual) of god Bhairava of Mōpūru (in the Cuddapah district). It may be noted in this connection that Vallabharāya was the lord of Mōpūru including its three hamlets. "

Singana :

Singana of the Maḍiki family was another poet of this period who was patronised by the Telugu chiefs whose dominion lay in the Telingānā of the Hyderabad State. He was a native of Maḍiki, a village (Pedda Maḍiki as it is also called, in the Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Gadavari district) on the eastern bank of the river Gōdāvari. He was the son of Ayyalāmātya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Singāmbikā, and the daughter's son of Kommana, son of the famous Telugu poet, Tikkana Sōmayāji.

Singana's father Ayyalāmātya was the minister of Toyvōṭi Anavōta, king of the Rājamahēndravaram ". We find one Anavōta,

42. Kd. Rm., v. 23.

43. ".....వేదికలంబులు"

నేపారు రాజమహేంద్రపురికి

నదిపతి తొయ్యటి యనవోతధూపాల

మంత్రియై పాల్గొనపడలఁ జొదలి..." — Vs. Rm., I. v. 83.

son of Rāja Nāyaka and a cousin of Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, mentioned in the latter's Prōlavaram grant⁴⁴ dated in Śaka 1267, as ruling from his capital Toyyēṅu. Toyyēṭi Anavōta appears to be no other than the chief of the same name, son of Rāja Nāyaka and lord of Toyyēṅu. Anavōta ruled Rājamahēndravaram as the representative of his cousin, Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka. In fact, we have an inscription⁴⁵ of Anavōta, son of Rāja Nāyaka, at Dākshāram registering his gift to god Bhīmēśvara. The portion referring to the Śaka year in the record is lost, but its equivalent cyclic year Sarvajit is clear. Since Anavōta Nāyaka was a cousin of Musunūri Prōlaya Nāyaka and of Kāpaya Nāyaka, there is no difficulty in taking the Śaka year equivalent to Sarvajit to be 1269 (that is, 1347 A.D.). This was the date of Ayyalamantri, the minister of Toyyēṭi Anavōtabhūpa. His son must have therefore flourished about the end of the fourteenth and in the beginning of the fifteenth centuries of the Christian era.⁴⁶

Maḍiki Siṅgana was the author of four works namely, *Padma Purāṇam* (Uttarabhāgam), *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam*, a philosophical work, *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, an anthology of verse on *Nīti* (Polity) culled from various works then extant, and *Daśamaskandham* (tenth chapter) of the *Bhāgavatam*. All these works are now in existence.

44. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX (1934), p. 262; *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix, II.

45. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1394.

46. The following verse giving the date of composition of the *Padma Purāṇam* is found at the end of a few manuscripts:

“అకరమునానల మృగాంశకవత్సరము పై పగలు శార్వరిని బుధు
పాక్షకతేమార్గభేదమున నొప్పు నడుపాలనుతనానరమునందు
శ్రీకరముగా మడికి సింగన తెనుగున రచించె దలఁ బచ్చపురాణం
బాకమలయిరి శిశిరాంశువుగఁ గందసచినాగ్రజికి మంగళమహాశ్రీ.”

According to this, the date is Śaka 1342, corresponding to the cyclic year Śarvari, Wednesday, the 5th tithi of the month of Mārgaśīra. The fortnight, whether it was the bright half or the dark half, is not stated. The date is irregular as the fifth tithi in the said month does not fall on Wednesday in any one of the two fortnights. This verse, found only in a very few manuscripts, seems to be an interpolation; for, the age of Maḍiki Siṅgana at the time of the composition of the *Padma Purāṇam* would be seventy three, even if he is taken to have been born to Ayyalamantri in Śaka 1269, the date of Toyyēṭi Anavōta's Dākshāram record. If this date in the *Padma Purāṇam* is accepted, a still later date to his *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam* has to be postulated. This does not seem to be the case. If he were such a late poet, he would have certainly mentioned Errā Pregaḍa in his *kavi-stuti*. The date given in the *Padma Purāṇam* does not seem to be correct.

Singana dedicated all his works, except the second one, to Kandayāmātya, son of Abbayāmātya, the great-grandson of Gannaya, an officer of the Kakatīya monarch, Gaṇapatiḍeva, of Waraṅgal. The poet's patron, Kandayāmātya, was the minister of Muppa or Muppiḍi Nayaka, son of Teluṅguraya of the Gurajāla family, who ruled the country of Sabbi Nāḍu on the southern bank of the Gōdavari in Telāṅgaṇā with Ramagiri as his capital. Singana dedicated his *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam* to god Ahōbala. It is he who first attempted to write a complete philosophical work in Telugu in simple, yet chaste, style, so that it might be understood by the general literate class of the Andhra public. This work is no doubt a free Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit work, *Yōga Vāsiṣṭha*; yet the poet had so skillfully translated it as to make it appear to be an original work. Of course, Singana was not the only poet to do so. Every Telugu poet beginning from Nannaya Bhaṭṭa was a past-master in this kind of translation of Sanskrit works; so much so, they appear more to be original works rather than translations, because of the discretion they exercised in translating the Sanskrit work, and of the care they had taken to observe the idiom, phrase and the innate beauty of the Telugu language.

Śrīnātha :

Śrīnātha was the greatest poet of the age. He was a genius who was proficient in the mysteries of the art of Telugu poetics, and had a complete command over the Telugu language. No one, in the age under review, was better aware of the power and charm of the Telugu expression and idiom, and their innate musical sense than he. Consequently, whatever he had written, was full of vigour and literary charm, and the terms he used, echoed the sense and spirit. He even created new terms to convey the full sense and spirit of the ideas which he wanted to express, if the old ones appeared to be found lacking. He did not hesitate to make use of ordinary terms and expressions from the colloquial tongue though not sanctioned by grammarians, if they served his purpose well. He successfully experimented in creating new literary fashions, and in hammering new styles in Telugu poetry with the material extant, and Telugu verse, particularly in *Sīsa* metre, attained such a perfection in his hands that any scope for further improvement seems to be hardly possible. In a variety of ways he made it run in accordance with the spirit and *rasa* which it conveyed. The quality of his poetry is very high. It has its own individualistic features. His style is lofty and chaste, and his *śamāsas* (grouping of words) masterly and dexterous, and imagery clear and perfect. His verses in *Sīsa* metre are very charming to read, and are characterised by a grandeur of their own, by their

musical rhythm and melody, powerful yet balanced expression, smooth and majestic run, and literary charm; hence, they became models for the succeeding generations of Telugu poets in composing verses in that metre. Śrīnātha's influence on the later poets was really amazing, for, the latter imitated him in a number of ways, in respect of diction, in the manner of beginning and ending a verse, and in the ornate way of happily combining Telugu and Sanskrit words in phrases and *samāsas* so as to produce melodious and yet powerful literary effect. Śrīnātha did not hesitate to transgress some of the old literary conventions observed till then by Telugu poets in general in the composition of a kāvya, particularly in respect of the selection of themes, and of the hero of the poem. He made Telugu poetry extremely popular by his works, and his very interesting *cāṭus* or stray verses composed on diverse subjects, and raised it high in the estimate of both the scholars and nobles of the country. Śrīnātha was thus an epoch-maker, and with him began a new age in the literary history of the Andhras.

Śrīnātha, son of Mārāya and Bhīmāmbā was a Yajurvēdin and belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra*. As was the case with many of the Telugu poets of this period, he did not mention his surname anywhere in any of his works. His grandfather was Kamalanābha, lord of Kalpattana," on the sea coast, not yet satisfactorily identified, and a contemporary of Kakatiya Śarvabhauma, evidently Pratāparudra, the last Kakatiya monarch of Waraṅgal. He was given the titles *kaviṭīrṇidhara*, *sarasasāhityacakravarti*, and *Padma Purāṇa-saṅgrahakaṭākavyaprabandhādhipa*. The last phrase suggests that he had accepted dedication of the work *Padma Purāṇasaṅgrahakaṭākavya*, now extinct. Nor do we know the author of that work, *Padma Purāṇa-saṅgraha* and the language in which it was written, whether Sanskrit or Telugu.

Śrīnātha's native place is not definitely known. The statement *Pākanāṭiṇivāḍavu bāndhamuḍavu*,⁴⁷ a member of the Pakanāṭi house or

47. "కనకశృంగధరధీను వారిధిపటి కల్పనాకాశీశ్వరన్
ఘననిం బద్మపురాణసంగ)పకశాంకావ్య ప్రబంధాధిపుఁ
వినమ త్కతిసార్యభామం నివితావిద్యాధరం గొల్ల నా
యసుగుం దాతఁ బ్రదాత శ్రీకమలనాభామాత్య మాదామణిఁ ."

—Bh. Pr., I, v. 10.

According to some scholars Kalpattana is the village Kalapaṭam in the Bandar taluk, Kistna district, and according to some others Kāṭpaṭṭanam in the Narsapur taluk, West Godavari district. Others identify it with Krishnāpaṭṭanam in the Nellore district.

48. పాక నాటింకవాడపు బంధపుడవు
గమలనాభని మనుమడు కమలమణిని . . ." —Ibid, v. 23.

family and a relative to boot, has given rise to many conjectures by many Telugu scholars. This remark was made by Benḍapūḍi Annamantri, minister of Allaya Vēma Redḍi of Rājamahēdravaram, while requesting Śrīnātha to dedicate to him his *Bhimeśvara Purāṇam*. The phrase, *Pakanāṭṭiṇṭivēḍuvu*, is interpreted by scholars to mean that Śrīnātha was a native of Pakanāḍu, the country extending from the foot of the Śrīsailam (Kurnool district) to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

In this connection, we have to take note of Śrīnātha's two statements, one a phrase, namely, *Karnaṭa-kṣā-kaṭaka-padma-rana-heḷi* (a sun to the forest of lotuses of cities or towns of the Karnaṭa country) and the other, a passage *nā-karīṭvanṭu nījamu Karnaṭa-bhāṣa* (true, the language of my poetry is Karnaṭa)". These statements show that he was a native of the Karnaṭa country and that his language was Karnaṭa. These are really paradoxical statements, for, all the works he had written are in Telugu, and he was an Andhra by birth, having had all his relations in and connections with the Andhra country. Hence, his statements referred to above, constitute really a puzzle in the Telugu literary history. Many attempts were made in vain to solve this knotty problem.

Śrīnātha's statements lead us to conclude that he was a native of Karnaḍu or the country of Karnaṭa. This does not mean or represent the Canarese country of the present day. The Andhra country consisted, in ancient times, of many *janapadas*, or *nāḍus*. Of such *nāḍus* of the Andhra country, known from inscriptions and Telugu literature, Karnaṇḍu, Karnaṭa or Kaṇṇa viṣaya, was one. It comprised in ancient times the Nandikotkur, Kurnool, and partly, Nandyala taluks of the present Kurnool district⁵⁰. This country seems to have owed its name

49. "హంయమింతకు మిగులం గైవాలకుండం
గాకి కాఖండ మను మాహాగంధ మేను
కనుగుండే సందం గన్ధాటకేశ కటక
పద్మవహా శ్రీ నాథభట్టసుకవి". — Ks. Kh., I, v. 7.

"శ్రీధర బరికింప సంస్కృతభాష యందు)
పలుకునుడి కాగమున నంధ్రభాషయందు
రవ్వ రేవన్న నందు) నా కేమి కొండలే
నాకవిత్వంబు నిజము కన్ధాటభాష." Bh. Pr., I, v. 15.

50. See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's article on *Karnaṭa* in JAHRS Vol. X, pp. 89-99. A record, dated in S'aka 1235 at Śrīsailam in the Nandikotkur taluk, Kurnool district, enumerates some of the villages included in this district (కర్నాటకం) (Ep. Coll.,

to the Karṇi kings of the Sātavāhana family. In this Karṇa viṣaya lies a ruined ancient fort called Satānikōṭa, a corruption of *Sātavāhanikōṭa*. It is, however, certain that the term Karṇāḷa was originally applied to a portion of the Andhra country lying on the southern banks of the rivers, Tūṅgabhadra and the Kṛṣṇā. Palkuṇiki Sōmanātha's *Basava Purāṇam*⁵¹ mentions Gobbūru (in the Kurnool taluk), the native place of Saṅganāmātya, the *śrōta* of that work, as the diadem to the Karṇāḷa-dēśa. The Vijayanagar feudatory, Teluṅgurāya, whose dominion, according to the location of the records⁵² of his family, lay in the Nellore and Guntur districts, that is, in portions of Pakanāḍu and Kammanāḍu, is said to be a native of Kannaḍa dēśa⁵³ (*Kannaḍa-dēśa-māṁdula Saṅburāyani koḍuku Teluṅgurāyaṇḍu*). This clearly shows

86 of 1916). This inscription seems to be the same as that given from the Mack. MSS by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in his article. This district Karṇāḷa seems, as he rightly thinks, to be the same as the Karṇa, three hundred of the Western Gaḷukya records. It is likely that the whole of the country ruled by the Satavahanas went by the name of Karṇāḷa, as stated by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Karṇi + Naḍu = Karṇiṇaḍu or Karṇaḍu, the country of the Satakarnis). Even as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Christian era, the country extending from almost the Kaveri in the South to the Kṛṣṇa in the north was called Karṇāḷa.

51. “నావ్రదు భక్తి జనావలియూ”

వామిం దలమంచి వర్తించుం గిలి

పాటింపదనిన కిం బధూమికిని

గోత్రం మీయప్ప గోబూర్ని రసంగ

నరుపరణింబుండు గోబూర్నివిభుండు

నంగ నామామ్యుండు జగదుపకార...” —Bs. Pr., I, pp. 3 and 4.

52. A record of Teluṅguraya, dated in Śaka 1350, is found at Santaravuru in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur district (V. R. II, no. 128). His father's record dated in Śaka 1348 is found at Kueipūdi in the Podili taluk, Nellore district (N. D. I., III, P. 26). There is a village named Teluṅgurayaparam in the Atmakur taluk, Nellore district. Another village Teluṅgurayani Pedda Kranala, which is identical with the village of Kanala in the Nandyal taluk, Kurnool district, finds mention in a Vijayanagar record of Śaka 1481 (Ep. Coll., No. 258 of 1936). Another late record of Teluṅguraya dated in Śaka 1364 (Ep. Coll., No. 758 of 1922) is discovered in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur district. His son Tirumalayya dēva's inscription, dated in Śaka 1405, is also found in the same Bapatla taluk. These records clearly attest to the territory over which they ruled. This family of chiefs had nothing to do with the Canarese country of the present day. So, Kannaḍadesa referred to in the Śiṃhāchalam record of Teluṅguraya is no other than the Karṇāḍadesa of Palkuṇiki Somanātha's *Basava Purāṇa-srōta*, Gobbūri Saṅganamātya. A record of the Vijayanagar monarch, Devaraya II, dated in Śaka 1363, says that Udayagiri lies in the centre of the cities of the Karṇāḷa (N. D. I., III O. 72, p. 1020).

53. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 905.

Though the time of Śrinātha is definitely known, the dates of his birth and death are still conjectural. However, his *cāṭu* verses current in the Andhra country for the past several centuries, suggest that he was a ripe old man at the time of his death, particularly two of his verses, one,⁵⁵ describing the deplorable state in which he then was, undergoing corporal punishments in his old age for inability to pay the stipulated amount of tax to the then government, and the other, which is said to have been composed by him in his last moments. In this latter verse⁵⁶ Śrinātha mentions a number

56. “కాశీ కావ్యేశ్వరుఁ గలిపె వీరారణ్ణి
రత్నాబరంబు లేరాయఁ డిప్పు
రంభఁగూడఁ బెనుంగురాయరాహుత్తుండు
కస్తూరి కేరాజుఁ బ్రస్తుతింతు
స్వర్ణస్థుడయ్యె విప్రునమంత్ర) మఱి హేమ
పాత్రాన్న మెవనిపంక్తిఁ గలరు

of his patrons, kings, nobles, and ministers, by whom he was honoured and patronised and who were already dead and gone. These are (1) Virā Redḍi, that is, Virabhadra Redḍi, king of Rājamahēndravaram, (2) Paṇṭa Mailāra, (3) Teluṅgurāya, (4) Vissanamantri, and (5) Bhāskara, all reputed for their liberality, and who honoured Śrīnātha by gifts of valuable jewels set with gems, and cloths, and musk for the life of luxury he had led, by bearing his daily expenses, and by giving him sumptuous dinners served in gold plates. The dates of almost all these patrons are fairly known to us. With the help of the two verses referred to above we can fix tolerably approximately the last date of Śrīnātha.

Śrīnātha was first patronised by king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu, in whose court he held the position of *Vidyādhikāri*. He drafted all the grants (gift-deeds) issued by his patron, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the earliest of which, the Ponnupalli grant⁵⁷, bears the date, Śaka 1326 Tārāṇa, and the latest, the Rudravaram grant⁵⁸, Śaka 1341. After the downfall of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, Śrīnātha went to Rājamahēndravaram, and became the court-poet of king Virabhadra Redḍi who ruled till Śaka 1360, or to a little later date. He was thus the poet laureate of the Redḍi court for well nigh thirty-four years.

Śrīnātha's last date can be approximately known, as stated already, from a reference to his other patrons and his verse describing his difficulties.

Paṇṭa Mailāra, son of Mummaḍi Redḍi, was the Vijayanagar feudatory of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagar who came to the throne in Śaka 1344. His inscriptions⁵⁹ yield the dates, Śaka 1346 and Śaka 1351. His last date is not known. It is, however, certain that he died before Śaka 1404; for, an inscription⁶⁰ at Chadalavāḍa (Ongole taluk, Guntur

కలాసగిరియందే మ్రోరవిభుఁ డేని

నినకెచ్చు మేరాణ తీర్పుఁగలఁడు

భాస్కరుఁడు మన్నె దేవునిపాలి కరిగెఁ

గలియుగమున నొక నుండఁ గన్పడుచును

నివిజవివరు నుండియో నిగ్గునఁగ

నగుచున్నాడు శ్రీనాథుఁ డమరపురికి.”—Ct. Mm., I, p. 188.

57. Loc. Rec., Vol. 48. pp. 267 ff., and Vol. 48, pp. 26 ff.

58. C. P. No. 7 of 1919-20.

59. N. D. I., III, O. 104, pp. 1090-91; C. P. No. 18 N. D. I., I, pp. 156-164.

60. N. D. I., II, O. 30, pp. 951-53 ff.

district) records that an *agrahāra*, formerly granted, through Prauḍha Dēvarāya, by Paṇṭa Mailāra Redḍi to god Raghunātha of Chadalavāḍa, was revived in that year by Timmā Redḍi, son of Hindūrāvu Suratrāṇa Sariyapalli Timmā Redḍi.

Telūngurāya, son of Sāmburāya (Sāmparāyani Teluṅgādhīsa), was another Vijayanagar feudatory, whose inscriptions⁶¹ furnish the dates Śaka 1350, Śaka 1360, Śaka 1364, and Śaka 1366. Telūngurāya also died before Śaka 1405; for, an inscription of his son Tirumalaiyadēva Mahārāya discovered at Nūtalapāḷu (Guntur district) supplies the year Sōbhakrt. which corresponded to Śaka 1405.

We know nothing about Śrīnātha's other contemporary, Vissana-mantri. He is mentioned in the *cāṇu Sisamūlikā* enumerating the thirty-two great persons of the *niyōgi* sect, reputed for their great liberality; but no particulars about him are given there.

The other person in the *cāṇu* verse, mentioning Śrīnātha's contemporaries, is Bhāskara who must have been his younger or elder contemporary. The line relating to him in the verse suggests, by the term *munne* used in it, that he died probably before all the others mentioned therein. So, Bhāskara must have been Śrīnātha's elder contemporary. He seems to have been no other than Rāyana Bhāskara, the governor of Vinukōṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli under kings, Anavēmā Redḍi and Kumāragiri Redḍi.⁶²

The above facts lead us to conclude that Śrīnātha led an active literary life from the early years of the reign of Kumāragiri, till a few years after the death of Telūngurāya. His *cāṇu* verse referred to above describing his downfall, shows that the rulers of the country treated him cruelly, inflicting on him even corporal punishments and other indignities, without showing him any respect. If we could trust to the authority of the *cāṇu* verse in its entirety, and accept as correct and un-exaggerated the description of punishments narrated therein, then the presumption is that it was a foreign government, obviously of the Gajapati monarchs of Orissa, who treated Śrīnātha so inconsiderately, not the Vijayanagar or the Redḍi rulers, who earlier had treated this poet-ambassador, with such signal honour.

Soon after ascending the throne, after overthrowing the Gāṅga dynasty of Kaṭiṅga and founding the Gajapati dynasty at Cuttack, Kapilēśvara extended his power towards the east and west along the

61. See foot note 52 above.

62. See foot notes, Nos. 34 and 35 above.

coast. He conquered the coastal region of the Telugu country about Śaka 1370.⁶³ The date of the earliest record⁶⁴ of his subordinate, Gaṇadēva Rauturāya in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, is Śaka 1376. To undergo all the punishments and indignities detailed in the *caṭu* verse, Śrīnātha seems to have lived to about this date, which may be accepted to be the upper limit of his life. On the assumption that he lived to a ripe old age, his date of birth may be placed in the early years of the last quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, say about 1378 A.D. (Śaka 1300). He thus seems to have held the proud position of *Vidyādhikāri* in the Koṇḍaviḍu court early in his life.

Śrīnātha was a versatile and prolific writer. He seems to have been endowed with the gift to compose Telugu poems from very early in his life, even before he entered his teens, for, we come to know from one⁶⁵ of his verses recounting his works, five in all, namely (i) *Maruttarāṭcaritra*, (ii) *Śālivāhanasaptakāṭi*, (iii) *Śrīṅgāra Naiṣadham*, (iv) *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*, and (v) *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* in a chronological order, that he had written the first of these at a time when the hair had not grown long enough to unite in a modest tiny knot (*kūkaṭi-muḍikīnai kurulu kūḍanināḍu*), that is, in his boyhood. He wrote the second work, *Śālivāhanasaptakāṭi*, probably a translation of some of the selected verses from Hāla's *sattasāi*, when he had a sprouting moustache, at the time of his blossoming youth, that is, about the end of his teens; and the third work *Śrīṅgāra Naiṣadham*, while he was in the full bloom of his youth (*ninḍu-jarvananibhuna*),

63. VIdc, Pt. I, p. 193.

64. Ep. Coll., No. 76 of 1917.

65. “చిన్నారి పొన్నారి చిలుకకూడిటి నాఁడు

రచియించితి మనస్స రాట్పురిత)

నూనూగుమీసాల నూత్న యౌవనమున

శాలివాహనసప్తశతీ నొడివిని

సంగిరించితి నిండుజన్మనంబునయందు

పన్ను చెడుట కావ్య ముచ్చితభావం

ప్రాధనిచ్చిరమయఃపరిపాకమునం గాని

యాడితి భీమనాయకుని మహిమం

జ్ఞానమింతకుం మిగుల సైవ్యాలకుండం

గాశికాఖండమనుమహాగ్రంథ మేను

కెనుగుండే నెదం గల్గెటదేశికటక

పద్య వనమేలి శ్రీనాథ భట్టుసుకవి.” —Ks. Kh. I, v. 7.

probably when he was thirty-five or forty years old. *Bhīmeśvara-Purāṇam* was written when he was in the prime of life (*prauḍha-nirbhara vayah-paripākamuna*), which may be taken to be fifty years of age or thereabouts. As there is a reference in the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* to the eastern *gōpura* of the temple of god Bhīmeśvara at Dakshāram, built by Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya (the date of which as mentioned in an inscription⁶⁶ is Saka 1350) it is certain that the above work was composed after that date. He states that he composed the *Kāśikhaṇḍam*, when his age had not yet much advanced (*prāyamaṇṭaku-gaivṛālak-uṇḍa*) in all likelihood when he was at the age of sixty years.

Besides these works there are also some others so far known, namely, *Haravilāsam*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*,⁶⁷ *Dhanañjayaviṇḍayam*,⁶⁸ *Śivārātrimāhātmyam* and *Palnāṭiviracaritra*. There might even be many more which we do not yet know⁶⁹. Even some of the works mentioned

66. S. I. I., Vol. IV. No. 1381 (Saka 1350).

శాకే పుష్కరవాణవిశ్వగణితే సంవత్సరే కీలకే
కార్తివయః శనివాసరే ముక్తత్రయీః శ్రీయత్తమన్త్రీశ్వరః
దాక్షారామజరమాలిక్జపురతః శ్రీసప్తగోదాతటే
ప్రచీగోపురమగృహం సమకరోద్రవ్యం శిలాలినిర్మితమ్ ॥

“పొగ్గొకావపు గోపుర పొగ్గొగణమున
సప్తగోదానీరగునో పానసరణి కలన
దీప్య భవనంబు భీమయదేవునగరి
మంత్రీజేమయ యన్నయామాప్యవనంబు.”—Bh. Pr.

67. Bs. Pr. (p), I.

“విరచించె శైవిని వేదపాదస్తవం
బాకపాదమున వేదయుక్త నిశ్చయ
పూరధర్మి వైదికముని శ్రీమతిశివ దేవుని
బ్రహ్మ సోమేశుం డారాధ్యుని
సరివి శ్రీనాథుం డాచరిన పద్మవ్రజుని
ధను సేవె ద్విపదలు పోయె నిలిపి...”—v. 18.

68. Dantuluri Baparaju in his *Mūrtulrayōpakhyānam* writes :

“శ్రీనాథ సుకపీదుర్వచ భవంజయవిజ
యంజను సత్కృత్యమంది వెలసి
.....దంకలూరి, గన్నధూవాలమాళి వాగ్దర్శకాలి.”—J. A. S. P., Vol. V, p. 319.

The author's ancestor is said to have been Harisima Kṛṣṇa of Dhanyavaṇi, the progenitor of the Koṭa chiefs of Dhanañjaya *gotra*. (Vide, Pt. I. p. 271).

69. There is also a *Ramayāṇa* in song (రామాయణము; పాట), which is attributed to. S'rīnātha (Vide, J. A. S. P., Vol. IV. p. 395).

above are not now extant; for, his *Maruttarāṭcaritra*, *Śālivāhanasaptati*, *Paṇḍitarādhyacaritra* and *Dhanañjayaviḷayam* exist only in name.

From a reference to the *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham* in the introductory verses in the *Haraviḷasam*, it is certain that the latter was written after the former. Similarly, from the introductory verses in the *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham*, we come to know that Srinātha had already written his *Paṇḍitarādhyacaritra*. *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* seems to be his last work. The works Srinātha had written, and the kings and nobles to whom they were dedicated, are given below in a tabular form:

No.	Name of the work.	To whom it was dedicated.
1.	<i>Maruttarāṭcaritra</i>	
2.	<i>Śālivāhanasaptati</i>	
3.	<i>Paṇḍitarādhyacaritra</i>	Pregāḍayya, brother of Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri.
	<i>Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham</i>	Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri, minister of king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.
5.	<i>Haraviḷasam</i>	Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi.
6.	<i>Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam</i>	Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya, minister of Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi.
7.	<i>Kāśikhaṇḍam</i>	King Vīrabhadra Reḍḍi of Rājama-hēndravaram.
8.	<i>Dhanañjayaviḷayam</i>	Dantulūri Gannabhūpāla, a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of Dhānyavāṭi.
	<i>Śivarātrimāhātmyam</i>	Mummaḍi Sāntayya, a devotee of Sānta Bhikṣavṛtti Yatīśvara of Sṛisailam.
10.	<i>Palnāṭivīracaritra</i>	
	(Some portion, if not all)	

It is likely that Srinātha entered the court of Koṇḍaviḍu and became its poet laureate, only after dedicating his *Paṇḍitarādhyacaritra* to Pregāḍayya, and through the good offices of his brother, Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri, minister of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

It might be after the downfall of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, that he wrote his works, *Haraviḷasam* and *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*,

when he was devoid of any royal patronage and dedicated them to Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi and Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya respectively. There was no love lost between the two houses of Rājamahēndravaram and Koṇḍaviḍu. It might be that the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram were at first unwilling to entertain Śrīnātha, the poet laureate of their enemy, however eminent a poet he might have been. Their minister, Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya, must have somehow helped Śrīnātha in getting him the patronage of his masters.

The date of *Śivarātrimahātmyam* has not yet been fixed even approximately, although scholars are unanimous in their opinion that it was Śrīnātha's latest and last work. In a way its date can be fixed. Mukti Santa Bhikṣavṛttirāya, the guru of Munmaḍi Santayya, was the head of the Bhikṣavṛtti maṭha, one of the Saiva maṭhas situated on the holy Śrīśaila mountain. An inscription⁷⁰ on the outer wall of the eastern *gōpura* (of the Mallikārjuna temple) on Śrīśailam, dated in Saka 1371, Vibhava (wrong for Sukla), records the revised rates, more reduced than in ancient days, of tolls levied on oxen, horses, asses, and other animals coming to Śrīśailam, as settled by Mukti Santa Bhikṣavṛtti Yatisvara, mentioned above. Therefore, *Śivarātrimahātmyam* dedicated to Santayya, a disciple of that guru, was probably written about Saka 1371. This date is quite in keeping with the chronological scheme given before for Śrīnātha's works.

Two outstanding events in Śrīnātha's life, which have a bearing on the literary history of the country, have to be noted here: one is his victory over the Kavisarvabhauma Gauḍa Piṇḍimabhaṭṭa, the poet laureate of the Vijayanagar court, and his consequent *abhiṣeka* in gold, in the Pearl Hall (*mutyāśāla*) in the Vijayanagar court, by the Vijayanagar monarch, Prauḍha Dēvarāya, and the other his visit to the court of Sarvajña Siṅga, the Rōceṅḷa king of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, and his fetching from the Rōceṅḷa chief, Kaṭāri Liṅgama Nāyaka, the sword of the Redḍi kings, named *Nandikanta Pōḷurāju Kaṭāri*. The identification of Piṇḍimabhaṭṭa, Prauḍha Dēvarāya, and Sarvajña Siṅga, and the dates to be assigned to the events mentioned above, have become knotty problems, since there were more than one person bearing those names. There has been much controversy about these problems in the Telugu press for a long time, and no final word has yet been said about them.

Let us consider first about the date of Śrīnātha's victory over Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa and his *kanakābhīṣeka*. A *catu* verse⁷¹ of Śrīnātha addressing Śārada, the goddess of learning, to sustain his name, just before his visit to the court of Sarvajña Śiṅga of great fame, has been current in the Andhra country from ancient times. The following is a free English rendering of that verse.

O Śārada! Multitude of good qualities, you bathed me with *dīnara taṅkas* in the Pearl Hall of the lord of the South; you made me break the bell-metal drum of Gaṇḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa; you made me establish the title of *Sarvabhauma* in the presence of Candrabhūṣa Kriyāsaktirāya; you helped me to compose the great Andhra *kāvya*, *Naiṣantha*. I wonder how, hereafter, you are going to sustain my fame, presiding over the full court of Rāvu Śiṅga Mahīpala of mighty intellect.

As is evident, the verse relates to his *kanakābhīṣeka* after his success in the contest with Gaṇḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa. After defeating Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa, Śrīnātha assumed the title of Kavi-sarvabhauma, till then borne by the vanquished adversary, in the presence of Candrabhūṣa Kriyāsaktirāya, who was probably a judge presiding over the contest. Soon after this victory, Śrīnātha was bathed in *dīnara taṅkas* in the Pearl Hall of the Vijayanagar monarch. From Śrīnātha's other verses we come to know that the Vijayanagar monarch was Prauḍharāya or Prauḍha Dēvarāya. It is thus evident that Śrīnātha, Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa and Prauḍha Dēvarāya were all contemporaries. There were four kings of Vijayanagar who went by the name Prauḍha Dēvarāya, whether it was an actual name or a title, namely, (i) Dēvarāya I

71. “ప్రవాసం : కాలం దీరమా దేవివితి
 దక్షిణాధిపతి మంత్రాధిపతి
 పలుకులతోడ తా ధృఢమమహాకవ్య
 వైషధిగ్రంథంబునర్చిమునము
 బలులగొల్పించి నుద్ధృతివివాన పోషి
 గౌరవదేవిమధ్యమ కలమధిక్కు
 చంద్రభూష కృత్యాశక్తి రాయలయొద్ద
 బాసుకొల్పితి సార్వభౌమనిరుది
 పలుకులు పెన్నెనెదో నన్ను నింకమీర
 రావునింగమహాసాల ధీవికాల
 నిండుకొలుపున నెలకొనియుండి నీవు
 నరన నగ్గణనిరుంబ కారదాంబు.” —Ct. Mm., I. pp. 116-117.

(Śaka 1328 to Śaka 1344), (ii) Dēvarāya II (Śaka 1344 to Śaka 1366) and Dēvarāya III (Mallikārjuna, Śaka 1370 to Śaka 1386). As the fourth Prauḍha Dēvarāya was not a contemporary of Śrīnātha, he need not be taken into consideration.

Ḍiṇḍima was the title of some poets patronised by the Vijayanagar monarchs. They were three in number, namely: Ḍiṇḍima Kavi-sārvabhauma, Aruṇagirinātha I alias Sōṇādrinātha I, son of Rājanātha I and Abhirāmāmbikā; his son Ḍiṇḍimakavi Rājanātha II; and his son Kumāra Ḍiṇḍimakavi Aruṇagiri or Sōṇādrinātha II. These were the authors of three works, *Sōmaralliyōgananda-prahasana*, *Sūlurābhyaḍaṇṇam*, and *Virabhadraṇṇiṇṇam* (a *ḍima*) respectively. These works inform us that a certain Nṭtarāja alias Kaviprabhu, a native of Parēndrāgrahara in the Gauḍa country, defeated a certain Nāgaṇakavi in the court of Ballāḷa. His son was Rājanātha I, and his grandson, Aruṇagirinātha I. Rājanātha I married Abhirāmāmbikā, sister of Sabhāpatibhaṭṭaraka, and a daughter of Ḍiṇḍimaprabhu who is described as *brahmaṇḍabhāṇḍapicaṇḍamaṇḍalita-Vijayaḍiṇḍimaṇḍaman*. So, this Ḍiṇḍimaprabhu was the maternal grandfather of Aruṇagirinātha I. According to the *Vēdāntadēśikarābhavaraprakāśikā* of Doḍḍa-yācārya of Cōlasīngapuram, Vēdāntadēśika is said to have had a philosophical disputation with kavi Ḍiṇḍimasārvabhauma. As Vēdāntadēśika⁷² was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya-guru and Harihara I, Ḍiṇḍimakavi whom he defeated, seems to be the father-in-law of Rājanātha, and a contemporary of Nṭtarāja, the adversary of Nāgaṇakavi, the court poet of Ballāḷa III.⁷³ Ḍiṇḍimakavi, the father-in-law of Rājanātha I could not have been the opponent of Śrīnātha, for he flourished very early. Neither Nṭtarāja, nor his son Rājanātha I, are known to have the title, Ḍiṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma from the works of their descendants. So, Śrīnātha's contemporary has to be selected from out of the three scholars, Aruṇagirinātha I, his son Rājanātha I, and his grandson Aruṇagirinātha II, who were all Ḍiṇḍimakavis stated already.

72. "The *Maṇipravala* commentary of the *Vaibhavaraprakāśika* asserts that Vēdāntadēśika was born in Śaka 1191 (1269 A. D.) and lived to write the praises of Gōpaṇārya, who re-instated the Raṅganātha image at Śrīraṅgam in Śaka 1293, that is, 1371 A. D. This would assign to him an age of over 102 years. The same authority also asserts that he died in Śaka 1293. These statements require more minute examination. As regards the date of Gōpaṇārya's inscription, there is absolutely no doubt. It has been edited in quite a masterly way by Dr. Hultzsch, in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 322." — T. A. Gopinatharao's *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas*, p. 42., f. n.

73. I. A., Vol. XLVII (1918), p. 134. See also T. A. Gopinatharao's article on *Vivekapatramala*, which is some times known also as *Vibhagapatramala*.

A perusal of *Sōmarallīyōgānanda-prahasana* written by Aruṇagirinātha I shows that the work was written while Dēvarāya was ruling the earth. It was in the reign of Dēvarāya II that Saḷuva Narasiṃha politically rose to prominence, the date of his earliest record⁷⁴ being as early as Saka 1359 Piṅgala. He is generally believed to be the author of the Sanskrit kāvyā *Rāmābhyudāyam*. But the fifth canto of this kāvyā contains a verse which reveals that it was written by Diṇḍima kavindra Sōnādrinātha, son of Rājanātha and Abhirāmāmbika, that is, Aruṇagirinātha I. In addition to this fact, we also come to know that the *Rāmābhyudāyam* was an earlier work than the *Mahanāṭaka* or *Mahānāṭakasudhanidhi* of Immaḍi Dēvarāya⁷⁵ (Dēvarāya II). These facts clearly prove that Aruṇagirinātha I Diṇḍima Kavindraśārvabhūma was a contemporary and court poet of Dēvarāya II. He seems to have been also a contemporary of Dēvarāya's father, Vīra Bhūpati, otherwise called Vīra Vijaya Bhūpati, whose reign came to a close in Saka 1346; for, an undated inscription⁷⁶ of the time of Vīra Bhūpati furnishes the interesting information that the king made a grant of some land at Muḍiyanūru (Tirukkoyilur taluk, South Arcot district) to a son of Aruṇagirinātha, evidently Aruṇagirinātha I, for naming him Bhūpaṇa after the king. The name, Bhūpaṇa, is an equivalent of Rājāṇa or Rājanātha. We already know that Rājanātha II was the son of Aruṇagirinātha I. King Vīra Bhūpati was pleased to make a gift of some land to Bhūpaṇa, son of Aruṇagirinātha, since he was named after himself. Evidently the gift was made sometime after the *nāmakaranamahōtsava* of Bhūpaṇa (Rājāṇa), probably when he was a boy. The foregoing facts prove that Aruṇagirinātha I was the first Diṇḍima Kaviśārvabhauma, patronised by the Vijayanagar monarchs, and that he was a contemporary of Vīra Bhūpati and his son Dēvarāya II (Sakā 1344 to Saka 1366). Srinātha's adversary must, therefore, have been either Aruṇagirinātha I or his son Rājanātha II.

Kāśikhāṇḍam and *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* are the only two kavyas extant, in the colophons of which Srinātha mentions his title, Kaviśārvabhauma, which he assumed after defeating Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa. There is a reference to his *kanakabhīṣeka* also in the *Kāśikhāṇḍam* at the end of the seventh canto (*Kurnāṭa-kṣīpīpāla-mauktika-sabhākarirāt-saṁstutya-cāritra*). *Kāśikhāṇḍam* was dedicated to king Vīrabhadra Reddi who ruled till Saka 1360, or a few years later. Therefore, the event of the defeat of Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa must have taken place in the interval between the time of *Bhīmēśvara Puraṇam* and that of *Kāśikhāṇḍam*, that is,

74. Ep. Coll., No. 743 of 1909.

75. A. R. Sarasvati's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 19, p. 60.

76. Ep. Coll., No. 287 of 1935.

between Śaka 1350 and Śaka 1360. These dates confirm that the Piṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma defeated by Śrīnātha was no other than Aruṇagiri-nātha I, and not his son Rājanātha II.

Now, let us take the next problem of Śrīnātha's visit to the Rājukoṇḍa court. Only once did he visit the court of Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpāla of the Rēcēḷa family, king of Rājukoṇḍa, on a mission from the Koṇḍaviḍu court. He is said to have been sent there to fetch the sabre of the Reḍḍi kings, called *Nandikanta Pōtaraju kaṭari*, which prince Liṅgamanēḍu, son of Mādā Nāyaka II of the Rēcēḷa family, had taken away before as a trophy, after gaining a victory over the Reḍḍi kings, in one of their expeditions against the Reḍḍi kingdom. There were three kings bearing the name Siṅga in the Rēcēḷa family. One was Siṅga I, son of Eṇa Dācā Nāyaka. He did not have the title, Sarvajña. Of the other two who were both Sarvajñas, Siṅga II, the grandson of Siṅga I, and son of Anavōtā Nāyaka I, ruled the kingdom from Cir. Śaka 1306 to Cir. Śaka 1321, and Siṅga III, the grandson of Siṅga II and son of Kumārānavōta II, from Śaka 1347 to Śaka 1363 or a little latter. The identity of Sarvajña Siṅga who honoured Śrīnātha has now to be settled. Śrīnātha visited the court of Sarvajña Siṅga after defeating Gauḍa Piṇḍima bhaṭṭa, as has been known from his *cāṭu* verse alluded to above. He addressed Sārada, the goddess of learning, just before entering the Rēcēḷa court. So, the date of his visit to the court of Siṅga has to be placed between Śaka 1350 and Śaka 1360. From this it is evident that Siṅga who honoured Śrīnātha, is identical with Siṅga III, son of Kumārānavōta, that is, Anavōta II.

As tradition informs us that Śrīnātha visited the Rēcēḷa court only once, it seems likely that he went to the court of Liṅgama Nēḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa on his return journey from Rājukoṇḍa, and fulfilled his mission of bringing back to the Reḍḍi kings their sabre, *Nandikanta Pōtaraju kaṭari*. There are many *cāṭu* verses on Liṅgama Nēḍu in the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśārāṭi*, mentioning some chiefs, whom either he vanquished or befriended. Of these Sambēṭa Pinna⁷⁷ of Śaka 1350, Sāluva Tippa⁷⁸ of Śaka 1355, Pōlēpalli Bukka⁷⁹ of Śaka 1404, are known to us from their inscriptions also. Liṅgama Nēḍu was also a contemporary of Prauḍha Dēvarāya, Sultān Alā-ud-Dīn Bahmany II, the Gajapati, and Allaya Vēma.⁸⁰ A reference to the dates of some of these contemporaries, enables us to note that the active

77. Loc. Rec., Vol. XXXVI, p. 495.

78. Ibid, Vol. XXXVII, p. 115.

79. Ep. Coll., No. 35 of 1983.

80. VI. Vm. pages 48-53.

military career of Liṅgama Nēḍu began sometime before Śaka 1350. Early in his life, only when he was twelve years old, according to the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvali*, he led an expedition to Koṇḍaviḍu, probably in the fag end of the reign of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vōma. It was probably in this expedition that he had taken away *Nandikanta Pōtarāju kaṭari*.⁸¹

The Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram felt it a stigma on their valour to let their sword remain with their enemies, the Rēceṅḷa kings. So, they wanted to regain it by peaceful means by sending Śrīnātha to their court as their ambassador on this mission. Śrīnātha accomplished this task with great tact and skill. He pleased Liṅgama Nēḍu with his learning and poetical talents. There are many *cāṭu* verses on Liṅgama Nēḍu current in the country, which are attributed to Śrīnātha. Liṅgama Nēḍu wanted to reward Śrīnātha adequately, without minding that he was the court-poet of his bitter enemies, the Redḍi kings. Śrīnātha probably took this opportunity to fulfil his mission. He requested Liṅgama Nēḍu to return the sabre of the Redḍi kings, and said that he wanted nothing more. Admiring the poet's loyalty to his patrons, the Rēceṅḷa chief returned the sabre and sent away the poet, bestowing upon him many valuable presents. This seems to have been the trend of events relating to Śrīnātha's visit to the Rēceṅḷa court.

Śrīnātha's was a stormy life. He rose like the glowing morning star. He shone like the radiant Sun casting his influence far and wide. He set in a dark cloud of misery. Everywhere when patronage had failed, he leased a farm and took to agriculture; but there he was a misfit and a miserable failure. He could not pay the stipulated tax to the Government. Consequently he was subjected to many corporal punishments. Finally he died in penury.

Śrīnātha was one of the greatest poets of the Andhra land. He was the first Telugu poet who had travelled through out the length and breadth of the Andhra country, though it might have been for seeking patronage of nobles and kings in different parts of the country, and eke out his livelihood. He lived a princely luxurious life. He recorded in his numerous *cāṭus* composed during his perigrinations, some of the customs and manners that excited his interest, of people living in different localities in the country, and impressions of places which he had visited. Some of his *cāṭus* written on diverse subjects, high and low, noble and ignoble, are full of literary charm, fine imagery, humour and sarcasm, though some of them on Śṛṅgāra are not in good taste, judged according to the modern standards. By his interesting *cāṭu* verses and by the literary charm of his

81. Ibid, p. 89.

works, he was able to evoke a country-wide interest in the Telugu poetry, and love for it in the minds of people. He was thus not only a court-poet of the Redḍi kings, but in a true sense, the first Andhra national poet.

The review of Telugu literature of the age of the Redḍis is not complete without taking note of the Telugu works, written by poets that flourished in the Rēceṇḍa kingdom of Telingānā. So far as it is known at present they are five in number, namely, Paśupati Nāganātha, Ayyalārya, Gaurana, Koṇavi Gōparāja and Bammara Pōtarāja (Pōtana).

Paśupati Nāganātha :

Paśupati Nāganātha or Nāganātha, son of Paśupati, is the author of the Telugu work *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which is now lost. He is identical with Nāganātha kavi of the Kauśika *gōtra*, son of Paśupati Paṇḍita, and the composer of the Ainavōlu inscription²² of Anavōta I, son of Siṅga I of the Rēceṇḍa family, dated in Śaka 1291. That he is the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in Telugu, is known from a verse from this work, quoted in an anthology in the library of the Telugu Academy.

Ayyalārya :

Ayyalārya, another Telugu poet patronised by the Padma Velama kings of the Rēceṇḍa family of Dēvarakōṇḍa, is the author of a portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*. A perusal of the closing verses and the colophons at the end of different *kāṇḍas* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*, reveals the fact that those *kāṇḍas* were composed by different authors, namely, Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, Kumāra Rudradēva and Ayyalārya (or Ayyalamantri), though the title connotes that really *Bhāskara* was the only author of the work. The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is the work of two authors, of whom one is Ayyalārya. He finished the portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, left unfinished by Huḷakki Bhāskara for reasons unknown to us. When some of the *kāṇḍas* of Bhāskara's work were lost or mutilated, the authors mentioned above seem to have completed them again, each in his own name, the portion or *kāṇḍa* he had completed. It is not also known if all these different authors were contemporaries. We are primarily concerned here with Ayyalārya whose date is roughly known to us. From some of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*, it is known that Ayyalārya completed the remaining portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of this work at the command of his patron, Vēdagiri Nāyanimāru, that is, Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu of Dēvarakōṇḍa, son of Mādava or Madā Nāyaka I. The date

of Vēdagiri's father, Māda I, is Śaka 1298. An inscription⁸³ mentioning Vēdagiri Nēdu is dated in Śaka 1329. His protegē Ayyalārya must have therefore flourished about that time. He is not known to have written any other works.

The colophon at the end of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa* enables us to know that Ayyalārya was the son of Appalārya, younger brother of Śākalyamalla Rama (Vīra) Narasiṃha, that is Rāma (Vīra) Narasiṃha, son of Śākalyamallubhaṭṭa.⁸⁴

Gaurana :

Gaurana, a native of Teliṅgānā, was the son of Pōcāmbā and Ayyalārya of the Gautama *gōtra*. He is the author of two extant Telugu kāvyas in *driṣṭa* metre, namely, *Harīścandra-caritra*, dealing with the story of Harīścandra, one of the six noted Indian emperors of mythological fame, and *Nava Nātha Caritra* dealing with the adventures of Nava Nāthas, and *Lakṣmādīpika*, a Sanskrit work on poetics. The introductory lines of the Telugu kāvyas referred to above, as well as the introductory verses in the *Lakṣmādīpika*, provide us the clue to fix the date of this poet approximately by stating that his father's elder brother, Peddana Pōtarāja (Pōtarāja, son of Peddana) was the minister of Śingaya Mādhava, (Mādhava, son of Śingaya) of the Rēceṅḍa family. These Rēceṅḍa chiefs, as we already know, were the rulers of Teliṅgānā, whose capitals were Rācakonḍa and Dēvarakonḍa. Gaurana's time may be fixed from a reference to the date of Śingaya Mādhava. There were two kings of the same name Mādhava, both being the sons of chiefs bearing the same name Śinga. They were Mādhava I, son of Śinga I, and Mādhava II, son of Śinga II, who was otherwise called Sarvajña Śinga and Kumāra Śinga. The dates of these two Mādhavas are definitely known to us from their inscriptions. The Umāmahēśvaram inscription⁸⁵ of Mādhava, son of Śinga I, is dated in Śaka 1298 (1376 A. D.), and the latest date of Mādhava II furnished by his records⁸⁶ is Śaka 1351 (1429 A. D.). At the end of the Umāmahēśvaram inscription there are some ślōkas and a Telugu prose passage. Two of the ślōkas refer to Peddana's son, Pōtarāja (Peddana Pōtarāja), who is described therein as *sarvasūtra-cīārada* and the *rājyāṅgākadhurandhara*. In one of the ślōkas he is stated to have got composed the record relating to the temple of Śiva, to which Māda I made a gift, and

83. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1100.

84. Vide, section above on the Sanskrit Literature. See also the learned article on *The date of Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa and its authors* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the An. An. for Vikrama (1940).

85. Vv. Cr., Appendix, No. 10.

86. Ibid, Appendix, No. 12.

CHAPTER IX

the composer's name is given in another verse as Māyisudhī, skilled in *padavākya* *pramāṇa*. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude from these verses that Peddana Pōtarāja was probably the minister of Mādhava I and not of Mādhava II. If the date of Peddana Pōtarāja is Śaka 1298, the date of Gaurana, his brother's son, may be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century of the Śaka era.

Gaurana was a Śaiva by religion. The Śaiva Telugu poets of the Andhra country that preceded Gaurana, had developed a new school of their own, and set up new traditions in Telugu literature. The Śaiva poets freely made use of the *dvī* metres in *kavya* as against the classical ones, in order that it might also be set to music beside its being read, and *dvipada* was the favourite metre they employed. They had freely drawn from the spoken tongue, and yet were bound by ordinary rules of grammar, though transgressing them occasionally. The diction of their *kavyas* which differs greatly from that of the *kavyas* of the non-Śaiva school, is peculiar, and did not always win the approval of later grammarians. However, the Śaiva poets created a popular literary movement, and the art of their *kavyas* is more realistic than that of the *kavyas* of the other school. The Śaiva school of Telugu literature has thus some distinguishing features of its own. Gaurana's works are no exception to this dictum. His style is vigorous, imagery perfect and the flow of his verse smooth and running. Some of his lines are crisp and profound with meaning, and read like aphorisms. They have passed into adages in common tongue.

Gaurana dedicated his *Nava Nātha Caritra* to Mukti Santaraya of the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha*, to whose devotee, Munmaḍi Santayya, Śrīnātha dedicated his work, *Śīvaśāstri-nāthātmyam*. Gaurana and Śrīnātha thus seem to have been contemporaries. In fact, one *Nava Nātha Caritra* in Telugu written by a certain Śrīgiri kavi, was already in existence before Gaurana's time. But that was a *padya* *prabandha* and not a *dvipada* one. At the command of Mukti Santa Bhikṣāvṛtti-rāya Gaurana took the same subject for his theme, and re-wrote it in *dvipada* metre.

All the three works of Gaurana, namely, *Harīścandracaritra*, *Nava Nātha Caritra* and *Lakṣṇadīpika* are extant. He is known to have written also another poetical work, *Navagrahastavam*, a *stōtra* on the nine *grahas*, which is now lost. Two verses from this work are quoted by Pedapāḍi Jagannātha kavi, a later poet, in his anthology.

Koṇavi Gōparāju :

Gōparāju, son of Kāmambikā and Kusavarāju of the Koṇavi family, was a native of Teliṅgāna and belonged to the Harita-sa-gōtra,

He was the seventh in descent from Vennaya, minister of the Durjaya chief, Prithviśvara of Velanādu who ruled from Cir. Saka 1104 to Cir. Saka 1126.

Gōparāju's father was the minister of Rāṇa Malla whose identity has not yet been settled. As Gōparāju was the seventh in descent from Vennaya, he may be assigned to the middle or latter half of the fourteenth century of the Saka era, calculating at an average of thirty years per generation. This conclusion is supported by another fact. Bacirāju and Siṅgana, two of the five sons of Abbaya, eldest brother of Gōpaya, grandfather of Gōparāju, are said to have been ministers to king, Anavōta Kumara Siṅgaya (that is, Kumara Siṅga, son of Anavōta), obviously of the Rēceḡa family of Rājukoṇḍa. This Kumāra Siṅga, who is identical with Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpala II, author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhakaram*, ruled from Cir. Saka 1330 to Cir. Saka 1346.

This identification of Kumāra Siṅga furnishes the clue to fix approximately the date of Gōparāju. If Bacirāju and Siṅgana, and Kasavārya flourished in the early half or in the middle of the fourteenth century of the Saka era, Gōparāju also may be assigned either to the middle or the early latter half of the same century. He becomes thus a contemporary of Kumarānnavōta, or his brother, Mādhava II whose dates range till Saka 1351.

Gōparāju is the author of the Telugu kāvya, *Siṃhāsana-dvātrīṃśika*, containing thirty-two stories about king, vikramārka of Ujjain, related consecutively by the thirty-two images sculptured on his throne, to king Bhōja of Maḷava, every time when he came to ascend it. This is the only work known to have been written by the author. The author himself states that this work is not an independent one, but a translation of an old Sanskrit work which is now lost. As one of the stories contained in this work, happens to be a close adaptation of a story⁸⁷ found in the Jain work, *Triṣaṣṭīśālakapurasācaritra*, either the original author of this work in Sanskrit, or our Gōparāju, the translator himself, seems to have incorporated in this work stories relating to kings other than Vikramārka also, taken from other sources, and attributed them to that classical hero. Though this work is a Telugu translation of the Sanskrit work, it is difficult to detect it to be such.

The *Siṃhāsana-dvātrīṃśika* is a remarkable kāvya, unique in many respects. The author maintains a vigorous style throughout the poem and the expression is crystal clear. The whole poem is

87. Vide, Chapter V on Games And Amusements, VII p. 437, f. n. 60.

characteristic of the realistic social atmosphere of the times, though the stories narrated therein were of bygone days. This happens to be one of the very few works which furnish a fund of information regarding the social life of the period in which the author lived. As the information which he supplies, tallies exactly with that furnished by the accounts of foreign travellers who visited South India at this period, it may be reasonable to suppose that Gōparāju himself brought into his kāvya a realistic touch, by attuning the stories he described to the social life of his period. The author exhibits his encyclopaedic knowledge on whatever subject he describes in his work, and provides us with many technical terms then in use relating to wrestling, archery and the like, some of which have died out since.

Bammera Pōtana :

The ancestors of Pōtana, alias Pōtarāju or Potanāmātya, were originally natives of Bammera in the Nalgonda district (Hyderabad-Teliṅgāna), about thirty miles distant from Waraṅgal. As Waraṅgal (Ekaśilānagara) was the secondary capital of the Padma Velama kings of the Rūceṇḍa family of Rājukōṇḍa, and the primary capital of their predecessors, the Musunūri chiefs, Pōtana or his forefathers seem to have migrated to that place, and lived there.

Pōtana was the son of Lakkama and Kōsana and belonged to the Kaunḍinya-sa-gōtra and to the Āpastamba sūtra. He is the author of three works, *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam*, *Andhra Mahābhāgavatam*, and *Vīrabhadravijayam*, which are all extant.

The first work, *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam*, furnishes the clue to settle the date of Pōtana. He wrote that work on a vēśya of his patron Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpāla. Some Telugu scholars contend that the author of this *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam* could not have been Pōtana for the simple reason that, as he was a great devotee, he could not have stooped to write this work on a courtesan. This argument, based as it is, more on sentiment than on unimpeachable evidence, has no historical basis. There is no evidence to show that Pōtana was a great devotee even from his youth. It is likely that he wrote this *daṇḍaka* in his youth, sometime after he entered the court of his patron, Sarvajña Siṅga, to please him. As wisdom dawned on him gradually, on observing the ways and whims of kings and princes of those days, he withdrew himself from the impure and choking atmosphere of the royal court, and preferred to lead a peaceful life of an agriculturist, severing his connection with kings and royal courts.

Pōtana's patron, Sarvajña, is described in the *damḍakam* as the son of Kumarānnavōta and the grandson of Rāvu Siṅga Mahipāla of the Rēceṅḍa family, and as having been served by Vasanta Bhūṣāla. It is then obvious that Pōtana's patron was Sarvajña Siṅga III, son of Kumarānnavōta (Anavōta II), and the ruler of Rājukoṇḍa. This identification is confirmed by an inscription⁸⁸ of these chiefs at Little Conjeevaram, Conjeevaram taluk, Chingleput district, dated in Saka 1359, corresponding to Piṅgala. This record registers the gift of four *dvarapāla* images, Gaṇḍa and Pracāṇḍa, at the second and third *gōpuras* respectively, and of the two pinnacles of gold for the car by Vasantarāya, son of Anavōtā Nāyaka, and brother of Siṅgama Nāyaka. Vasantarāya, Anavōtā Nāyaka and Siṅgama Nāyaka of this record are identical with Vasantāvaninatha, Kumarānnavōta, and Sarvajña Siṅga respectively. It seems to have been customary among the Rēceṅḍa chiefs to prefix the term, *kumāra*, to the name of the grandson named after his grandfather, to distinguish one from the other. Hence, we find the names, Kumāra Siṅga (Siṅga II), and Kumarānnavōta (Anavōta II), in the genealogy of the Padma Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa. So, Pōtana patronised by Sarvajña Siṅga (Siṅga III) must have also flourished about Saka 1359 (1347 A.D.), the date of the Conjeevaram record referred to above.

Pōtana's *Virabhadra-vijayam* does not stand comparison with his other great work *Andhra Mahābhāgaratam*, even though it is generally stated that it was his last work. Pōtana's *Bhāgaratam*, a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhāgaratam*, is his *magnum opus*. This great work also shared, for causes unknown to us, the same fate as the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*. There is a traditional story current in the country that Pōtana buried his *Bhāgaratam* underground, to save it from destruction at the hands of Sarvajña Siṅga III, to whom Pōtana refused to dedicate that work, probably after he left his court, and this is adduced as the cause for the decay of some of the portions—the fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth *skandhas*—which were later on completed by some Telugu poets, namely, Gaṅgana, Ērcūri Siṅgana and Veligandala Nārāya, a pupil of Pōtana himself. This story seems to be a pure myth. It has no historical basis. The real truth for the mutilation or destruction of this work seems to be in the extremely disturbed political condition of Teliṅgānā in the time of Pōtana, and his early patron, Sarvajña Siṅga. From the far end of the reign of the Bahmani Sultān, Ahmad Shāh I, whose rule lasted till 1435 A.D. (Saka 1357), and during the next two successive reigns, Alā-ud-Dīn II and his son Humāyūn Shāh, the whole of Teliṅgānā was thrown

into much confusion, owing to ravage and rapine consequent on the wars between the kings of Rājukoṇḍa and Devarakoṇḍa, and the Bahmanī Sultans of Bidar. In fact, Rājācal or Rājukoṇḍa, the chief capital of the Rēceṇḍa kings, was, according to the Muslim historians, assigned as a feudal fief⁸⁹ to the Bahmanī princes even as early as about 1435 A.D. Telingāna was overrun by the Bahmanī generals many a time; even Waraṅgal was sacked, and it often changed hands. The Rēceṇḍa kings tried their best to regain possession of their lost territory, and to drive away the Mussalmans from Telingāna with the aid of other Hindu kings. This political condition of Telingāna during this period, in which one's own belongings, family, and even life, were insecure, seems to have been the main cause for the mutilation of some of the *Skandhas* of Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam*.

Pōtana dedicated his *Bhāgavatam* to god Śrī Rama. He had the title *sahajapāṇḍitya*, which shows that he acquired proficiency in the Telugu language and poetics by his self-effort. Pōtana's poetry is mainly devotional in character. He is at his best when describing a devotional episode. He intensely felt the emotions of a devotee whom he described and went into ecstasy, while singing the glory of god Viṣṇu. Hence, his work, *Bhāgavatam* may be aptly termed as a devotional lyric. Pōtana had such a mastery over the language that *śabdālāṅkāras*, like *yamaka* and *anuprasa* and others, crept into his poetical lines without effort. In spite of these *śabdālāṅkāras* his poetry has a fine finish and an innate beauty about it, characterised by its sweetness and melody. The flow of his poetry is smooth, and his style vigorous and supple. Pōtana's imagery is superb. He can make us realise the spirit conveyed by his poems intensely. He pressed the figures of speech into service so as to make his imagery perfect. The *śabda* or the sound of words dexterously employed, echoed the sense and the spirit. One can point out many instances in this work where this effect is clearly visible. In his later life when he wrote his *Bhāgavatam*, Pōtana was a *bhakta* practising *bhaktiyōga*. He was, therefore, able to add devotional fervour to Telugu poetry.

The period under review ends with Pōtana. His work, *Bhāgavatam*, stands as a symbol indicating the surging Vaiṣṇava revival in the Telugu country, both in the Telingāna and in the coastal Andhra country, at the close of this period. The *Andhra Mahābhāgavatam* of Pōtana marks the swing from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism, which dominated the latter half of the Vijayanagar period.

89. J. S. King - *Burhan-i-Ma'āsir*, p. 73.

LITERARY COURT

The Reddi kings, like their predecessors, continued the splendid traditions of protecting and encouraging art and letters. Poets and philosophers vied with one another in arranging literary debates under the auspices of the royal court to establish their own especial supremacy. Such occasions were very popular, and they brought to the audience hall, the scene of the disputations, the most learned men of the land and the highest officers of the State. There was as much excitement as in the royal tournaments and success in the contest brought the victor kingly favour and grant of lands. No doubt, when one great scholar advanced the theory, *siddhānta*, assertion, and while his opponent sought to shatter it by *pārvapakṣa*, refutation, by counter arguments, the court was struck with wonder and flushed with untainted joy at the feats of intellect and memory exhibited by them. Some of the chief literary feats and entertainments are given below :-

(i) Composing one hundred stanzas (a *Śaṭaka*) extempore in a *ghaṭika*, a period of twenty four minutes, in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, Saurasēni and others, that is, in the eight kinds of Prākṛit languages.

(ii) To describe offhand a thing or subject in the required way, in the required *dhātus* (verbal roots), and *rasa*, within the given time limit.

(iii) To repeat a poem (probably a passage also) after hearing it read only once, twice, or thrice.

(iv) To perform any kind of *avadhāna* (a feat requiring great attention, memory and skill). There were *aṣṭāvadhānas* and *śatāvadhānas* (attending simultaneously to eight, and one hundred things respectively). There were experts who performed *citravadhānas* in the *Yajur Veda* also.

(v) To read a verse in the manner of a *gītikā* musical composition, with time and tune.

(vi) To tell by intuition names concealed, deeds secretly done before the entertainer, and the *bhāras* in the mind of the questioner, that is, thought-reading.

(vii) To compose poems altogether omitting a set of letters generally *ṣṣṭhyas* (labials) prohibited by the questioner and some *mātras*, prosodial instants or units in metre.

(viii) *Samasyā-pūraṇa*, that is, completing the remaining portion of the stanza with the given part, which contains generally queer and, at times, apparently an incongruous and silly idea, to form a single rational theme.

These entertainments were not the innovations of this age. Most of them were already popular for at least a few centuries past in the courts of Indian kings. But all these performances were given in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The poets of the mediaeval period in the Telugu country cultivated these arts in Telugu also, and the courts of kings and nobles during this period were lively with such performances. Such entertainments and feats were given by scholars and poets, specially proficient in them. Scholarship and skill never went without being amply rewarded. Peddayātmāya, grandfather of Jakkana, the author of *Vikramarkacaritra*, is said to have been an expert in all the above mentioned feats⁹⁰. Stories regarding the *samasyas* given to Śrīnātha in some of the courts of the kings of this

90. “నంస్కృతపాకృత శౌరసేన్యానుల
 ఘటికలో నొకశతకంబుం జెప్ప
 బ్రహ్మసనసకరణ భాణాని బహువిధ
 గూఢకలలుయందు గూఢిమెఱయె
 జక్క చతుర్భుజి చతుగుప్తి రాధిక
 త్నంద్రకావ్యములు పెక్కులు రచింప
 నంధ్రకవిత్వంబునందు బ్రబంధంబు
 మేలుగాఁ దద్వల్లులు పెచ్చు జెప్ప
 నిమ్మల నేరీతి నేధాతువుల నెమి
 రసమునైన వర్ణనము నేమి
 సరి నేకసంధా ద్విసంధా త్రిసంధలం
 హంజరినం బొంగి తొరింగిపంజర బహు
 నెవ్వం డే యవధాన మెఱుంగు నియ్యవధాన
 మన నాని కందుక ముల్లగూప
 వృత్తకందముం గందవృత్తై యును బహు
 పృథ్వీదంబు మొదలుగాఁ గలుగు గర్భ
 కావ్యవర్గముం జెప్పగాఁ బ్రబంధంబులు
 గొర్రెల్లు పుట్టెదమకొని వీక్షింప
 గా నక్షరచ్యుతకంబు మాత్రాచ్యుత
 కంబు బంధచ్యుతకంబు నాహ
 గోప్యంబులం గియాగోప్యంబులును భావ
 గోప్యంబులును జెప్ప గోప్తీయంబు
 ఒక్కంబు గీతికార్పణి నెగిరి జనువంగ
 నెల్లవిద్యలనందు తెలుంగనేర్ప

period, and the stanzas completed with the given parts by him, are still current in the country." The literary court, or *gōṣṭhi*, as it was then called, was a pleasant and attractive feature of the royal courts of this age.

Accepting dedication of a work from any poet was another great festive occasion. It is natural to be such, as it was considered to be one of the *Saptasamlānas*. It was the custom of those days for one desiring a *kāvya* to be dedicated to him, to invite a poet and request him to dedicate his work to him. When the poet agreed to the proposal, as it was usually the case with a great many poets, the *krtibharta* of the work honoured him with fragrant betel (*karpūra tāmbūla*), accompanied by valuable presents of silk cloths, gold jewels set with precious stones, and so on, according to his status. Grants of land or even of *agrahāras* were at times given. The poet thereafter described in glowing terms the genealogical descent of his patron recounting the glory and achievements, of the patron and his ancestors if there were, any, in the introductory portion of the work. The introductory portions of the Sanskrit and Telugu works, which were dedicated to nobles and kings or their officers, thus form valuable source-material for the re-construction of our past history.

ననుచు నెల్లారి తిరు కాళి నునుజుభును

సమ్మొఱిమున్న సాహిత్యసరణి మెఱసి

మహిమ గాంచిన పద్మయామాత్యసుకవి..." — *Vk. Cr.*, I, v. 20.

The author Vonnalakāṇṭi Annaya also adverts in his work, *Śōḍaśakumara-caritra* to some of these intellectual feats of skill (vi, v. 13):

“అక్షరభాషల మధు రాశు విస్తర చిత్ర)

కవితలు పెప్పు సత్కవులు మెచ్చు

... ..

కూతనరీతుల ధాతువిభజనముల

రసములు మెఱయు వ్యక్తము నాడు

సేపురాణముల నేకథ యడిగిన

దడబంటులేక యేర్పడగఁ జెప్పు

నోలి నవధానములు నేననేలు నూపు..."

91. It is said that, when once Śrinātha visited the court of the Rēcōla chief, Śiṅga of Rājukopḍa, the following *samāsya* was given to Śrinātha by a Bhajja in his *asthana*.

“పక్షి-నో నక్క-వో పక్షి-నో కాంతి-నో పిల్ల-నో బూతపిల్ల-నో.”

This is reported to have been completed by the poet as shown below, very creditably :

The literary court of the kings of this period was a veritable *viśvakalāparīṣat*, where skill in various arts was tested and duly rewarded. It is worthy of note that many of the kings of this period, in spite of their pre-occupations with administration and almost incessant warfare, found time to devote themselves to pursuits of literature and art. The most stormy period of our history had bequeathed to us the legacy of precious literary treasures. The mind as well as the body was highly active in the period under review.

“తక్క-క రావుసింగవసుధావరుఁ య్యలక్కర్థ మీచ్చువో
దిమ్మలలేని కర్ణుని, నధీచిని, భేచరు, వేల్పుమా)నుఁ, తెం
పెక్కిన సమధేనువు, శివీందుని నెన్నెడు భట్ట! దిట్టచె
మక్క-వ నక్క-వో ఫణివొ క్రొలివొ పిల్లివొ బూతపిల్లివో.”—Ct. Mm., I. p. 117.

APPENDIX

Introductory portion of the *Śivalilāvilāsam*

Till now only one incomplete copy of *Śivalilāvilāsam* has been available, which is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. This copy contains only the first three *āvāsas*. Even in this copy, the introductory portion in the first *āvāsa*, generally containing a description of the genealogical descent of the poet, or of the poet's patron, or of both, is not complete. The few verses in the extant introductory portion without a beginning and with a great many mistakes and lacunae here and there, describe the genealogy of Allāḍa's son, Doddā Reḍḍi, to whom this work was dedicated, and furnish much new historical information otherwise unavailable, regarding the Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram.

I was able to get another, though incomplete, copy of this rare work through Vidvān Ogōti Venkata Subbarao garu of Hyderābād, to whom the grateful thanks, not only of mine, but also of the Andhra Pubic, are due. This copy contains the first three *āvāsas* with an incomplete introductory portion. It is interesting to note that this portion contains verses describing the descent of the author. Thus, the introductory portions in the two copies now available, though not complete, furnish much information about the author of the work as well as of his patron. I give below, without any emendation of the text the extant introductory portions in the two copies, having combined them together into a single one.

శ్రీదనరార మ్రొక్కిన గిరింద్రవరాత్మజ వేచ్యుక (?) వేళ శ
 త్పాదసముల్లసన్నఖరవర్షణవీధుల దేదిల్లి యే
 కాదశమూర్తి భేదముల గన్నులపండువు సేయు శంభు డా
 హ్లాదకరుండు గాచు నున యశ్వయ దొడ్డనృపాల శేఖరుక. ౧

ఏనికమోమున నెనగుపాపని తల్లి

కొండలరాయని కూర్చిపట్టి

నెలచేరుచుక్క యాదల దాల్చు నేర్పరి

సాటునకెక్కు మిన్నేటి నవతి

మూడు చూపులవేల్పు ముడుసలి యిల్లాలు

ముత్తైదువలలోన మొదలిపేరు

కడ చనువులయందు గనుపట్టు...కటి

వెండి గుబ్బలియింట నుడువడతి

ప్రకట శుభ సద్గ నిజ సాదవద్దనికట

చంచరీకాయమాన చంచదవతంస

కలిశ గీరాణి

[దొడ్డవిభుని].

— 9

[అతులమ *] రంద్రబృంద సముదంచిత నాభినవాజ్ఞపట్నద
శ్రుతుల దదంశర స్థిత సగోభవానన నా (సా?) చకోమల
శ్రుతులు విజక్ష్మశు (?) ల్కుదము సొంపును బెంపు వహింప మెచ్చు న
చ్యుతుఁ డఖిలేశ్వగుండు మనుచున్ దయ నల్లయదొడ్డభూనరుక్.

నిలుకడ దియ్యంపు నలుపునఁ దగువాడు

జనకుండుగానుండు చతురవాణి

కలువలఁ దనరాక నలరింపఁగలవాడు

తమ్ముండుగానుండు శలిరుద్రోణి

యింతలు నెలయింప నెనఁగుపంతమువాడు

నాథుండుగానుండు సవలతాంగి

వలపుల నెదచల్లు వన్నెతూపులవాడు

తనయుండుగానుండు వసజగంధి

వరవిశాస చారు వాసనాంభోరుహ

హర్ష్య రమ్యతల విహారలోల

హృదయకమల కమల యిచ్చుగావుత అశ్ల

విభుని దొడ్డనృపతి కభిమతములు.

శ్రేష్ఠతర ప్రభావ సవిశేష గుణాద్భుత భావచాతురీ

నిష్ఠను విశ్వభూతగణ నిర్మితి మొప్ప ఘోరి లోక బం

హిష్ట చరిత్రఫలన మెయిందగు పద్మభవుండు నిర్జర
జ్యేష్ఠుఁడు గాచు నల్లవరు దొడ్డకుమార సృపాలరత్నమున్.

గి

మహనీయ గంధ సంబంధ గుణంబులఁ
గరమొప్పు వికచ పంకజముతోడ
శ్రవణ ప్రియాదాన సరసభాస్వితములఁ
బ్రకటిల్లు రాజకీరంబుతోడ
నానాగమార్థ నిర్ణయ గుంభసంబులఁ
జదురొందు నూత్న పుస్తకముతోడ
సరిగమపదనిన స్ఫురిత స్వసంబులు
వినరించు మంజుల వీణతోడ
మెఱయు శ్రీహస్తములతోడ నెఱసి సకల
భువన పరిపూర్ణ విభ్రమంబునఁ దలిర్పు
చుండు దేవి వాగీశ్వరి యొనఁగుగాత
కోర్కు లల్లయ దొడ్డన క్షోణిపతికి.

ఉ

పూని దివానిశలును భువ
నానీకముఁగావఁ బ్రోవనగు భాష్య సుధా
భానులు హితంబు లిత్తురు
మానుగ నల్లాఖ్యుదొడ్డ మనుజేంద్రునకున్.

వేల్పులకెల్లఁ దా వేల్పుగు నొడయండు
పనుల యంకిలిఁ దీర్చు ప్రకటాఁడు
చదలేటిసవతి యచ్చపు కూర్చిబిడ్డండు
నెలపువ్వుఁ దలఁదోపు నెరకు(ఱపు?)లాఁడు
వణకుగుబ్బలిరాచవారికి మనుమండు
ముక్కంటి నలరించు ముద్దులాఁడు
పాపజన్నిదము లేర్పడఁ దాల్చు పాపండు
కొక్కుఁబోతెము(తును?) తోలు వె(నె?)క్కులాఁడు

గండయుగ మండనా.....

మద[జనాలోల]

గాన సుముఖుండు శ్రీభద్రగణముఖుండు

మనుచు నల్లయ దొడ్డకుమారవరుని.

౮

ఖగమున్ లుభకుఁ జేసినంత నిజశోకం బుర్విలో నద్భుతం
బుగ సుశ్లోకముఁ దాల్చె నేఘనునిచేఁ బుణ్యార్థసంపాదకం
బగు రామాయణ మేసుధీనుతునిచే నాకూఢతం బొల్పెఁ బే
ర్చి గడు స్థిజుఁగ నట్టి యాదికవి వాల్మీకిం బ్రశంసించెదన్.

౯

చతురామ్నాయములున్ జగత్రయము మెచ్చన్ వ్యక్తముల్ చేసి త
త్ప్రతిమంబై పాలుపారు భారతము నుత్పాదించి నానాపురా
ణ తతుల్ నిర్మల ధర్మబోధనధురీణఖ్యాతి నిర్మించి సం
తతమాహాశ్మ్య విలాసుడై వెలయు వేదవ్యాసుఁ గీర్తించెదన్.

౧౦

పటుసమ్మోదమున న్భజింతుఁ గవితాపారీణు బాణు న్నము
త్కట వాణీజలమేఘు మాఘు నుతవిద్యానేమి సోము స్విశం
కటవిద్యారవి భారవిం జతుర శోభాభాజనిం భోజుఁ బ్ర
స్ఫుట లక్ష్మీకరు భాస్కరున్ సతత తేజోభాను భాను న్నదన్.

౧౧

నన్నయభట్టుఁ గావ్యరచనావిదుఁ డిక్కన సోమయాజి న
చ్చిన్న మహాత్మ్య సంవిదితశేముషి నెఱ్ఱయ ప్రెగ్గడ స్త్రము
త్పన్న సెవప్రబంధ రసభావకు నింపుగఁ బ్రార్థనాంజలున్
మున్నగు నాత్మలోఁ దలఁతు (మువ్వర మువ్వర బోలు ?) ఘణ్యులన్.

౧౨

బుధులఁ గమనీయ కవితాం
బుధులఁ గళావిధుల భావపూర్ణేందు వచో
విధులఁ బ్రణుతీంతు నెప్పుడు
నధునాతన కవుల మతిజితాంబరకవులన్.

౧౩

ఆకల్పంబుగఁ దూర్కరాజు కన నూరాఖ్యాకుచేత స్సభ
ద్రాకల్యాణ మనం దనర్చు కృతిరత్నం బొప్పఁ గైకొన్న ను

శ్లోకు స్మృతపితామహున్ బుధజనస్తోతవ్య దీప్యన్మణో
తేస్కున్ గంగయ శింగనార్యుః దలతున్ ధీవిర్జహచార్యునిన్.

౧౮

మాతాతన్ విలసద్గధి(?)రకలనామాతాత సాదృశ్య సం
ధాతన్ యాదవనాథ పాదశిలజ(జాత?)ధ్యాతన్ జీ ఎం(యం?)బ్వికా
చేతఃపుష్కరిణీమరాళము నురుక్రీమూలమున్ మంగళా
స్వీతజ్ఞానమయాత్మునిం దలచెదన్ నిశ్శంక మంత్రీశ్వరున్.

౧౯

మజ్జనకు తత్త్వదర్శి న
ముజ్జనకుని సబ్బసచినముఖ్యుని దలతున్
సజ్జన సౌముఖ్యుని ను
దృజ్జయ హరినిధుని సంబమాంబౌపిధునిన్.

౧౬

ఇలఁ జలిచీమరీతి ఖలుఁ డెవ్వరి మర్మములై సఁ బట్టినే
దలఁ దెగిపోవునప్పడును దా విడువం డదిగావునన్ సృథా
క.. (లన?) నిరూఢులై బుధులఁ గారియఁ జెట్టుచు నుండునట్టి సే
ద్దలదెన యేనుబోవ నెడదవ్వలనుండి సమస్కరించెదన్.

౧౭

తెలుఁగని చెప్ప సంస్కృత విధిజ్ఞతలే దని సంస్కృతంబునన
బలుకఁ దెనుంగు నేరరని ప్రాక్తన మార్గమునంద నచ్చినం
గలవది మున్నునంచు నొకకై వడిఁ గ్రొత్తగఁ గూర్చి లేసి పే
ద్దలు వ(?)ప) నిగోరటం(రం?)చు మహిఁ దజ్ఞులు నాడుగు రల్పధీయుతుల్.

౧౮

కలిత మహాకవీంద్ర కృత కావ్య సమర్థపదార్థ మర్మముల్
తెలియఁగలేక చీకటియై తెంపుగఁ ద్రవ్వదు రహ్మాహా కడున్
ములుచలు కొంద అట్లయగు ముందట నున్నను పుట్టుఁజీకు లు
జ్వలమణిదర్శణాంతర లసత్ప్రతిబింబముఁ గాన నేర్తులే.

౧౯

వ. అని క్రమంబున నిష్టదేవతాప్రార్థనంబును బురాణ సవీన కవి
కీర్తనంబును గురుజనాభివాదంబును బలప్రకార నిరూపణంబును సముచితంబుగా
జరిపి యాత్మగతంబున,

౨౦

ఇల సలఘుకవులు కట్టె

బులు లక్షలు జెప్పినారు మున్నని నాకున్

వల దుకుగఁ గావ్య రచనము

చెలగి కరులు నడచుతోనఁ జీమలుఁ జననే.

౨౦

క్రొత్తగ నర్థముల్ దలంచి గుంభన శబ్దములు న్విచిత్రతా

యత్తత నుల్లసిల్లి సిది యచ్చట సచ్చట నర్హవర్ణముల్

మెత్తిన నూలుకొల్పి రసమేళన మొప్పగఁ జెప్ప కూరకే

కస్తర బెత్తరల్ బెనచి కారులు కట్టము లన్న నన్నరే.

౨౧

పుర భూపర్తువు లంబుజాప్త హిమరు క్షుత్రోదయంబు ల్బహి

ధర మంత్రాహవముల్ వివాహరతియాత్రల్ ద్యూతపానాంబుధుల్

విరహాంభోవసలీల లుక్తిమరసావిర్భావ భావక్రియా

నరణిం జెప్పదగున్ బుధుల్ గరము మెచ్చన్ సత్ప్రబంధంబులన్.

౨౨

ప. అని తలంచి యుదంచిత రచనా చమత్కృతిఁ గలుగ నొక్క
సత్కృతి నిర్మించు తలంపుననుండు సమయంబున,

౨౩

... ..

... ..

శ్రీవత్సాస్వయ శేఖరుండవు నదా శ్రీ గామచంద్రానుకం

పావర్ధిష్ఠ శుభాన్వితుండవు . ఆ(శుభా)పవ్తంబనూత్ర క్రమ

వ్యావర్ణిచరణ ప్రసిద్ధుండవు రమ్యార్థాప్త భాషాకవి

త్వావిర్భావ విధాధురీణుండవు కొమ్మామాత్య సి విమృహిన్.

౨౪

చతురుండవు పూర్వకవినాథ సస్మహత్వ

మహితుండవు సర్వబుధలోక మానసియ

చరితుండవు గాన నింపునఁ జలువవలయుఁ

బెంపు గల్గంగ నన్నదభీష్ట మొకఁడు.

౨౫

కొడుకు వనము చెఱువు గు [డి*] నిధి నల్లిలు

కావ్య మనఁగఁ గీర్తికారణములు

జగతిఁ గలవు సప్తసంతతు లందులోఁ

గరము కీ ర్థికరము కావ్యమొకఁడె.

—22

చెలువుగ భవ్యకావ్యములచేతన యారమనా(రఘురా?)మముఖ్యులు

జ్వలమగు బెంపుఁ గాంచి గరువంబున మించిరి [తా*]రు నేడునుం

గలరుకదా యశోధనులు గావునఁ దక్కని మాత్య సంతయుం

దెలియఁగఁ జూచి యే గృతిపతిత్వముఁ బూనఁగఁ గాంక్షచేసితిన్.

—23

వింటిఁ బురాణముల్ గరము వేషకతోడ సనేకభంగులన్

గంటి కృతార్థతా కలిత గౌరవ కాతుక మట్లనయ్య ము

క్కంటి మహత్వ మేకతము గల్గద యెందువినెంగ రొ(లొ?)చ్చుగా

సంటిన సర్వవంశ చరితాదులచే నటుగాన నామదిన్.

—24

కేవల శివచరితము నే

బావన వినఁగోరుదుం బ్రబంధనిధాన

శ్రీ వజ్రలఁగ వినిపింపుము

భావరసాలంకృతాంధ్ర భాషాసరణిన్.

30

వ. అని పల్కి కన్నూర తాంబూల జాంబూనదాధరజాను లొసంగిస
సంగీకరించి యే సతని కిట్లంటి,

30

మును కృతు(?) లెంద రందరు సమున్నతి సందరె వార లీగతిన్

ఘనమతి పిశ్వపూజ్యమగు కావ్యము మార్గముఁ గన్నవారె నీ

త్రినయన భక్తి[యైక్తి*?]యు నుదీర్ణ వివేకము నింత యొప్పునే

యనఘత నుల్లసిల్లెద వుదారకవిత్వమహత్వసంపదన్.

31

వ. అని సంతసిల్లి యమ్మహానాయకుం గృతినాయకుం గావించి త
త్ప్రబంధరచనాభంగి సంగీకరించితి,

33

ఒప్పుగలచోట నొప్పిస నొప్పు మిగుల

తప్పుగలచోటఁ దీర్చినఁ దప్పు గలుగ

దొప్పు దప్పుగఁ దప్పును నొప్పుగాఁగఁ

గొనక కవులార నాకృతి వినఁగవలయు.

34

కృతిముఖ తిలకంబున గృతి

పతివంశము ప్రస్తావించు దగ భువనహిత

స్థిత పురుషోత్తమ లీలా

స్వీతమగు జలధివిధమున వెలయున్.

371

శ్రీ తరుణీశ పాదసరసీరూపాదేశము (పావనై?)క ని

క్రీత విశేషుల నొక నిర్మలవంశము సంభవించె న

ర్వాతిశయ ప్ర (ప్రీతిసముదం?)చిత సంచిత పుణ్యగణ్యతా

స్వీతవిభూతి నిర్జరధునీజలపూరముతోడి పాడియై.

372

లందు జనించి మించి సమగ్రసూక్తి గ్రమక్రమంబునన్

మందరధీరు లాగత సమస్త విశా(విచా?)రులు సంతత ప్రజా

నందనకార్యకారులు గుణస్ఫుటహారులు ధర్మరక్షణ

మందవిచారు లంగజితమారులు దేవతల లత్యుహారులు.

373

వ. ఇవిధంబున సర్వమలాస్వయంబున నూజ్జిత కీర్తిలక్ష్మీశు లనేకులు
పుట్టి రట్టియెడ,

374

ప్రభవము నొందె దొడ్డజనపాలుడు నిర్జరవాహినీ మహా

రభటి విజృంభణ ప్రకట కారటవీధర (?) సుప్రసన్నతా

విభవ వచోవిశేషపదవిపరిణాధగతి ప్రసిద్ధ న

త్యవక(తృభిక?) విధి(ధే?)యమానసుడు జాలవిశాల గుణాగుకూలుడై.

375

ధైర్యసంధా పిబోధయః కరుణుల కరుణుల

రఘుగోత్ర జలవిందురామ(?)య)

ధీగవాస(గుణస)త్వశక్తి జయనై భవముల

గురుభీమ బలహరి హరినిరూఢి

వాసభాగాగ్నేయవ ధర్మ రక్షణ

లఘుసనూదనకనాశనసమాఖ్య

ధనురయ శౌచసాదర లాక్షమాజురు

బుధ మరుద్గంగాంగభూవిభూతి

పాగడ నెగడు నఖిల భూస్థలి నానమ

త్సకల రాజమాళి మకుటరత్న

ముకురలక్ష్మిబింబ వికసత్పద్మాబ్జాత
సలలితుండు దొడ్డజనవిభుండు.

౪౦

అతనికి లోక పాలకులయంశమునన్ భువనైకవైభవో
న్నతఁ దగ జన్నమాంబవలనన్ జననంబు భజించె నల్లడ
క్షితిపతి యుగ్ర నిక్రమ విశేష విభూష భుజస్థలీ సమ
న్విత సిత హేతి పాతిత నహిష్ఠ విరోధి వరాధి యోధయై.

౪౧

పెద్ద కోమటివేమ పృథివీశు నెనుసూచి

యశని సంపదలెల్ల నవహరించె

గౌడాధిపతిఁ గెల్చి గజపతిదళ నిభా

భాఖ్యాన బిరుదంబు సలనరించె

ఒడ్డాదివిభుఁ దోలి యొగి వాని యిండుల

పట్టులఁ ద్రవ్వించె బలువు చెఱువు

ధారాసురత్రాణుఁ బోర నిర్జితుఁ జేసి

కొల్లవట్టించెఁ ద ధోటకములఁ

గేవలుండె తురంగ రేవంతుఁ డవఘుశ

రాయమానమర్దరాయరాంక

దివ్య(భానుదీప్త?)మాన సిష్పుతాప(తీక?)ప్రతాప వి

హరి దొడ్డవిభుని యశ్వశౌరి.

౪౨

అల్ల విభుకీర్తి విభ్రమ

ముల్లసిలున్ సాంధ్యనాట్యయుత శర్వాణీ

వల్లభ జటాగ్రనట దు

త్ఫుల్ల ధునీ ధూర్తలహరి ధూర్ధరలీలన్.

౪౩

త్యాగప్రకారంబు ప్రాణ(?)గొడ్డంబుగా

చెలఁగు భేచరరాజుఁ జెప్పనేల

బాహువిజృంభంబు బకభంజనంబుగా

నెనఁగు మరుత్సూను నెన్ననేల

విక్రమం బర్థిత్య విధి నరూఢంబుగా

నెగడు నారాయణుఁ బొగడనేల

ప్రాభవం బఖిలగోత్ర ప్రవాసకముగాఁ

దనగు సురాధీశుఁ దడవనేల

ననుచుఁ గొనియాడుచుండుదు రఖిలజనులు

నిష్కలంకవిభాస నిర్దిద్రభద్ర

గుణ పరంపరారత్న భూషణ విభా స

మన్నితుండగు దొడ్డయ యల్లవిభుని.

౪౪

భరితశ్రీనిధి యచ్యుహీరమణుఁ డొప్పెన్ జోళ భక్తి క్షీతీ

శ్వర సూనుండగు భీమలింగ మనుజేశక్రేష్ఠసత్పుత్రి భా

స్వరకారుణ్య దశాజనానసవిభాసంధాత్రి వేమాంబికన్

హరియించెన్ బతిభక్తి గౌరవ దృఢవ్యాపార సత్యాంబికన్.

౪౫

అఖిల బంధువులకు ననయం బభీష్పిత

ము లొసంగుఁ

దన పుట్టినిల్లు సొచ్చినయిల్లు వర్ధిల్లు

నాదిగచ్ఛేశ్వరి యగుచు వెలయు

ముంగిలి యెఱుంగని ముద్దరాలని తన్ను

బుధులెల్లఁ గొనియాడఁ బాలుపు మిగుల

... ..

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౪౬

ప్రత్యక్షపులున్

ధీరతులు దొడ్డయాన్న కు

మారులు జనియించి రలఘు మహిమాన్వితులై.

౪౭

అందుఁ బ్రథమోద్భవుఁడు గొమ

రొందును శ్రీరామచిభుని యొకపున జన్మ కా

నందు . శ్రీవేమపిఠుఁడు
 ప్రస్తుత సరణిన్.

౪౮-

ఽహల శ జవాభంగ భాస్వత్కృష్ణ తురంగ
 విహరమాణ తురంగ విలసనంబు
 మదనిర్దురాఘాల మహనీయ శుండాల
 వితతాచలోత్తర విభ్రమంబు
 మకరో తమరాజి

భూరిరయోదార వీరగుణాకార
 సుభట పయాపూర శోభితంబు
 నగుచు నిజబలార్ణవము మర్యాద గడచి
 యన్యమండల ద్వి(ద్వి?)పము(ల) నా(లా?)క్రమింప
 నవని విభుడైన యల్లయవేమ విభుడు

౪౯-

తగదా వర్ణననేయ నల్లయసుతున్ ధాటీసమాటీక స
 ద్యగణీయక్రియ (? క్రమ)రూపి ఘోటక ఖురవాతప్రణీత క్షతో
 పగతక్షాశణ... ..
 సరస్వచ్చంద్ర వేమేశ్వరున్. ౫౦

వినతధరానాథ వీక్షణ కుముదపం
 డంబు లుద్గమవికాసంబు విడువ
 పరిపంథిమేదినిపతిగర్వతిమిర సం
 ఘంబులు
 చంద్రికాఘంబులు
 దమ ప్రసాదంబు దొరుగ
 బర మహీవల్లభ బిరుద నక్షత్ర ఘం
 జంబులు దమప్రకాశంబు విడువ

బరగు వలయాచలాధర భాగని...

... జృంభాస్తంభనాస్తంభసరణి

తనకు నల్లయవేను ప్రతాపశరణి.

గీ ౧

ఆ రఘురాముఁ డావరసమగ్రత లంక విభీషణున్ యశం

బార

క్షారఘరాముఁ డాశ్రితుని సంగవ(ను?)భూపుని పుంగశౌరి (?) శృం

గారపుఁగోట నిల్పఁడె శత్రు శరణాగత గక్షణాంకుడై.

గీ ౨

మత్స్యజనాధిపు మద మణిఁగించి య

భంగు

మాకవరపు వాస మనుజునల్లభుఁ దోలి

పల్లవప్రిసయనోద్భాసి యగుచు

సందాపురేశ్వరు సఖ కాశ్చి యాబాంధ(శాంధ?)

కార జగజ్జ్యోతికరణి యగుచు

అంప యుచ్చుడిరాజు సొంపు మానెన్నిక(?)

మాన్ని . . యెక్కిన (యేను?) మాఙ్గియముల

ధరణిపులఁ గెల్చి తత్తదుక్తండ్ బిరుద

సముదయముల్లెఁ దన యధీనములు గాఁగఁ

వెలయు నల్లభూపాలక వేమవిభుడు

... ..

గీ 3

విశ్రుత సూర్యుగుచు మాయంధుర

మం ... ముక్తాత పత్రంబు పూన

చిద్వల్లి బొప్పిలి క్షీతినాథసుతులు సొం

పలర నెంజానురములు ధరింప

మల్దిలితిక్షమామండలేశ్వర మిత్రు

లలవడి ససిడిసంబెల (నహింప)

సంబెడ(ట?) సృపాల్లజ

లమర హేనువ్యజనములుఁ దాల్చ

వనిమరావనీనాథపూర్వకసమస్త
వివిధ సామంత రాజసంభవులుఁ నగిలి
యుభయ పార్శ్వములను గొల్వ నుండుఁ గొలుపు
విభవజంఘారి యల్లయ వేనుశౌరి.

గీ౪

చటులత నల్ల[య]వేమన
పటుధాటి విజయభేరి భాంకృతి వెల్లంగన్
లటమథన సృహరి సమధిక
కటుకంత గభీరకుహకవాస . సరణిన్.

గీ౫

అలఘుం డల్లయవేమ భూవిభుండు రాయస్థాపనాచార్యుఁ డిం
పలరత్ మాకనరంబునంగు శుభరాజ్య ప్రాజ్ఞుగాఁ బల్లవో
జ్వలవంశ్యుం బురుషోత్తమాఖ్యు నిడి విశ్వస్తుశ్య కృత్యంబున్
విలసిల్లెన్ సరియెవ్వ రవ్విభునకున్ విశ్వంభరామండలిన్.

గీ౬

ఉక్తవేళల ఖోడశోపచారంబుల
శివుని చిత్తంబు రంజితముసేయు
నయతోడు రా
సత సృపాలురఁ బదోన్నతులఁ జేయు
హేమాద్రి దానక్రియామహత్వంబున
విప్రుల సతిదశాన్వితులఁ జేయు

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సనిసఁ గొనియాడఁ దరముగా (దతని?)మహిమ
ప్రకట సింహాచలోత్తరభాగలిఖిత
వివిధ జయశాసనాక్షర పిసరసవి(?)న
మిథ్యగుణుఁ డల్లదేవేంద్ర(దేవ?) వేమేశ్వరుండు.

గీ౭

తేజమెల్ల సవ్యసుమతీశవశేఖరుఁ డొప్పు సర్వధా
శ్రీ జనరక్షణ క్రమధురీణుని తమ్ముని పీఠధీమణిన్

రాజమహేంద్ర నామనగరంబునఁ బట్టముగట్టె నంచిత

శ్రీజయకీర్తిసారభవిశేష విజృంభిత నికృతమేతుండై .

గీ॥

వ. అప్పురంబు ప్రభూత మహిమ పరాభూత చక్రవాళి సమున్నత
వప్రాగ్రచల త్తారి కాసముదయంబును సతలస్పర్శదర్శనీయశోయ పరిపూర్ణ వేష్టన
సృష్ట ిశ్వంభరావిమానంబును సభిసవ సురభివాసవాసనాథ లసత్ప్రసవమతాన
రతీశ్వర శాశ్వతవిభవ నీ . క్రూర నానారామంబును సమండమకరంద నిష్క్యంద
నద్యపద్మ కునలయ కుముద మండహిండమాన చక్రవాక చంచరీక ప్రముఖ
సారసపతంగసమాజ కూజనాకలకల వాచాట నిరాఘాట కాసారంబును నుప
కంత ప్రవాహ గోదావరీనది న్నానిత కమలాచలశృంగసంగత కాంచనప్రాకార
ప్రాసాదశిఖర మార్కిండేయనాథ శేఖరశశాంకనిస్సృత సుధారసప్లత మందర
గంధపహవిహార శ్రమాగత పాంథలోకంబును వినూత్నరత్నచ్ఛవిగుఱుచ్ఛ
పరంపరా సంపన్ననోహర భర్గహర్మ్య విలసిత ప్రహసితరోహణాచల కూటం
బును ప్రతిపత్సర వసంత మహోత్సవ నిర్భర విహార సందర్భ సముచిత వసంత
రాయ రథ్యాప్రదాన వివిధవీధికాథిత తత్తత్పదార్థ విశేషంబును వేదశాస్త్ర
పురాణ కావ్య నాటకాలంకార సాహిత్యపారావార పారంగత ధరణీ బృందారక
బృందశ్రుత స్వాధ్యాయనాదంబునుం దృణకణాయిత విరోధి ప్రాణ నిజార్థరణ(?)
వితరణశూర రాజకుమారచ్ఛల గృహీత బహుజయంత రూపంబును బ్రతికోటి
ధన ప్రతిష్ఠిత స్వర్ణకోటి లాంఛిత గృహంగణ ఘణాంతరిత ప్రసాధిత భూరి
విభవాధిక్య మాణిక్య నిరస్త నిశాంధకార నైశ్రవణసదృశ నైశ్యసమూహం
బును సదభిప్రభమసార శృంగార భాసి విలాసి విలాసినిజన మానసాప
హరణ కరణ కళా కళావతీ విలాస తటిల్లతా పల్లవిత వృక్షాల వికాసం
బును సనల్పకల్పనా కల్పన నానందసన్వందన సముచ్చయాదంతధారాధర
భరిత గగనభాగంబును నిరసిత ప్రభావాంఛాలబ్ధ జంగమత్వ చిత్రకలగోత్ర
పదారంగ మదాంధ గంధశుండాలదానధారాకర్దమిత ప్రజణీప్రదేశంబును నిర
ర్గళ సర్గ జవన వసతిరస్మరణ యశస్కరింభాణకారట్టముఖ్యదేశ్యవరతురంగ
మానాలంబును సపరాల కామరావతీ సంశయకనస్య సామాన్య శోభనాలోభం
బును సతిమతి ప్రసంగ హృదయంగమ రామణీయకదామ విజృంభ సంభార
ధురీణంబును సగుచు తేజిల్లు నా రాజమహేంద్రవరంబున కధీశ్వరుండు, గీ॥

అభినవభోజాఖ్య నలరు నితం డన్న
 నువమింపవచ్చునే నిపుణకలన
 జగనొబ్బగండాఖ్య జరియించు నితఁ డన్నఁ
 బురుణింపవచ్చునే పురుషఘనత
 భుజబలభీమాఖ్యఁ బాలుపారు నితఁ డన్నఁ
 జర్చింపవచ్చునే సత్వగరిమ
 రణరంగ రామాఖ్యఁ బ్రకటించు నితఁ డన్న
 భావింపవచ్చునే గౌణమహిమ
 ననుచు నుతియింప నెలయుఁ బూర్వాస్తశిఖరి
 శీతసగ సేతుమధ్యమ క్షౌతశేంద్ర
 మూఢ వానటచాసనమూర్త విజయ
 భద్రగుణుఁ డల్లసృపవీరభద్ర విభుఁడు.

౬౦

మహాస్రగధర : తరమా కీర్తిప కీర్తిప్రగిత దశగిశాస్థాణు సల్లాంకుసూనుం
 బరభూభృత్పక్షశిక్షాపటుచటులభుజాభాసితారాతీసీమా
 పరిల్బఘ ప్రాణనాథ ప్రముగిత విష . ద్వాప్యలికాశాలి రాగ
 స్వరసంగీత ప్రబంధస్వలిరుద పడవీసాంద్ర వీరానసీంద్రున్.

౬౧

కుటిలత సుందరీ కుంతలంబులయందు
 నటరాగములు తదాస్యములయందు
 నలసత దస్మదు(దగ్గజ?)యానరీతులయందుఁ
 జవలభావము తదీక్షణములందుఁ
 గాఢస్య(?)గుణము తత్కుచ యుగంబులయందుఁ
 దనులతాత్రివళి మధ్యములయందు
 విషమాస్త్రభయము తద్విరహవేళలయందు
 బౌండురత్నము గండపాళులందుఁ
 గాని ప్రజలందు నెందును గలుగకుండ
 నవని పాలింపుపెంపున ముగను

గ్రథిత హేమాద్రిదాన దీక్షాగర్హిణః
డల్లదేవేంద్రు వీరభూవల్లభుండు.

౬౨

వరకమలాస్త వంశమున వర్ణనఁ గాంచి యమోఘమార్గణా
ధరమున మించి శాంభవకథాసరణి న్మది నుంచి యుల్లస
ద్భరిత మతప్రవర్తన ముదంబు నహించి తనర్తు రింపు సాం
పరుదుగ రామభద్రుఁడును సల్లస్పృచాలకు వీరభద్రుఁడున్.

౬౩

విమతకళత్ర నిర్వీర(చేద) సంభవదార్త
నాదమున్ పటుగర్జనములు గాఁగఁ
బరపంథిదార సంపతదురుభూషణ
ప్రతతులు నవతట్టిల్లతలు గాఁగ
శాత్రవశుద్ధాంత నేత్రగళద్యాష్ట
సలిల పూరములు లు గాఁగ
సహితావరోధ భానాంతస్ఫరచ్ఛోక
తరవహ్న్నులశనిపాతములు గాఁగఁ
దనర(రు?) . గదాఖడ్గ నిమర్దన ఘనంబు
సార్వకాలిక . . విజృంభంబుఁ బూని
రాజమాత్రుండె యతఁడు మూర్తిప్రభావ
వీరవిభుఁడగు సల్లయ వీరవిభుఁడు.

౬౪

విహితవినోదుఁ డల్లస్పృహ వీరవిభుండు వసంతవిన్మూర
ద్విహరణ మాచరింప నుడువీధి సితాసితవర్ణ కేసు సం
గ్రహములు నిర్జరీ చికురరాజి దలర్చి సురాభిన్నెల్ల ద
జ్జహదహజన్మయోగుణ విశంకటశంక ఘటించుఁ బైపయిన్.

౬౫

తనకీర్తికాంత గుంభనము దుగ్ధాబ్ధి డిం
డీరపంక్తులకుఁ బాణింధమంబు
తన ప్రతాపాసలం బమర [నత]ధా(ధ)రానాథ
సంతతులకు లలాటాతపంబు

తనకటాక్షావలోకన మాశ్రితాభీష్ట

సంసిద్ధులకును వశంవదంబు

తనవాగ్విజృంభణ ముదితవా

చందములకు ఋ

గౌతమీమధ్య దత్తాగ్రహార ముదిత

విహరనిగమ హరి నియమభూసు . . .

. డల్లనృపతి వీరశౌరి.

౬౬.

అరుదారన్ సురరత్న మన్నవ(తి?)రి రంగ్రాన్వేషణం బాచరిం

తురు సజ్జీవన మాచరింపంగఁ దలంతుర్ నీరదంబున్న జం

నురుఁ డన్నం బరిపాటిదక్కురస (నక్కి-చనఁ ?) జూతుర్యాచక గ్రామణుల్

ధర సల్లాధపు వీరశౌరివలసన్ ధన్వత్సముం గాంచుటన్.

౬౭.

అల్లవిభు వీరధరణి

వల్లభ వాక్రొఫలహాసి వడి సమధిక సం

పుల్లస్సల్లీమతల్లి

వేల్లస్సధు మధుర లసన విభవ నిరూఢుల్.

౬౮

కరిపతు లేకహస్త లహికాంతుండు గూఢపరుండు గచ్చసే

శ్వరుండు విషాదయుండు గరివల్లభులున్ కిరసన్వభాపు లం

దరసి చనుంధరారమణి యల్లయ వీరస కేంద్ర చంద్ర సు

స్థిర భుజపీఠి జెందె విలసిల్లుచు నాగ(ర)పితాన(ర)కంబుగన్.

౬౯

తదను సంభవుండు దసరాగు దొడ్డి భూ

వలయనాథుఁ డెల్లవాగుఁ బొంగ

సకల మంగళార్థ సంభారణిను సరరాజ

శేఖరుండు రాజశేఖరుండు.

౭౦

ఘన సుధర్మావాస గౌరవస్థితిఁ గల్గి

యొదిగి దాగుటలేసి త్రిదశవిభుండు

సంపూర్ణ బహుకలా సంభృతోన్నతిఁ గల్గి
 యడఁగి పోవఁగలేని యమృతకరుఁడు
 తేజోవిశేష ప్రదీపితాకృతిఁ గల్గి
 యాశ్రయాశతలేని హవ్యవహుఁడు
 గమలా నదానంద సుమనోజ్ఞతం గల్గి
 యంగహీనతలేని యనమశరుఁడు
 వెలయుఁ గాంతాకరాలీన వివిధరత్న
 కటక ఘనఘనాత్కార శృంగార భవళ
 చామరద్వయ పవన సంచలిత చికుర
 నికరుఁ డల్లాడవిభు దొడ్డస్థపతి నరుఁడు.

20

స్తుతి సేయందగు నల్లజేంద్ర తనయున్ దొడ్డ శైచూపాలకున్
 హితహేమాద్ర విశిష్ట దానకలనా నిర్దిష్ట ధూనిర్జితాం
 చితవాణిన్ ఫలవేధి ముక్తిశిశిరగ్ర . . ధారాపయన్
 స్తుతి దూరీ (ర?) ప్రతిఘాత చోడప కృతాంత స్తావరత్నాకరున్.

21

ఎడప కాగ్రహములు విడువని సృపతులు
 వీడరు (విడుతురు?) నిశిరాజ్య విహరణములు
 సాలన కాక్షాలు సేయఁజొరని భూరములు
 చొత్తు రుగ్రాచల స్థూలగుహలు
 కడక కప్పంబు లీగానని సృపతులు
 గాంతురు నానాస్త్రి ఘర్షణములు
 వరుస పాదములకు వ్రాలని జనవిభుల్
 వ్రాలుదు రాజి ధిరాతలమునఁ
 దన నముద్గండ జైత్రయాత్రాప్రతిష్ఠ
 భూరిభేరిభణంకార ఘోరరవము
 నఖిల దిక్కులఁ దఱుకొత్తునప్పు డనినఁ
 బాగడనేల నల్లయ దొడ్డ భూపమణిని.

23

దృక్పఃర్యాధిపబావముఁ డల్లడఁ ధరిత్రీనాథు దొడ్డొంకుచే
 నుక్కాడన్ రిపుకోటి యాజఁ జనుచో నొప్పార(రు?) నాకంబులో
 జక్కాకీ టట డుడ్లుడూ ధణధణ ఝంఝం ధిమిం ధిగ్ధిమిం
 ధిక్ష్మోణక కీర్ణ నాద్యములతో దివ్యాంగనోత్సాహముల్ .

28

శ్రీసారహరిదంత భూసార కరిదంత
 శోభాభిభూతి విసున్దయశుఁడు
 మర్వార హృదయస్థ లారాద ...
 ... మహాత్మ్యధనుఁడు
 మందారవనికాయ బృందారవనికాయ
 గీతాభిశోభి విఖ్యాతయశుఁడు
 గంగాతటాభంగ శృంగార ముదభంగ
 సత్యానురూప విస్తారముఖుఁడు
 జగతిఁ దనరు సతఁడు సగర భగీరథ
 సల యయాతి రంతి సహసు భరత
 పూర్వ పూర్వరాజ పుణ్యగణ్య విలాస
 ధుర్యుఁ డల్లవిభుని దొడ్డశౌరి.

29

అవిరళ దానశీలుఁడగు నల్లయదొడ్డస్పృహలుఁ బోలునే
 కవిపరిక్షణత్వ గుణగణ్యత సాత్వికవృద్ధిఁ దక్క శాం
 భవనిధి యంతయుం గలిగి పాగు విరోధమునందు రక్తతం
 దవులఁ జరించు భావనవృథాపరిషంగతి నాత్మలోపలన్ .

2౯

అరలే ! అల్లయదొడ్డ భూవిభుఁడు వాహరోహశేవతుఁ డిం
 పరుదారన్ వడి మూలగూరికడ వాహ్యశిష్ఠిం రాజకుం
 జరసింహంబను వారునంబును యదృచ్ఛాల్లీల దాటింపఁడే
 తిరమై యిర్వదినాల్గుమూళ్లు నిడు పుత్రేకంబు చేయెత్తుగాఁ.

22

ఇందుధరభక్తి నల్లయ
 నందనుఁడగు దొడ్డధరణీనాథునిసరి లే

రెండును కలియుగమందును

నందిత నియమవ్రతుండు నంటి యొకండున్.

25

అతనికి ననుజుడు వినయా

స్విత రఘురామానుజుడు విశ్రుతఁడల నం

గతి ధర్మజానుజుడు ప్ర

స్తుత చరితుం డన్నవిభుడు సొంపునహించెన్.

26

తన దానసంపత్తి గని యాచకకోటి

యింద్రభూజముల బహిష్కరించు

దన సమంచిత కీర్తి దనరాగు దుగ్ధాబ్ధి

విభ్రమలీల నావిష్కరించు

దన నిష్ప్రతిగ్ర(నిష్ప్ర)తీకప్రతాప ప్రకాశంబు

భాస్కర ప్రభలఁ దిరస్కరించు

దన భుజాశాతాసి ధారావిలాసంబు

రణజయ శ్రీలఁ బురస్కరించు

ననినఁ బ్రతియెన్నవచ్చునే యలఘ్నుజైత్ర

ధాటి సూటి ఖురాఘాత దళితలలిత

సర్వ సర్వసహ రజచ్చన్నజలధి

నలయుఁ డల్లయయన్న భూవల్లభునకు.

27

మారుడు నూతనమూర్తి గు

మారుడు పటుశక్తి లక్ష్మీ మధునూధనరా

గ్ధారుం డల్లయ యన్నకు

మారుం ... మునేయు ... క్రిమముత్.

28

వీరల సంశయగురుండు ను

దార గుణోత్తరుండు నగుచుఁ దత్వమహత్వ

శ్రీరుచి ఘోషియరాయ ప

దాయాధుడు భీమదేశికాధిపుఁ డొప్పన్.

29

అవిరళై శ్వర్య మహత్వ సంపన్నత

మూళన బౌనట మలయువాడు

సంశ్రిత రక్షణాస్థాపరిపూర్ణత

నాభామహోజ్యలు ననువువాడు

వేదశాస్త్రాదిక విద్యావిహిత

వదన సరస్వతి వడుపువాడు

వివిధాన్న వితరణ

చరణ సమీక్షణ సమతవాడు

తగు బ్రశంసనేయ దండభృన్మద విభం

జనుడు వినయ వినత జనవరేణ్య

మణికిరీట ఘృణి సమంచిత చరణుడు

ఘోడిరాయ భీమేశ్వర(భీమగురు?)నరుండు.

౨౩

నిపుణత్వంబునఁ బ్రస్తుతింపవలయున్ శ్రీ వీరభద్రాచలూ

గ్రపు దివ్యాతత భర్మహర్మ్య శలజాగ్ర ద్వీరభద్రాఖలే

శపాదద్వయ (పదాంభోరుహ?) భక్తిసుస్థిర రమాసంపూర్ణ భీమేశ్వరుం

దిపురావీంద్ర గురూత్మ మాత్మభవునిన్ దేవేంద్ర కోలాహలున్.* ౨౪

* Then follow the *Śaṣṭhyantas*, which have not been copied here, as they are of no importance. Most of the verses describing the genealogy of the author's patron, and the long prose passage describing Rājamahēndravaram are full of mistakes (both of language and prosody) which cannot be properly corrected.

Printed by A. Lakshmanaswamy Naidu at the Saraswathi Power Press,
Rajahmundry and published by K. V. Gopalaswamy, M. A. (Oxon)
Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair. [1948]

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